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CALENDAR FOR 1945

January

S.	...	7	14	21	28
M.	1	8	15	22	29
T.	2	9	16	23	30
W.	3	10	17	24	31
Th.	4	11	18	25	...
F.	5	12	19	26	...
S.	6	13	20	27	...

February

S.		4	11	18	25	...
M.		5	12	19	26	...
T.		6	13	20	27	...
W.		7	14	21	28	...
Th	1	8	15	22	...	...
F.	2	9	16	23	...	...
S.	3	10	17	24	...	...

March

S.		4	11	18	25	...
M.		5	12	19	26	...
T.		6	13	20	27	...
W.		7	14	21	28	...
Th	1	8	15	22	29	...
F.	2	9	16	23	30	...
S.	3	10	17	24	31	...

April

S.	1	8	15	22	29
M.	2	9	16	23	30
T.	3	10	17	24	...
W.	4	11	18	25	...
Th.	5	12	19	26	...
F.	6	13	20	27	...
S.	7	14	21	28	...

May

S.		6	13	20	27	...
M.		7	14	21	28	...
T.	1	8	15	22	29	...
W.	2	9	16	23	30	...
Th.	3	10	17	24	31	...
F.	4	11	18	25	...	...
S.	5	12	19	26	...	...

June

S.		3	10	17	24	...
M.		4	11	18	25	...
T.		5	12	19	26	...
W.		6	13	20	27	...
Th.		7	14	21	28	...
F.	1	8	15	22	29	...
S.	2	9	16	23	30	...

July

S.	1	8	15	22	29
M.	2	9	16	23	30
T.	3	10	17	24	31
W.	4	11	18	25	...
Th.	5	12	19	26	...
F.	6	13	20	27	...
S.	7	14	21	28	...

August

S.		5	12	19	26	...
M.		6	13	20	27	...
T.		7	14	21	28	...
W.	1	8	15	22	29	...
Th	2	9	16	23	30	...
F.	3	10	17	24	31	...
S.	4	11	18	25	...	...

September

S.	...	2	9	16	23	30
M.	...	3	10	17	24	...
T.	...	4	11	18	25	...
W.	...	5	12	19	26	...
Th.	...	6	13	20	27	...
F.	...	7	14	21	28	...
S.	1	8	15	22	29	...

October

S.		7	14	21	28	...
M.	1	8	15	22	29	...
T.	2	9	16	23	30	...
W.	3	10	17	24	31	...
Th	4	11	18	25	...	...
F.	5	12	19	26	...	...
S.	6	13	20	27	...	...

November

S.		4	11	18	25	...
M.		5	12	19	26	...
T.		6	13	20	27	...
W.		7	14	21	28	...
Th.	1	8	15	22	29	...
F.	2	9	16	23	30	...
S.	3	10	17	24	...	...

December

S.		2	9	16	23	30
M.		3	10	17	24	31
T.		4	11	18	25	...
W.		5	12	19	26	...
Th.		6	13	20	27	...
F.		7	14	21	28	...
S.	1	8	15	22	29	...

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Administration of India 1945

British India consists of the 11 Provinces of Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Central Provinces, Madras, North West Frontier, Orissa, Punjab, Sind and the United Provinces, plus the Chief Commissionerships of British Beluchistan, Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, Coorg, the Andamans and Nicobar Islands, Panth Piploda, and does not include any Indian States.

The name India describes the central peninsula of Southern Asia, south of the Himalayas, reaching eastward to Siam, French Indo-China and China. It is bounded on the north by Afghanistan, Nepal, Bhutan and Thibet; on the south by the Bay of Bengal, the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea, on the west by the Indian Ocean, Arabian Sea, Persia and Afghanistan. Its territory is as large as that of Europe minus Russia. Burma was separated from India politically (April 1, 1937).

The climate ranges from the extremely hot in the southeast to cooler elevations of the north-west mountains, the whole being tropical in general character. The highest point in the world is Mt. Everest, 29,141 ft., in the Himalayas, between India and China.

Approximately 20% of the area is forested, among the timber products being sandalwood, teak, ironwood, deodar, satinwood, date palm, Cocoanut, sago, banyan and acacia.

The country is essentially agricultural, 70% of the people living therefrom. The most important crop is tea and engages the daily employment of nearly a million persons. Other principal agricultural products are: rice, coffee, wheat, sugar cane, cotton, jute, linseed, mustard, sesamum, castor seed, groundnut and rubber. Corn, barley, tobacco and indigo are also grown.

India has an usually wide range of minerals and was famous for its riches from time immemorial. The country has yielded much gold, silver, diamonds and rubies to the western world. The most important minerals today are coal, petroleum, gold, lead, manganese, salt, silver, tin, mica, copper, tungsten, iron, and zinc.

The chief industry, after agriculture, is the weaving of cotton clothes, followed by silk rearing and weaving, shawl and carpet weaving, wood-carving and metal-working.

The cities of above 200,000 inhabitants with their population are:

City	Pop.	City	Pop.
Calcutta (with suburbs)	2,109,000	Bangalore	306,470
Calcutta proper	1,161,410	Lucknow	274,659
Bombay	1,489,883	Amritsar	264,840
Madras	7,77,481	Karachi	386,655
Hyderabad	466,894	Cawnpore	243,755
Delhi	447,442	Poona	233,885
Lahore	671,659	Agra	229,764
Ahmedabad	313,789	Nagpur	301.957
		Benares	205,315

In British India there are 211,192 "recognised" educational Institutions with 13,911,172 scholars; and 19,354 "unrecognised" schools with 597,443 scholars. There are 20 universities.

There are more than 45 races speaking 200 languages, 2,400 castes and tribes, and 700 Indian States. Each cult, caste and tribe adheres to its religious beliefs and social rules. The religious population follows—Hindus, 239,195,140; Muslims, 77,677,545; Buddhists, 12.786,806; Tribal, 8,280,347; Christians, 6,296,763; Sikhs, 4,335,771; Jains, 1,252,105; Zoroastrians, 109,752; Jews, 24,141.

Units of the British Regular Army, the Indian Army, Auxiliary and Territorial Forces, the Indian Army Reserve, the Royal Indian Navy, the Indian State Forces, the Royal Air Force and the Indian Air Force form the defense. Members of the British Regular Army in Indian service are paid by India. The Auxiliary Force is composed of persons of British extraction and subject to call for local service. The Indian Territorial Force comprises provincial and urban battalions and a University Training Corps, all subject to general service. The Indian Army Reserve comprises reservists of all arms. The Indian States maintain the Indian State Forces and are trained by British officers. The strength of the Indian Army was estimated at 1,000.000. The Royal Indian Navy consists of five escort vessels, a survey boat, patrol ship and trawler.

In London the governmental affairs of India are handled by the Secretary of State for India. At New Delhi, the capital of India, there is a British governor-general and, under the Government of India Act (1935), two legislative chambers, the Council of State and the House of Assembly.

The Government of India Act establishes a federation embracing British India and the Indian States with a measure of autonomy for some of the provinces. These provinces are: Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Punjab, Sind, Central Provinces, United Provinces, and Northwest Province. Delhi has separate administration. Each Province has a Governor appointed by the King, a Cabinet and Legislature of two chambers except in Orissa, Punjab, Sind, Central Provinces, and N. W. Fr. Province there is only one chamber.

Reigning Sovereign—His Majesty George the VI

(Ascended the Throne: 11th December 1936)

India Office

Secretary of State for India—The Right Hon. Mr. L. S. Amery, (April, 1940.

Permanent Under-Secretary af State—Sir Find-later Stewart, G.C.B., G.C.I.E., C.S.I., L.L.D.

Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State—The Earl of Listowel.

Advisers to the Secretary of State—Sir H. Stakosh G.B.E., Sir H. Williamson C.I.E., M.B.E., Sir J. Clay, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., O.B.E., Lt. Col. Sir H. Suhrawardy, O.B.E., Sir J. A. Woodhead, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Dewan Bahadur S. E. Ruganandan, Sir Courtnay Latimer, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

High Commissioner of India—Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Kt.

Government of India

(*Area - 18,08,679 sq. miles with a population of 352,837,778 of people—nearly one-fifth of human race. British Provinces area—1,318,346 sq. miles and population: 289,491,241.*

Viceroy & Governor General

H. E. Field Marshal the Rt. Hon. Viscount Wavell of Syrenaica and Winchester, P.C., G.C.B., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., C.M.G.

Members of the Executive Council

His Excellency General Sir Claude John Eyre Auchinleck, G.C.I.E., C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., O.B.E., A.D.C., Commander-in-Chief in India (*War*).

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Maxwell, K.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., I.C.S. (*Home*).

The Hon'ble Sir Jeremy Raisman, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., (*Finance*).

The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, K.C.S.I., (*Supply*).

The Hon'ble Sir Syed Sultan Ahmed D.L., Bar-at-Law (*Information & Broadcasting*).

The Hon'ble Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., (*Defence*).

The Hon'ble Sir Edward Benthall (*War Transport*).

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammad Usman, K.C.I.E. (*Post and Air*).

The Hon'ble Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (*Labour*).

The Hon'ble Sir J. P. Srivatsava, K.B.E. (*Food*).

The Hon'ble Sir Jogendra Singh (*Education, Health and Lands*).

The Hon'ble Sir Muhammed Azizul Haque, C.I.E., D.LITT. (*Commerce, Industries and Civil Supplies*).

The Hon'ble Dr. N. B. Khare M.D. (*Indians overseas*)

The Hon'ble Sir Asoka Kumar Roy, Bar-at-Law (*Law*)

President: Legislative Assembly—The Hon'ble Sir Abdur Rahim, K.C.S.I.

President, Council of State—The Hon. Sir Maneckji Byramji Dadabhoy, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., L.L.D., Bar-at-Law.

Numerical Strength of Parties

(a) IN CENTRAL ASSEMBLY

Congress Party	40
Muslim League Party	25
Non-party	25
Independent Party	10
Congress Nationalists	11
European Group	9
Officials	20
TOTAL	140

(b) IN COUNCIL OF STATE

Independent Progressive Party	10
Congress Party	6
Muslim League	6
TOTAL	22

Government of Bengal

Area:—82.955 sq. miles; Population—60,314 000 (Provisional to the nearest thousand).

Governor

H. E. The Rt. Hon. Richard Gardiner Casey, C.H., D.S.O, MC. (22nd Jan, 1944)

Council of Ministers.

Coalition formed on 24th April 1943

(1) The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, K.C.I.E., Chief Minister and minister for Home Department (*Including Civil Defence Co-ordination*) (*Muslim Bengal Coalition*)

(2) The Hon'ble Mr. Huseyn Shaheed Surhawardy, Civil Supplies, (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(3) The Hon'ble Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami, Finance (*Caste Hindu Bengal Coalition*).

(4) The Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Education (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(5) The Hon'ble Mr. Barada Prosanna Pain, Communication & Works, (*Caste Hindu—Bengal Coalition*).

(6) The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hosain, Agriculture, (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(7) The Hon'ble Mr. Tarak Nath Mukherjee, M.B.E., Revenue (*Caste Hindu-Bengal Coalition*).

(8) The Honourable Musharruff Hossain Khan Bahadur, Judicial and legislative (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(9) The Hon'ble Mr. Khwaja Sahabuddin C.B.E., Commerce, Labour and Industries *Including Post-War Reconstruction* (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(10) The Hon'ble Mr. Prembari Barman, Forest and Excise, (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*).

(11) The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi Jalal Uddin Ahmed, Public Health and Local Self-Government, (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(12) The Hon'ble Mr. Pulin Behary Mullick, Publicity, (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*).

(13) The Hon'ble Mr. Jogendra Nath Mondal, Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness. (*Scheduled Caste Bengal Coalition*).

Parliamentary Secretaries

(1) Khan Bahadur Mohammad Ali (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(2) Nawabzada K. Nasirullah, *Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(3) Mr. Abdullah Al-Mahmood (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition.*)

(4) Mr. Serajul Islam (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(5) Mr. Biren Roy (*Caste Hindu—Bengal Coalition*).

(6) Khan Sahib Mofizuddin Ahmed (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(7) Mr. Atul Chandra Kumar (*Caste Hindu-Bengal Coalition*).

(8) Mr. Rasik Lal Biswas (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*).

(9) Mr. Jatindra Nath Chakravarty (*Caste Hindu-Bengal Coalition*).

(10) Mr. Sayed Abdul Majid (*Muslim—Bengal Coalition*).

(11) Khan Sahib Hamiduddin Ahmed (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(12) Mr. Banku Behari Mondal, (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*).

(13) Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdur Rahman (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(14) Mr. Fazlul Rahman (*Muslim Bengal Coalition*).

(15) Mr. Mesbahuddin Ahmed (*Muslim—Bengal Coalition*).

(16) Rai Sahib Anukul Chandra Das (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*).

(17) Mr. Yusufo Ali Choudhury (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

Party Analysis in the Bengal Legislative Assembly—(Total Seats—250)

Government Supporters

1.	Muslim League	79
2	Bengal Swarajya Party	5
3.	Scheduled Caste party	20
4.	European Group	25
5.	Labour Party	2
6.	Independent	4
7.	Indian Christian	1
8.	Anglo-Indians	4
		140

Opposition

1.	Progressive Party	24
2.	Krishak Proja Party	17
3.	Nationalists	13
4.	Congress (Official)	25
5.	Congress (Bose Group)	19
6.	Indian Christian	1
7.	Independent	1
8.	Scheduled Caste	8
		108

(One seat is vacant. The Hon'able Speaker is not included)

Party Analysis in the Bengal Legislative Council.

(Total Seat 63)

Government Supporters

1.	Muslim League	23
2.	Unattached	7
3.	Europeans	6
		36

Opposition

1.	Progressive Party	7
2.	Congress (Bose Group)	5
3.	Congress (Official)	6
4.	Nationalists	6
5.	Unattached	2
		26

(The Hon'ble President is not included).

Capital and its population—

Calcutta—21,09,000 (Provisional to the nearest thousand)

Summer Capital and its population Darjeeling—25,900 (Provisional to the nearest thousand)

Receipt and Expenditure—

Receipts—Rs 21,97,44,000/-

Expenditure—Rs. 30,43,78,000/-

Government of the Punjab

(*Area—136.330 Sq. miles, Population—28,418,819*).

Governor

H. E. Sir Bertrand Glancy K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., (Assumed charge April 7, 1941)

Council of Ministers

A Unionist Ministry with the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan as Premier was formed on April 1, 1937. Sir Sikander died on December 26,1942, and the other Ministers resigned. Lt. Col. Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana was then summoned to assist the Governor in the formation of a Ministry. All the former Ministers were included and a new Minister added. The present Ministry was, therefore, technically formed on December 30, 1942, but virtually it is a continuation of the former Unionist Ministry with a new Premier.

(a) The Hon. Lt. Col. Nawabzada Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana, (*Muslim-Unionist*), *Premier*.

(b) Chaudhri Tikka Ram, M. B. E. Minister of Revenue (*Hindu-Unionist*).

(c) The Hon. Sir Manohar Lal, Finance Minister (*Hindu-National Progressive*).

(d) The Hon. Mian Abdul Haye, Minister of Education, (*Muslim-Unionist*).

(e) The Hon. Sardar Baldev Singh, Minister of Development, (*Sikh-Punjab United Sikh Party*).

(f) K. B. Nawab Sir Muhd. Jamal Khan Leghri, Minister of Public Works, (*Muslim-Muslim League*).

(g) Major Nawab Ashiq Hussain, Minister of War Planning (*Muslim Unionist*).

Political designation of the Ministry—*Unionist*.

Date of formation of Ministry—December 30, 1942.

Parliamentary Secretaries :

(a) K. B. Sheikh Faiz Muhammad M. B. E. (*Muslim Unionist*).

(b) Rai Bahadur Thakur Ripudaman Singh (*Hindu-National Progressive*).

(c) Sardar Jagjit Sing Man, M. B. E. (*Sikh-Punjab United Sikh Party*).

Four Posts are Vacant.

Parliamentary Private Secretaries

(a) Syed Amjad Ali Shah, M. B. E. (*Unionist-Muslim*).

(b) Bhagat Hans Raj (*Depressed Class-Unionist*).

(c) Sir William Roberts, Kt. C. I. E. (*Christian-Unionist*).

(d) Mian Sultan Mahmud Hotiana (*Muslim-Unionist*).

(e) R. B. Ch. Suraj Mal (*Hindu Unionist*).

(f) Sardar Lal Singh, M. Sc , L. L. B. (*Sikh-Punjab United Sikh Party*).

(g) Sardar Gopal Singh (American), M. B. E., (*Depressed Class-Unionist*).

Numerical Strength of Parties

The total number of seats in the Legislative Assembly is 175 including the Hon'ble Speaker. They are divided into parties as follows :—

Government Supporters :—Unionist Party 75 ; Punjab United Sikh Party 17 : National Progressive 4.

Opposition :—Congress Party	33
Muslim League Party	23
Unattached	22

Capital and its population—Lahore—671,659.

Summer capital and its population—Simla—18,349.

Receipts and Expenditure on Revenue Account for the current year :—

Revenue Estimate Rs. 1,24,56,51,000

Expenditure Rs. 1,22,72,14,000.

Government of Sind

(*Area—46,378 Sq. miles ; Population—4,535,008*).

Governor

Sir Hugh Dow, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., (April. 1, 1941).

Council of Ministers

Coalition—Formed on 10-10-1942

The Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah K.C.S.I., (Premier in charge Finance Department) (*Muslim League*).

The Hon'ble Pir Illahi Bakhsh Nawazali (Minister-in-charge, Education, Excise, Forest, Agriculture, Rural Reconstruction and Labour Department) (*Muslim League*).

The Hon'ble Haji Muhammad Hashim Gazdar (Minister-in-charge, Home, Legal, Political and Miscellaneous Departments) (*Muslim League*).

The Hon'ble Rao Saheb Gokaldas Mewaldas Kochlani (Minister-in-charge, Public Works Department and Local Self-Govt. Dept.) (*Hindu Mahasabha*).

The Hon'ble Dr. Hemandas Rupchand Wadhwani (Minister-in-charge, Medical, Public Health, Veterinary and Industries Departments (*Hindu Mahasabha*).

Parliamentary Secretaries

(1) Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh K. Gabole, (*Baloch*).
(2) Syed Nur Muhammad Shah (*Muslim League*).
(3) Mrs. Jenubai Ghulamali Allana (*Muslim League*).
(4) Mr. Muhammad Yusif Khan Chandio (*Muslim League*).
(5) Seth Lolumal Rewachand Motwani (*Hindu Mahasabha*).

Numerical Strength of Parties

Total Seats. 60

Congress 10: Hindu Independent Party 9; Muslim League 30; Azad Muslim 3; Hindu Mahasabha 3; Europeans 3; Independent 1; 1 seat vacant.

Capital and its Population:—Karachi —386, 655.

Budget for current year—Revenue Rs. 797,27,000.

Expenditure on Revenue Account—Rs. 7,97 04,000

Government of Orissa

(*Area—32,000. Sq. miles; Population—87,28,544.*

Governor

H. E. Sir William Hawthorne Lewis K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., J.P., (April 1, 1941).

Council of Ministers

Coalition, formed Nov. 24, 1941, *Personnel*:—

(1) Hon'ble Captain Maharaja Sri Sri Krishna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Deo of Parlakimedi (*Prime Minister*)—*Home Affairs* (*excluding Publicity*), *Local Self-Government and Public Works.*

(2) Hon'ble Pandit Godavaris Misra —*Finance, Home Affairs* (*Publicity*), *Development and Education.*

(3) Hon'ble Maulavi Abdus Sobhan Khan—*Law and Commerce, Revenue and Health.*

Parliamentary Secretary:—Sri Pyarishankar Roy (*Hindu-National Coalition*).

Numerical Strength of Parties

Total Seats—60

Congress 31: Nationalist Coalition 26, Independent 2.

Capital and its population, Cuttack 74,297. No Summer Capital.

Receipts and Expenditure:—Receipts Rs. 256,96,000; Expenditure—Rs. 2,67,32,000.

Advisers to the Governor after the dissolution of Ministry:—

S. L. Marwood, C. I. E., I. P., I. C. S.
G. K. Gokhale, C. I. E., I. C. S.

Government of Assam

(*Area—87,334 Sq. miles; Population—10,930,388*)

Governor—Sir Andrew Gourlay Clow, K.C.S.I. C.I.E., I.C.S., (May 4, 1942);

Council of Ministers

Coalition formed August 25, 1942; *Personnel*:—

(1) Maulavi Saiyid Sir Muhammad Saadullah, M.A., B.L., (*Muslim League*) *Prime Minister.*

(2) Naba Kumar Dutta (*Assam United Party*).

(3) Maulavi Munawwar Ali, B.A. L.L.B. (*Muslim League.*)

(4) Hirendra Chandra Chakrabarti, B.A., (*Assam United Party*).

(5) Khan Sahib Maulavi Mudabbir Hussain Chaudhuri, B.L. (*Muslim League*).

(6) Dr. Mahendra Nath Saikia, L.M.P. (*Assam United Party*).

(7) Khan Bahadur Maulavi Sayidur Rahaman, M.A., B.L., (*Muslim League*).

(8) Maulavi Abdul Matin Chaudhuri, B.L., (*Muslim League*).

(9) Miss Mavis Dunn, B.A., B.T., B.L., (*Assam United Party*).

(10) Rupnath Brahma, B.L., (*Assam United Party*). Appointed Minister on August 28, 1942).

No Parliamentary Secretaries.

Numerical Strength of Parties

Legislative Assembly:—Total seats—108 Congress—31 (including the Speaker). Assam United Party—54 (32 belong to *Muslim League party*). People's Party—10; Independent—4. Total 108.

Legis. Council:—Muslim 7—including the President, Mrs. Rahman, the rest belonging to the Assam United Party and also the League Party; Europeans 2; Plains Tribal 1; Scheduled Caste 1; Ahom Community 1; Caste Hindu 1 (the latter 4 members belong to the Assam Party); Independents 9 (Marwaries 3 and Caste Hindu 6).

Capital and its Population—Shillong —38,192. No Summer Capital.

Receipts and Expenditure for current year:—Receipts Rs. 4,51,71,000; Expenditure Rs. 4,62,11,000.

Government of Madras

(*Area 1,24,363 Sq. miles. Population—4 98,40,564*).

Governor:—Capt. the Hon. Sir Arthur Oswald James Hope, G.C.I.E., M.C., Assumed charge March 12, 1940.

Advisory Council

Advisory Council formed October 30, 1939; Present Personnel:

(1) Sir D. N. Strathie C.I.E., I.C.S.
(2) Sir Hugh Hood, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.
(3) T. Austin, C.I.E., I.C.S.
(4) G. W. Priestley, C.I.E., I.C.S.

Numerical Strength of Patrties

Legis. Assembly: Total Seats 215 (vacant 37) Congress 138; Justice 12; Anglo-Indian 2; Muslim League 12; European 4; Independents 8; National Democrats 2; Total 178.

Legis. Council :—Total Seats 55 (vacant 15) Congress 22; Justice 4; Muslim League 2; National Democrats 2; Independents 7. Those who have not intimated their party affiliation 3; total 40.

Capital and its population—Madras; 7,77,481.

Summer Capital and its population—Ootacamund; 29,850.

Receipts : Rs. 30,23,73,000

Expenditure :—Rs. 30,19,97,000.

Government of Bombay

(*Area* :—*76,443 sq. miles*; *Population*—*20,849,840.*

Governor—Sir John Colville, G.C.I.E.,T.D. (24 March 1943.)

Advisory Council

Council formed Nov. 4, 1939, Present Personnel :—

Sir H. F. Knight, Esq., K.C.S.I., C.I.E. I.C.S. Portfolio : Finance.

Sir C. H. Bristow, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S. I.C.S., Portfolio : Home

G. F. S. Collins Esq., C. S. I., C. I. E. Portfolio : Revenue.

J. H. Taunton Esq., C. I. E., I. C. S. Portfolio : Education.

Numerical Strength of Parties

(a) *In Assembly*—(Total Seats—175) Congress 86; Muslim League 24; Independents 13; Independent Labour 13; Progressive 12; Peasants and Peoples 6; Peasants and Workers 4; Democratic Swaraj 4 : vacant Seats 13; Total 162.

(b) *In Council*—(Total Seats 30) Congress 10; Muslim League 3; Independents 8; Progressive 1; Democratic Swaraj 3; Liberal 1; Vacant seats 4; Total 26.

Capital and its population—Bombay City—1,489,883.

Summer Capital and its population—Poona—237,560

Receipts—Rs. 24,89,56,000

Expenditure—Rs. 24,88,70,000

Govt. of the United Provinces

(*Area*—1,12,191 *sq. miles*; *Population*—5,63,46,456).

Governor—H. E. Sir Maurice Garnier Hallet, K.C.I.E., C.I.E., I.C.S., (December 6, 1939).

Advisory Council—formed on November 4, 1939, Personnel :—

(1) Dr. Panna Lal, M.A., M.SC., LLB. (Cantab), D. LITT. (Agra), Bar-at-Law, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,—Education, Industries, Local-Self-Government and Public Health,

(2) Sir Tennant Sloan, M.A. (Glas) K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S.—Home affairs Finance, Justice and Jails.

(3) Mr. A. G. Shirref, B.A., J.P., I.C.S.—Revenue, Rural Development, Agriculture, Forests, Communications and Irrigation.

(4) Sir A. W. Ibbotson, M.A., C.I.E., M. B.E., M.C., I.C.S.—Supply

Numerical Strength of Parties

(a) IN ASSEMBLY—(Total seats 228)

Government supporters : Congress 147. Opposition : Muslim League 36, Independent 24, Unattached (generally vote with Opposition) 21—Total 228.

(b) IN COUNCIL—(Total seats 60) Government supporters : Congress 14; Opposition : Nationalist 13, Independent 8; Unattached (including 11 who have not intimated Party affiliations) 24; Total —59 (excluding President).

Capital and its population—Allahabad; 2,60,630.

Summer Capital and its population—Naini Tal—21,313.

Receipts and expenditure :—*Receipts*—Rs. 24,29,39,300, Expenditure—Rs. 23,91,00,600.

Government of Bihar

Area—*69,348 Sq. Miles*; *Population*—*37,985,581.*

Governor—H. E. Sir Thomas George Rutherford, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (Assumed charge 24 April 1914.)

Advisory Council

Council formed Nov. 6, 1939.

Personnel

1. Y. A. Godbole, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.
2. R. E. Russell, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.
3. E. C. Ansorage, C S I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Numerical Strength of Parties

In Assembly—(a) Total number of members 147 (excluding 5 seats vacant due to death of members.)

(b) Number of Muslim members (seats) 38 (excluding 2 seats vacant due to death.

(c) Number of members belonging to Congress party 96 (excluding 2 seats vacant due to death of members.

(d) Number of Muslim League party in the Assembly. There is no such recognised party. But there are five members who own allegiance to Muslim League.

In Council—(a) Total number of members 29.

(b) Number of seats retained by the Muslim members 8.

(c) Number of members belonging to the Congress Party 10.

(d) Members belonging to the Muslim League Party 2. There is no such recognised party in the Council but two members have informed that they owe allegiance to the Muslim League.

Capital and its population—Patna—196,435.

Summer Capital and its population—Ranchi—62,562.

Receipts and Expenditure:—Receipts—Rs. 9,77,85,000. Expenditure—Rs. 7,56,46,000.

Government of Central Prov.

Area—98,575 Sq. Miles ; *Population*—1,68,22,584 (excluding States.)

Governor—H. E. Sir Henry Twynam K.C.I.E., C.I.E., I.C.S. (October 2, 1940).

ADVISORY COUNCIL

Council formed Nov. 11, 1939.

Personnel—(i) Sir Geoffrey Pownall Burton, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(ii) Henry Challen Greenfield, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

(iii) A. L. Binny, C.I.E., I.C.S.

Numerical Strength of Parties

Total Seats—112	
Congress Party	69
Independent Party	16
Muslim League Party	9
United Party	5
Independent (Unattached)	9
	108
Seats vacant	4
	112

Capital and its population—Nagpur 3,01,957.

Summer capital and its population—Panchmari, 6,696.

Receipts and expenditure:—Receipts—Rs. 8,08,31,000 Expenditure—Rs. 8,05,37,000

Govt. of N. F. W. Province

Area—30,38,067 Sq. Miles; *Population—5,415,666.*)

Governor—H. E. Sir George Cunningham K.C.S.I, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., I.C.S., (March 2, 1937.)

Council of Ministers

Muslim League Coalition; formed May 25, 1943; Personnel:

(1) Sardar Mohd. Aurangzeb Khan, Chief Minister.

(2) Samin Jan Khan, Minister of Education.

(3) Raja Abdur Rahman Khan, Minister of Information.

(4) S. Ajit Singh, Minister of Public Works Department.

(5) Sardar Abdur Rab Khan, 'Nishtar' Finance Minister.

Congress Ministry:—formed on March 1945 after no-confidence motion was carried out against the Muslim League Coalition Ministry formed on May 25, 1943

(1) Dr. Khan Sahib, Premier (Congress)

(2) Khan Mohd. Abbas Khan, Minister of Industries (Congress).

(3) Quazi Attaullah Khan, Minister of Education (Congress).

(4) Dewan Bhanju Ram Gandhi, Minister of Finance (Congress).

No Parliamentary Secretaries

Numerical strength of Parties

Total seats—50. Congress—23, Nationalist—3, Muslim League—13, Liberals (Democratic)- 2, Independents—3, No party 1, Died, convicted and resigned 5.

Population of the Capital—Peshawar City 173,430. Peshawar Cantonment—42,453. Summer Capital—Nathiagalli.

Revenue receipts—Rs. 2,67,49,000
Revenue expenditure—Rs. 2,79,73,000

Federal Court of India

Chief Justice of India—The Hon Sir Patrick spens, O.B.E., (Apptd. in 1943).

Judges

The Hon. Mr. Justice Srinivasa Varadachariar, Kt., (Appt. in 1939).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Sir Mohd. Zafarulla Khan, K.C.S.I., (Apptd. in 1941).

Bengal Judicial Department

High Court—Calcutta

Chief Justice—The Hon. Sir Harold Derbyshire M.C, K.C., **Barrister at Law.** (12-11-1934).

Puisne Judges—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Torick Ameer Ali, Kt., Barrister-at Law (30-11-1931).

The Hon. Mr. Justice George Douglas McNair, Kt., Barrister-at-Law, (16-11-1933)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Syed Nasim Ali, M.A., B.L., (13-11-1933).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Alan Gerald Russel Henderson, B.A. (Oxon), I.C.S., (12-11-1934).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Rupendra Coomar Mitter, M.SC. M.L., (12-11-1934)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Nural Azeem Khundkar, B. A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law, (8-11-1937).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Benegal Narsing Rau, Kt., C.I.E., I.C.S. (16-1-1939).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Noeman George Armstrong Edgley M.A. (Oxon) I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law, J.P, (8-11-1937)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Bijan Kumar Mukherjea, M.A., D.L., (9-11-1936)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Charu Chandra Biswas, C.I.E, M.A, B.L, (1-3-1937)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Ronald Francis Lodge, B.A., (Cantab) I.C.S., J.P., (17-11-1938)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Frederick William Gentle, Barrister-at-Law, (10-11-1941)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Amarendra Nath Sen, Barrister-at-Law, (7-11-1938)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Thomas James Young Roxburgh, C. I. E. B. A. (Cantab) I. C. S., Barrister-at-Law, J. P. (15-11-1939)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Abu Saleh Md. Akram, B. L. (26-9-1943)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Sudhi Ranjan Das, B.A. (Calcutta) LL. B. (London) Barrister-at-Law, (Addl) (1-12-1942)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Abraham Lewis Blank, M. A, (Oxon) I. C. S., Barrister-at-Law, J. P. (Addl) (2-2-1942)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Radhabinod Pal, M. A., D. L., (Offg)

Bombay Judicial Department

High Court—Bombay

Chief Justice—Leonard Stone, The Hon'ble Sir, Kt., O, B. E. (1-10-43)

Puisne Judges—Harilal Jekisondas Kania, The Hon'ble Sir, LL. B, Advocate (O. S.), Kt. (19-6-1933)

Navroji Jahangir Wadia, The Hon'ble Sir, B. A. (Bom & Cantab) Bar-at-Law, I. C. S., Kt. (6-12-1933)

Harsidhbhai Vajubhai Divatia, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, M. A., LL. B., (19 6 1933)

Albert Sortain Romer Macklin, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, B. A. (Oxon), I.C S. (18-6-1935)

Khitish Chandra Sen, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, B. A. (Cal. & Cantab.), I. C. S. (4-8-1941)

Mahommedali Currim Chagla, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, B A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-law, (4-8-1941)

Narayan Swamiray Lokur, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, B. A. LL. B. (24-8-1942)

Eric Weston, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, B. A. (Cantab.), I. C. S. (14-1 1943)

N. H. C. Coyajee, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, B. A. B. SC, (Econ), London, Bar-at-law, (1-3-1943)

John Basil Blagden, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, (Cantab.), Bar-at-law, (14-11-1942)

Ganpat Sakharam Rajadhyaksha, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-law, I. C. S., Addl. Judge. (14-6 1943)

Madras Judical Department

High Court—Madras

Chief Justice—The Hon. Sir Lionel Leach (E) Bar-at-law. 10th. Feb. 33.

Puisne Judges

The Hon. Mr. Justice V, Mockett, M.B.E. (E). Bar-at-law,

The Hon. Mr. Justice A. J. King. (E) I.C.S.

The Hon. Mr. Justice S. Wadsworth. (E). I.C.S. Bar-at-law.

The Hon. Mr. Justice K.P. Lakshmana Rao, Diwan Bahadur (B). Advocate,

The Hon. Mr. Justice N. Chandrasekhara Iyer.

The Hon. Mr. Justice C. N. Kuppuswami Ayyar.

The Hon. Mr. Justice M. Shahabuddin

The Hon. Mr. Justice K. S. Krishnaswami Ayyanger. (B). Advocate.

The Hon'ble Mr Justice B. Somayya. (B). Advocate.

The Hon. Mr. Justice M. Patanjali Sastri. (B). Advocate.

The Hon. Mr. Justice L. C. Horwill. (E). I.C.S. Bar-at-law.

The Hon. Mr. Justice A. C. Happel. (E) I.C.S.

The Hon. Mr. Justice J. A. Bell. (E) Bar-at-law.

The Hon, Mr. Justice K. Kunhi Raman, Diwan Bahadur. (N). B.A., B.L. Bar-at-law.

The Hon. Mr. Justice J. A. Byers. (E). I.C.S. Bar-at-law.

Behar & Orissa Judicial Dept.

High Court—Patna

Chief Justice—The Hon. Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali Barrister-at-law. 19-1-1943.

Puisne Judges—The Hon. Sir Clifford Monmohan Agarwala, Barrister-at-law 11-7-1933.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Sukhdev Prasad Varma, Barrister-at-law. 22-1-1934.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Francis George Rowland, I.C.S., 21-8-1936.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Manohar Lal M.A. (Cantab). Barrister-at-law. 3-6-1939.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Subodh Ch. Chatterjee. 28-9-1939.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Herbert Ribton Meredith, I.C.S., 1-10-1940.

The Hon. Mr. Justice James Creig Shearer, I C.S., Barrister-at-law. 19-1-1943.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Bhubaneshwar Prosad Singh (6-12-43)

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice David Ezra Ruben. I.C.S. Addl., 14-8 43.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyed Jafar Imam, Barrister-at-law, Addl. 25-10-43.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. B. Bewor, I.C.S. Addl. 8-11-43.

C. P. & Berar Judicial Dept.

High Court—Nagpur

Chief Justice—The Honourable Sir Frederick Grille, Kt., I.C.S.

Puisne Judges—1. The Honourable Mr. Justice M. A. Niyogi, C.I.E. On leave from 1-11-43

2. The Honourable Mr. Justice R. E. Pollock, I.C.S.

3. The Honourable Mr. Justice Vivian Bose.

4. The Honourable Mr. Justice W. R. Puranik.

5. The Honourable Mr. Justice K. G. Digby, I.C.S.

6. The Honourable Mr. Justice J. Sen.

7. The Honourable Mr. Justice M. R. Bobde—Officiating vice no. 1 from 1-11-43.

Punjab Judicial Department

High Court—Lahore

Chief Justice

The Honourable Sir John Douglas Young. 7th May, 1934.

The Honourable Sir Arthur Trevor Harries. 19th January, 1943.

Puisne Judges

1. The Honourable Mr. Justice Tek Chand, Kt., 27th January, 1927.
2. The Honourable Mr. Justice Dalip Singh, Kt., 4th October, 1926.
3. The Honourable Mr. Justice Monroe. 7th December, 1931.
4. The Honourable Mr. Justice Bhide, 2nd. October, 1933.
5. The Honourable Mr. Justice Abdul Rashed. 2nd October, 1933.
6. The Honourable Mr. Justice Din Muhammad. 2nd May 1936.
7. The Honourable Mr. Justice Blacker. 23rd November, 1937.
8. The Honourable Mr. Justice Ram Lall. 9th February, 1938.
9. The Honourable Mr. Justice Sale. 14th November, 1939.
10. The Honourable Mr. Justice Beckett. 23rd September, 1940.
11. The Honourable Mr. Justice Muhammad Abdur Rahaman, Kt. 13th February, 1943.
12. The Honourable Mr. Justice Muhammad Munir. 28th September, 1942.
13. The Honourable Mr. Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan. 27th Sept. 1943.
14. The Honourable Mr. Justice Marten, Additional Judge (except from 16-7-1943 to 26-9-43.
15. The Honourable Mr. Justice Dhawan. (Acting from 29-1-1943 to 15-7-1943)
16. The Honourable Mr. Justice Teja Singh. (Acting 1-2-1943 to 15-7-1943 Additional from 17th Sept., 1943).

United Provinces Judicial Dept.

High Court—Allahabad

Chief Justice—Hon'ble Sir Iqbal Ahmad Kt. B.A., LL.B.

Puisne Judges—Hon. Sir H. J. Collister, Kt., J.P., I.C.S.

Hon. Mr. Justice J. J. W. Allsop, J.P., I.C.S.

Hon. Mr. Justice Mohammad Ismail Khan Bahadur, Bar-at-law.

Hon. Mr. Justice K. K. Verma, B.A. LL.B.

Hon. Mr. Justice H.B.L. Braund, Bar-at-law, (on deputation)

Hon. Mr. Justice T. N. Mulla, Rai Bahadur, M.A., LL.B.

Hon. Mr. Justice A. H. de B. Hamilton, J.P., I.C.S.

Hon. Mr. Justice S. K. Dar, B.A., LL.B.

Hon. Mr. Justice R. L. Yorke, J.P., I.C.S.

Hon. Mr. Justice G. P. Mathur, Rai Bahadur, B.A., LL.B. Additional Puisne Judge.

Hon. Mr. Justice P. P. M. C. Plowden, J.P., I.C.S. Acting Puisne Judge.

Chief Court of Oudh—Lucknow

Chief Judge—Hon. Sir George Thomas Kt., Bar-at-law. (27-7-1938).

Judges—Hon. Mr. Justice J. R. W. Bennet, I.C.S. (13-7-1940)

Hon. Mr. Justice Ghulam Hasan, (16-9-1940).

Hon. Mr. Justice Lakshmi Shanker, Misra, Bar-at-law, (11-5-43).

Hon. Mr. Justice W. Y. Madely, I.C.S. Addl. Judge, (11-5-41).

Chief Court of Sind

Chief Judge—The Hon. Sir Godfrey Davis, Barrister-at-law. (15-4-1940).

Judge—The Hon. Mr. Justice Charles M. Lobo, LL.B. (15-4-40).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Hatim Badruddin Tyabji, Barrister-at-law, (15-4-1940).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Dennis Neil O'Sullivan, Barrister-at-law. (14-1-1943).

Indian States (with Salutes)

(*Area—712,508 sq. miles*; *Population—81,310,845*).

Assam State

Manipur—H. H. Maharaja Sir Chura Chand Singh, K.C.S.I., C.B.E. Maharaja of—

Date of Birth—15th April 1885
Date of succession—18th September, 1891
Area in Sq. miles—8638 (Approximately)
Population of State—4,45,606
Revenue—Nearly Rs. 9,59,620
Salute in guns—11

Baluchistan State

Kalat—His Highness Beglar Begi Mir Sir Mahmud Khan, G.C.I.E. Wali of—
Date of Birth—1864
Date of succession—1893

Area of State in square miles—73,278
Population of State—328,281
Revenue—Rs. 17,78,000
Salute in Guns—19

Baroda State

Baroda—His Highness Farzandi-i-Khas-i-Daulat-i-Inglishia Maharaja Sir Pratapsingh Gaekwar, G.C.I.E. Sena Khas Khel Shamsher Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of Birth—29th June, 1908
Date of succession—7th Feb. 1939
Area of State in sq. miles—8,164
Population of State—28,550,10
Revenue—Rs. 245·23 lacs
Salute in guns—21

Bengal States

Cooch Behar—H. H. Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of Birth—15th December, 1915
Date of succession—20th Dec. 1922
Area of State in sq. miles—131,835
Population of State—6,39,898
Revenue—About Rs. 38½ lacs
Salute in guns—13

Tripura—H. H. Maharaja Manikya Bir Bikram Kishore Deb Barman Bahadur K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of Birth—19th August, 1908
Date of succession—13th August, 1923
Area of State in sq. miles—4,116
Population of State—382,450
Revenue—Rs. 33,42,104 (including the revenue of the zamindaries in British India)
Salute in guns—13

Bihar & Orissa States

Kalahandi—H. H. Maharaja Pratapkeshori Deo, Maharaja of—
Date of Birth—5th October '19
Date of succession—19th September '39
Area in sq. miles—3,745
Population 5,99,751
Revenue—6,43,000
Salute in guns—9

Mayurbhanj—Maharaja Sir Pratap Chandra Bhanj Deo, K.C.I.E. Maharaja of—
Date of Birth—18th February, '01
Date of succession 23rd April '28
Area in sq. miles—4,243
Population—9,89,887
Revenue—Rs. 34 lacs
Salute in guns—9

Patna—H. H. Maharaja Rajendra Narayan Singh Deo, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—31st March '12
Date of succession—16th January '24
Area in sq. miles—2,511
Population—16,32,220
Revenue—Rs.11,02,251
Salute in guns—9

Sonpur—H. H. Maharaja Sing Deo, K.C.I.E. Maharaja of—
Date of birth—28th June 1874
Date of succession—8th August '02
Area in square miles—906
Population—226,751
Revenue—Rs. 3,74,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Bombay Presy. States

Balasinor—H. H. Babi Shri Jamiat Khanji Munavvar Khanji Nawab Saheb Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth—10th November 1894
Date of succession—31st December, '15
Area in square miles—189
Population—52,525
Revenue—Rs. 3,50,000
Indian State Forces Cavalry—60 Infantry—177, Guns—10
Salute in guns—9

Bansda—H. H. Maharawal Shri Indrasinhji Pratapsinhji, Raja of—
Date of birth—16th February 1888
Date of succession—21st Sept. '11
Area in square miles—215
Population—40,125
Revenue—Rs. 7,98,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Baria—Lt. Col. His Highness Maharaol Shree Sir Ranjitsinhji, K.C.S.I. Ruler of—
Date of birth—10th July 1886
Date of succession—20th Feb. '08
Area in sq. miles—813
Population—1,89,206
Indian States Forces—Cavalry (Irregular) Strength 17; 1 Company Ranjit Infantry, Strength 153; 1 Platoon Militia, Strength 50
Salute in guns—9

Bhor—H. H. Meherban Srimant Raghunathrao Shankarrao, Pant Sachib of—
Date of birth—20th September 1878
Date of succession—17th July '22
Area in square miles—925
Population—130,420
Revenue—Rs. 600,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Cambay—H. H. Nawab Mirza Hussain Yawar Khan Saheb Bdr. Nawab of—
Date of birth—16th May '11
Date of succession—21st January '15
Area in sq. miles—392
Population—87,761
Revenue—Rs. 10,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—19 infantry; 166 Police Forces; 15 Body guards.
Salute in guns—11

Chhota Udepur (Mohan)—H. H. Maharawal Shri Natwarsinhji Fatehsinhji, Raja of—
Date of birth—16th November '06

Date of succession—29th August '23
Area in sq. miles—88,034
Population—1,62,145
Revenue—Rs. 13,08,248
Salute in guns—9

Danta—H. H. Maharana Shri Bhavanisinghi Hamirsinhji, Maharana of—
Date of birth—12th September 1899
Date of succession—20th November '25
Area in sq. miles—347
Population—19,541
Revenue—Rs. 1,75,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Dharampur—H. H. Maharana Shri Vijoyadevji Mohandevji, Raja of—
Date of birth—3rd December 1884
Date of succession—26th March '21
Area in sq. miles—704
Population—1,12,031
Revenue—Rs. 8,50,000
Salute in guns—9

Idar—H. H. Maharajadhiraja Shri Himmat Singhji Sahib Bahadur
Date of birth—2nd September 1899
Date of succession—14th April '31
Area in sq. miles—1,669
Population—3,07,798
Revenue—Rs. 24,66,000 nearly
Salute in guns—15

Janjira—H. H. Nawab Sidi Muhammad Khan Sidi Ahmad Khan, Nawab of—
Date of birth—7th March '14
Date of succession—2nd May '22
Area in sq. miles—379
Population—1,10.388
Revenue—Rs. 11,00,000
Salute in guns—11

Jawhar—Shrimant Yeshwantrao Maharaj, Raja of—
Date of birth—11th December '17
Date of succession—11th December '27
Area in sq. miles—308
Population—65,291
Revenue—Rs. 5,20,000
Salute in guns—9

Khairpur—H. H. Mir Faiz Mahomed Khan Talpur, Mir of—
Date of birth—4th January '13
Date of succession—December '35
Area in sq. miles—6,050
Population—227,168
Revenue—Rs. 25·84 (lacs)
Indian State Forces—Khairpur "Faiz" Light infantry, 215 ;* Khairpur Camel Transport Corps, 72
Salute in guns—15

Kolhapur—Col. H. H. Shri Sir Rajaram Chhatrapati Maharaj, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—30 July 1897
Date of succession—6th May '22
Area in sq. miles—3,217·1
Population—9,57,157
Revenue—Rs. 126,86,527
Salute in guns—19

Lunawada—Lieut. H. H. Maharana Shri Virbhadrasinhji, Saheb of—
Date of birth—8th June '10
Date of succession—2nd October '30
Area in sq. miles—388
Population—95,163
Revenue—About Rs. 5,50,000
Dynastic Salute—9 guns

Mudhol—H. H. Srimant Raja Bhairavsinh (minor), Raja of—
Date of birth—15 October '29
Date of succession—9th November '37
Area in sq. miles—369
Population—62,832
Revenue—Rs. 4,85,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Mudhol Sajjan Sinh Infantry—115
Salute in guns—9

Rajpipla—Captain H. H. Maharana Shri Sir Vijaya Sinhji Chhatrasinhji, K.C.S.I.
Date of birth—30 January 1890
Date of succession—26th September '15
Area in sq, miles—1,517·50
Population—2,48,068
Revenue—Rs. 24,32,000
Indian State Forces—Rajpipla Infantry 152 ; Rajpipla Bodyguard 25
Salute in guns—13

Sachin—His Highness Nawab Sidi Muhammad Haider Muhammad Yakut Khan, Mubarizud Daula, Nusrat Jung Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth—11th September '09
Date of succession—19th November '30
Area in sq. miles—57·80
Revenue—Rs. 4,00,00/-
Indian State Forces—Sachin Infantry 80
Salute in guns—9

Sangli—Captain H. H. Raja Shrimant Sir Chintamanrao Dhundirao alias Appasaheb Patwardhan, K.C.I.E., Raja of
Date of birth—14th Feb, 1890
Date of succession—15th June 1903
Area in sq. miles—1,136
Population—2,93,498
Revenue—Rs. 16,80,244
Salute in guns—9

Sant—Maharana Shri Jorawasinhji Partapsinhji, Raja of—
Date of birth—24th March 1881
Date of succession—31st. August 1896
Area in sq. miles—394
Population—83,531
Revenue—Rs. 485,826
Salute in guns—9

Savantvadi—(Minor) H. H. Raja Bahadur Shrimant Shivram Savant Bhonsle
Date of birth—13th August '27
Date of succession—5th July '37

Area in sq. miles—930
Population—2,52 170
Revenue—Rs. 6,13,478
Salute in guns—9

Central India States

Ajaigarh—H. H. Maharaja Sawai Bhupal Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of succession—7th June '13
Date of birth—13th November 1866
Area in sq. miles—802
Population—84,790
Revenue—Rs. 500,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

Alirajpur—H. H. Maharaja Pratap Singh, K.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—12th Sept. 1881
Date of succession—14th February 1891
Area in sq. miles—836
Population—112,754
Revenue of the State—Rs. 5,35,000
Salute in guns—11

Baoni—H. H. Azam-ul-Umara Iftikhar-ud-Daulah Imad-ul-Mulk Sahib-i-Jah Mihin Sardar Nawab Mohammad Mushtaq-ul-Hasan Khan Sardar Jung.
Date of birth—7th February 1896
Date of succession—28th October 11
Area in sq. miles—121
Population—25,256
Revenue—Rs. 2,25,000
Salute in guns—11

Baraundha (Pathar Kachar)—Raja Gaya Parshad Sing, Raja of—
Date of birth—1865
Date of succession—9th July '09
Area in sq. miles—218
Population—15,912
Revenue—Rs. 45,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Barwani—His Highness Rana Devisinghji
Date of birth—19th July '22
Date of succession—21st April '30
Area in sq. miles—1,178
Population—1,76,632
Revenue—Rs. 11,04,510
Salute in guns—11

Bhopal—Lt. Col. H. H. Iftikhar-ul-Mulk Sikandar Saulat Nawab Haji Muhammad Hamidulla Khan Bahadur, G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I., C.V.O., Nawab of—
Date of birth—9th September 1894
Date of succession—17th May '26
Area in sq. miles—7,000
Population—700,000
Revenue—Rs. 62,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Bhopal (Victoria) Lancers—141: Bhopal Sultania Infantry—772; Bhopal Gohar-i-Taj Own Company—164
Salute in guns—19

Bijawar—H. H. Maharaja Govind Singh Minor, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—17th June '34
Date of succession—11th Nov. '41
Area in sq. miles—973
Population—1,20,928
Revenue—Rs. 3,55.271
Salute in guns—11

Charkhari—H. H. Maharajadhiraja Sipahdar-ul-Mulk Armardan Sing Ju Deo Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—29th December '03
Date of succession—6th October '20
Area in sq. miles—880
Population—123,405
Revenue—Rs. 8,26,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

Chhatarpur—H. H. Maharaja Bhawani Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—16th August, '04
Date of succession—5th April, '32
Area in sq. miles—1,130
Population—1,61.267
Gross Revenue Nearly—Rs. 12,00,000
Indian State Forces—412
Salute in guns—11

Datia—Major H. H. Maharaja Lokendra Sir Govind Singh Bahadur, K.C.S.I.
Date of birth—21st June 1886
Date of succession—5th August '07
Area in sq. miles—911
Population—148,659
Revenue—Rs. 19,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Datia 1st Govind—Infantry—200
Datia Govind Infantry (B Company)—117
Salute in guns—15

Dewas (Senior)—His Highness Maharaja Sir Vikramsinha Rao Puar, K.C.S.I., B.A. Maharaja of—
Date of birth—4th April '10
Date of succession—21st December '37
Area in sq. miles—449,50
Population—89,479
Revenue—Rs. 7,00,000
Salute in guns—15

Dewas (Junior Branch)—H. H. Maharaja Sadashivrao Khase Saheb Pawar, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—13th August 1887
Date of succession—4th February '34
Area in sq. miles—419
Population—70,513
Revenue—Rs. 6,83,000
Salute in guns—15

Dhar—Lieut. H. H. Maharaja Anand Rao Puar Saheb Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—24th November, '20
Date of succession—1st August '26
Date of Investiture—16th March, '40
Area in sq. miles—1,799,34
Population—2,53,210
Revenue—Rs. 3,000,000
Indian State Forces—Dhar Light Horse 66; Dhar Infantry (Laxmi Guard) 263
Salute in guns—15

Indore—H. H. Maharajadhiraja Raj Rajeshwar Sawai Shri Yeshwant Rao Holkar Bahadur, G.C.I.E., Maharaja of
Date of birth—6th September '08
Date of succession—26th February '26
Area in sq. miles—9,902
Population—over 15,00,000
Revenue—Rs. 1,21.81,100
Indian State Forces—Indore Holkar Escort—141, Indore 1st Battalion,
Maharaja Holkar's Infantry Companies, "A" & "B"—380
Indore Holkar Transport Corps—266
Salute in guns—19

Jaora—Lt. Col. H. H. Fakhrud-Daulah Nawab Sir Mohammad Iftikhar Ali Khan Bahadur, Saulat-i-Jang, G.B.E., K.C.I.E. Nawab of—
Date of birth—17th January 1883
Date of succession—6th March 1895
Area in sq. miles—601
Population—1,16,738
Revenue—Rs. 16,00,000
Salute in guns—13

Jhabua—H. H. Raja Udai Sing, Raja of
Date of birth—6th May 1875
Date of succession—26th April 1895
Area in sq. miles—1,336
Population—123,932
Revenue—Rs. 3,50,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

Khilchipur—Raja Rao Bahadur Sir Durjansalsing, K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth—26th August 1897
Date of succession—19th January '08
Area in sq. miles—273
Population—45,625
Revenue—Rs. 2,24,000
Salute in guns—9

Maihar—H. H. Raja Sir Brijnath Singhi Deo Bahadur, K.C.I.E. Raja of—
Date of birth—22nd February 1896
Date of succession—16th Dec. '11
Area in sq. miles—407
Population—68,991
Revenue—Rs. 5,00,000 (nearly)
Salute in guns—9

Nagod—(Unchehra)—H. H. Raja Mahendra Singhjee Deo Bahadur, Raja of—
Date of birth—5th February '16
Date of succession—26th Feb. '26
Area in sq. miles—501·4
Population—87,911
Revenue—Rs. 3,00.000 (nearly)
Salute in guns—9

Narsinghgarh—H. H. Raja Sir Vikram Singhji Sahib Bdr. K.C.I.E. Raja of—
Date of birth—21 Sept. '09
Date of succession—23rd April '24
Area in sq. miles—734
Population—1,24,281
Revenue—Rs. 7,09,291 (nearly).
Salute in guns—11

Orchha—H. H. Saramad-i-Rajaha-Bundelkhand Shri Sawai Sir Vir Singh Dev Bahadur, K.C.S.I. Maharaja of—
Date of birth—14th April 1899
Date of succession—4th March '30
Area in sq. miles—2,080
Population—314,661
Revenue—Rs. 13,00,000 (nearly)
Salute in guns—15

Panna—H. H. Maharaja Mahendra Sir Yadvendra Singh Bahadur, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—31st January 1894
Date of succession—20th June '02
Area in sq. miles—2,596
Population—2,12,130
Revenue—Rs. 9,50,000 (nearly)
Salute in guns—11

Rajgarh—H. H. Raja Rawat Bikramaditya Singh Bahadur (minor), Raja of—
Date of birth—18th December '36
Date of succession— Do Do
Area in sq. miles—962
Population—1,48,609
Revenue—Rs. 8,63,200
Salute in guns—11

Ratlam—Major-General H. H. Maharaja Sir Sajjan Singh, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.
Date of birth—13th January 1880
Date of succession—29th Jan. 1893
Area in sq. miles—693
Population—1,26,117
Revenue—Rs. 10 lacs
Indian State Forces—Shree Lokendra Rifles—Authorised Strength—161
Salute in guns—13 permanent, local 15

Rewa—H. H. Maharaja Dhiraj Sir Gulab Singh Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—12th March '03
Date of succession—31st October '18
Area in sq. miles—13,000
Population—18,20,306
Salute in guns—17
Revenue—Rs. 60,00,000

Sailana—H. H. Raja Sahib Sir Dileep Singhji Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth—18th March 1891
Date of succession—14th July '19
Area in sq. miles—297
Population—40,228
Revenue—Rs. 3,00,000
Indian State Forces—1. Cavalry 30: 2. Infantry 44; 3, Police 130
Salute in guns—11

Samthar—H. H. Maharaja Sir Bir Singh Deo Bahadur K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth—26th August 1864
Date of succession—17th June 1896
Area in sq. miles—180
Population—33,216
Revenue—Rs. 3,50,000 (nearly)
Salute in guns—11

Sitamau—H. H. Raja Sir Ram Singh, K.C.I.E., Raja of—

Date of birth—2nd January 1880
Area in sq. miles—201
Population—26,549
Revenue—Rs. 2,55,076
Salute in guns—11

Gwaliar State

Gwalior—H. H. Maharaja Mukhtar-ul-Mulk, Azim-ul-Iqtidar, Rafi-ush-Shan, Wala Shikoh, Motasham-i-Dauran, Umdat-ul-Umra, Maharajadhiraja Alijah, Hisamus-Salta-nat George Jayaji Rao Scindia, Bahadur, Srinath, Mansur-i-Zaman, Fidwi-i-Hazrat-i Malik-Muazzam-i-Rafi-ud-Darjat-i-Inglistan, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—26th June '16
Date of succession—5th June '25
Area in sq. miles—26,367
Population—3,523,070
Revenue—Rs. 241·81 lacs nearly
Indian State Forces—
Gwalior 1st Yayaji Lancers—526
" 2nd Alijah " —526
" 3rd Maharaja Madho Rao Scindia's Own Lancers—526
" 1st Maharani Sakhya Ray's Own Battalion—763
2nd Maharaja Jayaji Rao's Own Battalion—765
3rd Maharaja Scindia's Own Battalion—772
" 4th Maharaja Bahadur Battalion —772
" 7th Scindia's Battalion (Training)—488
" Mountain Battery—260
Scindia's House Artillery—138
" Sappers Artillery—178
" Pony Transport Corps—479
Salute in Guns—21

Hyderabad State

Hyderabad—Lt.-General H. E. H. Asaf Jah Muzaffar-ul-Mulk wai Mamalik, Nizam-ul-Mulk Nizam-ud-Daula, Nawab Sir Mir Usman Ali Khan Bahadur, Fateh Jang, Faithful Ally of the British Government, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., Nizam of—
Date of birth—6th April 1886
Date of succession—29th August '11
Area in sq. miles—100,465
Population—17,877.986
Revenue—Rs. 894·98 lacs
Indian State Forces—Hyderabad 1st Imperial Service Lancers. 544
Hyderabad 2nd Imperial Service Lancers, 544
Salute in guns—21

Jammu & Kashmir State

Jammu & Kashmir—Lieut-General H. H. Raj Rajeshwar Maharajadhiraj Maharaja Shri Harisinghji Bahadur, Indar Mahindar, Spar-i-Saltant-i-Englishia, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., LL.D., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—September 1895
Date of succession—September '25
Area in sq. miles—84,471
Population—40,21,616
Revenue—Rs. 257·92 lacs
Indian States Forces—
1. 1st Line Troops (Fighting Service) Jammu and Kashmir Body Guard Cavalry—653
2. 1st Jammu & Kashmir Mountain Battery 314
3. 2nd Jammu & Kashmir Mountain Battery 262
4. 1st " " " Infantry 679
5. 2nd " " " Rifles 690
6. 3rd " " " " 679
7. 4th " " " Infantry 690
8. 5th " " " Light " 679
9. 6th " " " " " 772
10. 7th " " " " " 690
11. 8th " " " " " 679
12. 9th " " " " " 679
1st Line (Troops Administrative Service)
13. J. & L. A. T. C. 365
14. Jammu & Kashmir Infantry Training Battalion 1969
15. Jammu & Kashmir Army Training School 26
16. Auxiliary Service
17. Jammu & Kashmir Military Transport 299
18. Jammu & Kashmir State Band 68
19. " Fort Dept. 117
20. Military Veterinary Corps 21
21. Military Medical Corps 40
Salute in guns—21

Banganapalle—H. H. Nawab Saiyid Fazle Ali Khan Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of Birth—9th November '01
Date of succession—22nd January '22
Area in sq. miles—275
Population—44,631
Revenue—Rs. 3,53,758
Salute in guns—9

Cochin—H. H. Sir Kerala Varma, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—29th Vrischigon 1039 M. E.
Date of succession—13th April '41
Area in sq. miles—1480
Population—1,422,875
Revenue—Rs. 1,21,46,238
Indian State Forces—34 Officers and 370 men
Salute in guns—17

Pudukkottai—H. H. Sri Brihadamba Das Raja Rajagopal Tondaiman Bahadur,
Date of birth—23rd June '22
Date of succession—24th October '28
Area in sq. miles—1,179
Population—4,38,348
Revenue—Rs. 20,74,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

Travancore—H. H. Sir Padmanabha Dasa Vanchi Pala Rama Varma

Kulasekhara Kiritapati Manney Sultan Maharaja Raja Ramraja Bahadur Shamsher Jang, G.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—7th November '12
Date of succession—1st September '24
Area in sq. miles—7,661·75
Population—6,070,018
Revenue—Rs. 280·73 lakhs
Salute in guns—19 ; Local 21

Mysore—H. H. Maharaja Sri Chamraja Wadiar Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—18th July '19
Date of succession—8th September '40
Area in sq. miles—29,493
Population—73·29 lakhs including Civil & Military Station, Bangalore
Revenue—Rs. 4,65,66,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Mysore Lancers 495; Horse 136; Bodyguard 125; 1st Infantry 772; 2nd Infantry 1130; Palace Guard 500
Salute in guns—21

Punjab States

Bahawalpur—Major His Highness Rukn-ud-Daula, Nusrat-i-Jang, Shaif-ud-Daula, Hafiz-ul-Mulk, Mukhlish-ud-Daula, Wa-Muinud-Daula Nawab Al-Haj Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan V Abbassi, Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O. Nawab Ruler of—
Date of birth—30th September '04
Date of succession—4th March '07
Area in sq. miles—22 000
Population—Over one million
Revenue—Rs. 1,40,00,000
Indian State Forces—Bahawalpur 1st Sadiq Infantry; Bahawalpur 2nd Haroon Infantry; H. H. the Nawab's Own Body Guard Lancers
Salute in guns—17

Bilaspur—(Kahlur)—H. H. Raja Anand Chand, Raja of—
Date of birth—26th. January '13
Date of succession—18th Nov. '27
Area in sq. miles—448
Population—1,10 000
Revenue—Rs. 3,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

Chamba—H. H. Raja Lakshman Singh, the Ruler of Chamba State (minor)
Date of birth—8th December '24
Date of succession—7th. Dec. '35
Area in sq. miles—3,127
Population—16,89,38
Revenue—Rs. 9,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11
Council of Aministration appointed by Government to carry on Minority Administration. President—Lt. Col. H. S. Strong, C.I.E. Vice-President & Chief Secretary—Dewan Bahadur Lala Madho Ram. Member—Rai Bahadur Lala Ghanshyam Dass.

Faridkot—Lt. H. H. Farzand-i-Saadat Nishan-i-Hazrat-i-Kaisar-i-Hind Barar Bans Raja Har Indar Singh Bahadur,
Date of birth—29th January '15
Date of succession—23rd December '18
Area in sq. miles—643
Population—164,346
Revenue—Rs. 17,00.000
Indian State Forces—Faridkot Sappers-Headquarters 8. (Field Company) Sappers & Miners 129. Bodyguard Lancers 27. Infantry 112. Band 35
Salute in guns 11

Jind—Colonel H. H. Farzand-i-Dilband Rasikh-ul-Itikad Daulat-i-Inglishia Raja Rajgan Maharaja Sir Ranbir Singh, Rajendra Bahadur, G.C.I.E. G.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—11th October 1879
Date of succession—7th March 1887
Area in sq. miles—1,259
Population—308,183
Revenue Rs. 28,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—13

Kapurthala—Colonel His Highness Farzand-i-Dilband Rashik-ul-Itkad Daulat-i-Inglishia Raja-i-Rajgan Maharaja Sir Jagatjit Singh Bahadur, G.C.S I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—24th November 1872
Date of succession—5th September 1877
Area in sq. miles—652
Population—3,78,380
Revenue—Rs. 34,00,000 roughly
Salute in guns—13

Loharu—Capt. H. H. Nawab Mirza Amin-ud-Din Ahmed, Fakhar-ud-Daula Khan Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth—23rd March '11
Date of succession—30th Oct. '22
Area in sq. miles—222
Population—27,892
Revenue—Rs. 1,33,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Malerkotla—Lt.-Colonel H. H. Nawab Sir Ahmed Ali Khan, Bahadur, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Nawab of—
Date of birth—10th September 1881
Date of succession—23rd August '08
Area in sq. miles—168
Population—80,322
Revenue—Rs. 15,61.000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Sappers—Headquarters 16; Lancers (Bodyguard) 40; Infantry 226; Field Company Sappers & Miners 295
Salute in guns 11

Mandi—Major H. H. Raja Sir Joginder Sen Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Raja of—
Date of birth—20th August '04
Date of succession—20th April '13
Area in sq. miles—1,200
Population—2,07,465
Revenue—Rs. 12,50,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

Nabha—H. H. Farzand-i-Arjmand, Aquidat-Paiwand-i-Daulat-i-Inglishia, Barar Bans Sarmut Raja-i-Rajagan, Maharaja Pratap Singha Malvendra Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—21st September '19
Date of succession—February '28
Area in sq. miles—928
Population—263,334
Revenue—Rs. 24,05,000 nearly
Salute in guns—13

Patiala—Dr. H. H. Farzand-i-Khas Daulat-i-Englishia Mansur-ul-Zaman Amir-ul-Umra Maharajadhiraj Raj Rajeswar Shri Maharaja-i-Raigan Shri Yadavindra Sinhji LL.D., Mahendra Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—7th January '13
Date of succession—23rd March '38
Area in sq. miles—5,932
Population—1,625,520
Revenue—Rs. 1,57,00,000
Indian State Forces—

		Combatants:	Non-combatants
1.	1st Rajindar Lancers	475	178
2.	2nd Patiala Lancers	212	85
3.	War Strength 2nd P. Lrs.	60	0
4.	P. H. A.	90	28
5.	1st. R. S. Infantry	732	66
6.	2nd Yadavendra "	665	61
7.	3rd P. S. "	662	51
8.	4th Patiala "	662	51
9.	Training Batalion	635	45
10.	Patiala Transports Corps	99	33
11.	S. M. Vety. Hospital	5	9
12.	Army Trg. School	39	10
13.	Patiala Wireless Section	46	6
14.	Deputy Company	227	10
		4609	633

Salute in guns—17

Sirmur (Nahan)—H. H. Lt. Maharaja Rajendra Prakash Bdr. Maharaja of—
Date of birth—10th January '13
Date of succession—Nov. '33
Area in sq. miles—1,141
Population—1,48,568
Revenue—Rs. 10,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Sappers—Headquarters 5; Band 23; No. 1 Company 142, No 2 Company 155; State Bodyguard Lancers 31
Salute in guns—11

Suket—H. H. Raja Lakshman Sen, Raja of
Date of birth—1894
Date of succession—13th Oct. '19
Area in sq. miles—420
Population—54,328
Revenue—Rs. 2,67,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

Bashahr—H. H. Raja Padam Singh,
Date of birth—1873
Date of succession—5th August '14
Area in sq. miles—3,820
Population—86,077
Revenue—Rs. 3,34,600 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Rajputana States

Alwar—H. H. Shri Sewai Maharaj Tej Sinhji Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—19th March '11
Date of succession—22nd July '37
Area in sq. miles—3217
Population—7,49,751
Revenue—About Rs. 40,00,000
Indian State Forces—1. Jey Paltan Infantry 865; 2. Pratap Paltan Infantry 331; 3. Alwar Mangal Lancers 158; 4. Garrison Force 28
Salute in guns—15

Banswara—H. H. Rai-i-Rayan Maharawal Sahib Shri Sir Pirthi Singhji Bahadur, K.C.I.E. Maharawal of—
Date of birth—15th July 1888
Date of succession—8th January '14
Area in sq. miles—1,946
Population—2,99,913
Revenue—Rs. 8,17,726
Salute in guns—15

Bharatpur—Lt. Col. H. H. Maharaja Sri Brajindra Sawai Sir Krishna Singh Bahadur, Bahadur Jang, K.C.S.I.,
Date of birth—4th October 1899
Date of succession—27th August 1900
Area in sq. miles—1,982
Population—4,96,437
Revenue—Rs. 34,25,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Jeswant Household Infantry—772; 2nd Ram Singh's Own Infantry—353; 3rd Baretha Infantry—353
Salute in guns—17

Bikaner—General H. H. Maharajadhiraj Rajeswar Narendra Shiromani Maharajah Sri Ganga Singhji Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., K.C.B., A.D.C., LL D., Maharajah of—
Date of birth—13th Oct. 1880
Date of succession—31st Aug. 1887
Area in sq. miles—23,317
Population—12,93,000
Revenue—Rs. 1,58,11,000
Indian State Forces

Ganga Risala (Camel Corps)	532
Sadul Light Infantry	773
Dungar Lancers (including H. H.'s Body Guard	342
Bijey Battery	245
Camel Battery	20
Artillery Training Centre	158
2nd Battalion, Bikaner State Infantry	697

3rd Battalion. Bikaner State Infantry 362
Training Battalion 413
Motor Machine Gun Sections 100
Salute in guns—Personal 19, Permanent 17

Bundi—His Highness Hadendra Siromani Deo Sar Buland Raj Maharajadhiraj Saheb Bahadur, G.C.I.E.
Date of birth—8th March 1893
Date of succession—8th August '27
Area in sq. miles—2,220
Population—2,49,374
Revenue—Rs. 15,50.000
Salute in guns—17

Dholpur—Lt. Col. H. H. Rais-ud-Daula Sipahdar-ul-Mulk Maharajadhiraja Sri Sawai Maharaja-Rana Sir Udaibhan Singh Lokindar Bahadur Diler Jang Jai Deo, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., Maharaj-Raja of—
Date of birth—25th February 1893
Date of succession—29th March '11
Area in sq. miles—1,200
Population—2,30,188
Revenue—Rs. 17,50,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Dholpur Narsingh Infantry 164: Dholpur Sappers and Miners 75
Salute in guns—15

Dungarpur—H. H. Rai-i-Rayan Mohi-mahendra Maharajadhiraj Maharawal Sri Lakshman Singhi Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Maharawal of—
Date of birth—7th Mar. '08
Date of succession—15th Nov. '18
Area in sq. miles—1,460
Population—2,74,282
Revenue Nearly—Rs. 8,00,000
Salute in guns—15

Jaipur—H. H. Saramad-i-Rajaha-i Hindustan Rai Rajindra Sri Maharajadhiraja Sir Sawai Man Singh Bahadur, G.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—21st August '11
Date of succession—7th September '22
Area in sq. miles—16,682
Population—26,31,775
Revenue—Rs. 1,35,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Jaipur Infantry—772
Jaipur Lancers—526; Trpt. Corps—570
Salute in guns—17

Jaisalmer—H. H. Maharajadhiraj Raj Rajeshwar Param Bhattarak Sri Maharawalji Sir Jawahir Singhji Deb Bahadur Yadukul Chandrabhal Rukan-ud-Daula, Muzzaffar Jang, Bijaiman K.C.S.I., Ruler of—
Date of birth—18th Nov. 1882
Date of succession—26th June '14
Area in sq. miles—16,062
Population—93,246
Salute in guns—15

Jhalawar—H. H. Dharmadivakar Praja-vatsal Patit-pawn Maharaj Rana Shri Sir Raiendra Singh Ji Dev Bahadur, KC.S.I., Maharaj Rana of—
Date of birth—15th July 1900
Date of succession—13th April '29
Area in sq. miles—813
Population—1,22,375
Salute in guns—13

Jodhpur—Air Commodore His Highness Raj Rajeswar Saramad-i-Rajai-Hind Sahib Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O. A.DC., LLD. Maharaja of—
Date of birth—8th July '03
Ascended the throne—3rd October, '18
Area—36,071 sq. miles
Population—21,34.848
Revenue—Rs. 157,71,521
Indian State Forces—
Jodhpur Sardar Rissala—508; Jodhpur Training Squadron—147; Jodhpur Sardar Infantry, including Training Coy, (163) and State Military Band (39)—864; 2nd Jodhpur Infantry—669: Jodhpur Mule Troops—80; Fort Guard—94.
Salute in guns—17

Karauli—H. H. Maharaja Sir Bhompal Deo Bahadur Yadukul Chandra Bhal, K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—18th June 1866
Date of succession—21st August '27
Area in sq. miles—1,242
Population—1,52,413
Estimated Gross Revenue—6,28,000
Salute in guns—17

Kishengarh—H. H. Umdae Rajhae Baland Makan Maharajadhiraja Maharaja Sumair Singhji Sahib Bahadur, (Minor) Maharaja of—
Date of birth—27th January '29
Date of succession—24th April '39
Area in sq. miles—858
Population—1,04,155
Revenue—Rs. 7,50,000
Salute in guns—15

Kotah—Colonel H. H. Maharao Sir Umed Singh Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., Maharao of—
Date of birth—15th September 1872
Date of succession—11th June 1889
Area in sq. miles—5,684
Population—6,85,804
Revenue—Rs. 53·68 lacs
Salute in guns—19

Pratabgarh—H. H. Maharawat Sir Ram-Singhji Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Maharwat of
Date of birth—'08

Date of succession—'29
Area in sq. miles—889
Population—91,967
Revenue—Rs. 5,82,000 nearly
Salute in guns—15

Shahpura—H. H. Rajadhiraj Umaid Singhji, Raja of—
Date of birth—7th March 1876
Date of succession—24th June '32
Area in sq. miles—405
Population—61,173
Revenue—Rs. 3,36,762
Salute in guns—9

Sirohi—H. H. Maharajadhiraj Maharao Sir Sarup Ram Singh Bahadur G.C.I.E, K.C.S.I., Maharao of—
Date of birth—27th Sept. 1888
Date of succession—29th April '20
Area in sq. miles—1,994
Population—2,33,870
Revenue—Rs. 11,48,771
Salute in guns—15

Tonk—H. H. Said-ud-daula Wazir-ul-Mulk Nawab Hafiz Sir Mohammad Sadat Ali Khan Bahadur Sowalat-i-Jung, G.C.I.E., Nawab of—
Date of birth—13th February, 1879
Date of succession—23rd June '30
Area in sq. miles—2,553
Population—3,53,687
Revenue—Rs. 19,30,000 B. C. nearly
Salute in guns—17

Udaipur—(Mewar)—Lt. Col H. H. Maharajadhiraja Maharana Shri Sir Bhopal Singhji Bahadur, G C.S.I., Maharana of—
Date of birth—22nd February 1884
Date of succession—24th May '30
Area in sq. miles—12,753
Population—1,925,000
Revenue—Rs. 80,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—19

Sikkim State

Sikkim—H. H. Maharaja Sir Tashi Namagyal, K.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—1893
Date of succession—5th Dec. '14
Area in sq. miles—2,818
Population—81,721
Revenue—Rs. 4,33,000
Salute in guns—15

United Provinces States

Benares—H. H. Maharaja Vibhuti Narayan Singh Bahadur, (minor) Maharaja of—
Date of birth—5th November '27
Date of succession—5th April, '39
Area in sq. miles—875
Population—451,327
Revenue—Rs. 30,42,921 nearly
Salute in guns—13 (Local 15)

Rampur—Captain H. H. Alijah Farzand-i-Dailpazir-i-Daulat-i-Inglishia Mukhlis ud-Daula Nasir-ul-Mulk Amir-ul-Umara, Nawab Sir Saiyid Mohammad Raza Ali Khan Bahadur Mustaid Jung, K.C.S.I., Nawab of—
Date of birth—17th Nov. '06
Date of succession—20th June '30
Area in sq. miles—892·54
Population—464,919
Revenue—Rs. 51,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—15

Tehri (Garhwal)—Lt. Colonel H. H. Maharaja Narendra Shah, K.C.S.I., of—
Date of birth—3rd Aug. 1898
Date of succession—25th April '13
Area in sq. miles—4,502
Population—3,18,482
Revenue—Rs. 18,30,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Tehri H. Q. Infantry and Band—100
Tehri Pioneers Narendra—101
„ Sappers and Miners—129
Salute in guns—11

Western India States

Bhavnagar—Lt. H. H. Sir Krishna Kumersinghji Bhavsinghji, K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—19th May '12
Date of succession—18th July '19
Area in sq. miles—2,961
Population—5,00,274
Revenue—Rs. 109,68,620
Indian State Forces—Bhavnagar Lancers —270; Bhavnagar Infanry—219
Salute in guns—13

Cutch—H. H. Maharajadhiraj Mirza Maharao Shri Sir Khengraji, Sawai Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. Maharao of—
Date of birth—23rd Aug. 1866
Date of succession—1st Jan. 1876
Area in sq. miles—8,249,5
Population—5,00,800
Revenue—Rs. 31,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—17 Perm. 19 Local

Dhrangadhra—Major H. H. Maharaja Shri Ghanashyamsinhji Ajitsinhji, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—31st May 1889
Date of succession—February, '11
Area in sq. miles—1,167
Population—95,946
Revenue—Rs. 25,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—13

Dhrol—H. H. Thakor Saheb Shri Chandrasinhji Saheb, Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth—28th Aug. '12
Date of succession—20th Oct. '39
Area in sq. miles—282·7
Population—27,639
Revenue—Rs. 289,281
Salute in guns—9

Gondal—H. H. Maharaja Shri Bhaga-

vatsinhij Sagramji G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—24th Oct. 1865
Date of succession—14th Dec. 1869
Area in sq. miles—1,024
Population—2,05,846
Revenue—Rs. 50,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

Junagadh—Captain H. H. Nawab Sir Mahabatkhanji, Rasulkhanji K.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Nawab of—
Date of birth—2nd Aug. 1900
Date of succession—22nd Jan. '11
Area in sq. miles—3,336·9
Population—545,152
Revenue—Rs. 1,00,000,000
Indian State Forces—Junagadh Lancers—173; Junagadh Mahabatkhanji Infantry 201
Salute in guns—15

Limbdi—Thakor Saheb Shri L. Chhatrasalji Digvijaysinhji, Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth—19th Feb. '04
Date of succession—6th Jan. '41
Area in sq. miles—343·96 (exclusive of about 207 sq. miles in the Collectorate of Ahmedabad).
Population—44,000 nearly
Revenue—Rs.7,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Morvi—H. H. Maharaja Shri Lakhdhirji Waghji, G.B.E., K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—26th Dec. 1876
Date of succession—11th Jan. '22
Area in square miles—822
Population—112,023
Revenue—Rs. 50 lacs nearly
Salute in guns—11

Nawanagar—Lt. Col. H. H. Maharaja Jam Shri Sir Digvijaysinhji Ranajitsinhji Jadeja, C.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., A.D.C., Maharaja Jam Sahib of—
Date of birth—1st Sept. 1895
Date of succession— 2nd April '33
Area in sq. miles—3,791
Population—5,04,006
Revenue—Rs. 94,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—15

Palanpur—Lt. Colonel H. H. Nawab Shri Taley Muhammad Khan Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., Nawab Sahib of—
Date of birth—7th July 1883
Date of succession—28th Sept. '18
Area in square miles—1,774,64
Population—3,15,855
Revenue—Rs. 11,64,987 nearly
Salute in guns—13

Palitana—H. H. Thakor Sahib Shri Bahadursinhji Mansinhji K.C.I.E. K.C.S.I.' Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth—3rd April '00
Date of succession—29th Aug. '05
Area in sq. miles—288
Population—62,150
Revenue—Rs. 9,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Porbandar—Captain H. H. Maharaja Shri Sir Natawarsinhji, Bhabsinhji K.C.S.I., Maharaja Rana Saheb of—
Date of birth—30th June '01
Date of succession—10th Dec. '08
Area in sq. miles—642,25
Population of State—1,46,648
Revenue—Rs. 26,00,000 nearly
Salute in Guns—13

Radhanpur—H. H. Nawab Saheb Murtazakhan Jorawarkhan Babi Bahadur Nawab of—
Date of Birth—10th Oct, 1899
Date of succession—7th April '37
Area of State in sq. miles—1,150
Population of State—70,530
Revenue—Rs. 8,000,00 to 10,00,000
Salute in guns—11

Rajkot—H. H. Thkor Saheb Shri Pradumnasinji, Thakor Saheb of—
Date of Birth—24th Feb. '13
Date of succession—17th August '40
Area in sq. miles—2824
Population of State—1,03,033
Revenue—Rs. 13,40,872 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Wadhwan—H. H. Thakore Saheb Shri Surendrasinhji, Thakor Saheb of—
Date of Birth—4th January, '22
Date of succession—27th July, '34
Area—242·6 sq. miles excluding the area in the British India District of Ahmedabad.
Population—50,934
Revenue—Rs. 6 lacs
Salute—Permanent 9 guns

Wankaner—Captain H. H. Maharana Shri Sir Amarsinhji, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Maharana Saheb of—
Date of Birth—4th January 1879,
Date of succession—12th June 1881
Area in sq. miles—417
Population—55,024
Revenue—7,67,000
Salute in guns—11

Indian States (without Salute)

Baluchistan States

Las Bela—Mir Ghulam Muhammed Khan, Jam Sahib of—
Date of Birth—December 1895
Date of succession March '21
Area in sq. miles—7,132
Population—50,696
Revenue—Rs. 3,78,000 nearly

Bihar & Orissa States

Athgarh—Raja Sreekaran Radhanath

Bebarta Patnaik, Raja of—
Date of birth—28th Nov. '09
Date of succession—22nd June '18
Area in sq. miles—168
Population—55,508
Revenue—Rs. 1,76,000

Athmalik—Raja Kishor Chandra Deo
Date of birth—10th November '04
Date of succession—3rd November '18
Area in sq. miles—730
Population—59,749
Revenue—Rs. 1,81,000 nearly

Bamra—Raja Bhanuganga Tribhuman Deb, Raja of—
Date of birth—25th February, '14
Date of succession—1st January '20
Area in sq. miles—1988
Population—1,34,721
Revenue—Rs. 5,81,000 nearly

Baramba—Raja Sree Narayan Chandra Birbar Mangraj Mahapatra, Raja of—
Date of birth—10th January '14
Date of succession—20th August '22
Area in sq. miles—142
Population—52,924
Revenue—Rs. 1,03,000 nearly

Baud—Raja Narayan Prasad Deo of—
Date of birth—14th March '04
Date of succession—10th March '13
Area in sq. miles—1,264
Population—124,411
Revenue—Rs. 2,72,000 nearly

Bonai—Raja Indra Deo, Raja of—
Date of birth—6th January 1884
Date of succession—19th February '02
Area in sq. miles—1,296
Population—68,178
Revenue—Rs. 2,36,000 nearly

Daspalla—Raja Kishore Chandra Deo
Date of birth—16th April '08
Date of succession—11th December '13
Area in sq. miles—568
Population—53,833
Revenue—Rs. 1,41,993

Dhenkanal—Raja Sankar Pratap Mahendra Bahadur, Raja of—
Date of birth—5th November '04
Date of succession—16th Oct. '18
Area in sq. miles—1,463
Population—2,33,691
Revenue—Rs. 5,13,000 nearly

Gangpur—Raja Bhawani Shankar Sekhar
Date of birth—14th May 1898
Date of succession—10th June '17
Area in sq. miles—2,492
Population—3,09,271
Revenue—Rs. 6,76.000 nearly

Hindol—Raja Bahadur Naba Kishor Chandra Singh Mardraj Jagadeb, M.R.A.S., F.R.S.A., Raja of—
Date of birth—14th June 1891
Date of succession—10th February '06
Area in sq. miles—312
Population—48,896
Revenue—Rs. 1,45,000

Keonjhar—Raja Shri Balabhadra Narayan Bhanj Deo, Ruler of—
Date of birth—26th December '05
Date of succession—12h August '26
Area in sq. miles—3,217
Population—529,786
Revenue—Rs. 15·56 lakhs nearly

Khandpara—Raja Harihar Singh, Mardraj Bhramarbar Ray, Raja of—
Date of birth—26th August '14
Date of succession—26th December '22
Area in sq. miles—244
Population—64 289

Kharsawan—Raja Sriram Chandra Singh
Date of birth—4th July 1892
Date of succession—6th February '02
Area in sq. miles—157
Population—44,805
Revenue—Rs. 1,18,000 nearly

Narsinghpur—Raja Ananta Narayan Mansingh Harichandan Mahapatra
Date of birth—9th September '08
Date of succession—5th July '21
Area in sq. miles—207
Population—48,448
Revenue—Rs. 129,000

Nayagarh—Raja Krishna Chandra Singha Mandhata Raja of—
Date of birth—15th August '11
Date of succession—7th Dec. '18
Area in sq. miles—552
Population—1,61,409
Revenue—Rs. 392,210

Nilgiri—Raja Kishore Chandra Mardraj Harichandra, Raja of—
Date of birth—2nd Feb, '04
Date of succession—6th July '13
Area in sq. miles—284
Population—73,109
Revenue—Rs. 2,14.589

Pal Lahara—Raja Muni Pal, Raja of—
Date of birth—26th November '03
Date of succession—18th April '13
Area in sq. miles—452
Population—23,229
Revenue—Rs. 75,000 nearly

Rairakhol—Raja Bir Chandra Jadumani
Date of birth—1894
Date of succession—3rd July '06
Area in sq. miles—838
Population—31,225
Revenue—Rs. 75,000 nearly

Ranpur—Raja Birbar Krishna Chandra Mahapatra, Raja of—
Date of birth—About 1887
Date of succession—12th July 1899

Area in sq. miles—203
Population—41,282
Revenue—Rs. 65,000

Seraikella—Raja Aditya Pratap Singh Deo. Ruler of—
Date of birth—30th July 1887
Date of succession—9th Dec. '31
Area in sq. miles—449
Population—156,374
Revenue Rs. 418,000 nearly

Talcher—Raja Kishore Chandra Birbar Harichandan, Raja of—
Date of birth—9th June 1880
Date of succession—18th December 1891
Area in sq. miles—399
Population—86,482
Revenue—Rs. 8,97,668 gross

Maratha States—(Bombay Presy)

Akalkot—Meherban Shrimant Vijayasingh Fatehsingh, Raja Bhonsle, Raja of—
Date of birth—13th Dec. '15
Date of succession—4th April '23
Area in sq. miles—498
Population—92,605
Revenue—Rs. 7,58,000 nearly

Aundh—Meherban Bhavanrao alias Bala Sahib, Pant Pratinidhi of—
Date of birth—24th Oct. 1868
Date of succession—4th November '09
Area in sq. miles—501
Population—88,762
Revenue—Rs. 3,38,278-12-1 nearly

Phaltan—Major Raja Shrimant Malojirao Mudhojirao alias Nana Saheb Naik Nimbalkar, Raja of—
Date of birth—11th September 1896
Date of succession—17th October '16
Area in sq. miles—397
Population—58,761
Revenue—Rs. 8,56,000 nearly

Jath—Lt. Raja Shrimant Viiayasinghrao Ramrao Dafle Raja of—
Date of birth—21st July '09
Date of succession—14th August '28
Area in sq. miles—981
Population—91,099
Revenue—Rs. 4,25,000

Jamkhandi—Meherban Shankarrao Parashuramrao alias Appasaheb Patwardhan, Raja Saheb of—
Date of birth—5th Nov. '06
Date of succession—25th Feb. '24
Area in sq. miles—524
Population—1,14,282
Revenue—Rs. 10,06,715

Kurundwad—(Senior)—Meherban Chintamanrao Bhalchandrarao alias Balasaheb Patwardhan, Chief of—
Date of birth—13th Feb. '21
Date of succession—10th September '27
Area in sq. miles—182·5
Population—88,760
Revenue—Rs. 3,76,000 nearly

Kurundwad—(Jr.)—Meherban Madhavrao Ganpatrao alias Bhausaheb Patwardhan, Chief of—
Date of birth—6th. Dec. 1875
Date of succession—29th July, 1899
Area in sq. miles—114
Population—34,288
Revenue—Rs. 2,88,000 nearly

Miraj (Sr)—Narayanrao Gangadharrao alias Tatyasaheb Patwardhan, Chief of—
Date of birth—6th September '1898
Date of succession—11th Dec. '39
Area in sq. miles—342
Population—93,838
Revenue—Rs. 4,41,000 nearly

Miraj (Jr)—Meherban Sir Madhavrao Harihar alias Baba Saheb Patwardhan, K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth—4th March 1889
Date of succession—16th. Dec. 1899
Area in sq, miles—196½
Population—40,686
Revenue—Rs. 3,68,515 nearly

Ramdurg—Meherban Ramrao Venkatrao alias Rao Saheb Bhave, Chief of—
Date of birth—16th Sept. 1896
Date of succession—30th April '07
Area in sq. miles—169
Population—33,997
Revenue—Rs. 2,69.000 nearly

Savanur—Captain Meherban Abdul Majid Khan, Diler Jang Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth—7th Oct. 1890
Date of succession—30th January 1893
Area in sq. miles—70
Population—16,830
Revenue—Rs. 1,69,000 nearly

Mahi-Kantha States

Ghodasar—Thakor Shri Fatehsinghji Ratansinji Dabhi, Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth—7th Aug. '09
Date of succession—31st May '03
Area in sq. miles—16
Population—6,708
Revenue—Rs. 51,000

Ilol—Thakor Shivsinghji, Thakor of—
Date of birth—31st December '01
Date of succession—18th. Oct. '27
Area in sq. miles—19
Population—3,349
Revenue—Rs. 41,000 nearly

Katosan—Thakor Takhatsinhji Karansinhji Thakor of—
Date of birth—9th Dec. 1870
Date of succession—January '01
Area in sq. miles—10
Population—4,818

Revenue—Rs. 51,000 nearly

Khadal—Sardar Shri Fatehsinhji Rajsinhji, Thakor Shri of—
Date of birth—1899
Date of succession—7th February '12
Area in sq. miles—8
Population—2,852
Revenue—Rs. 35,000 nearly

Malpur—Raolji Shri Gambhirsinhji Himatsinhji—
Date of birth—27th Oct. '14
Date of succession—23rd June '23
Area in sq. miles—97
Population—16,582
Revenue—Rs. 1,10,000 approx.

Pethapur—Thakor Fatehsinhji Gambhirsinhji, Thakor of—
Date of birth—3rd Oct. 1895
Date of succession—1896
Area in sq. miles—11
Population—3,938
Revenue—Rs. 34,000 (nearly)

Varsoda—Thakor Joravarsinhji of—
Date of birth—17th April '14
Date of succession—18th July '19
Area in sq. miles—11
Population—3,424
Revenue—Rs. 33,000 nearly

Vijayanagar—Rao Shri Hamir-sinhiji
Date of birth—3rd January '04
Date of succession—27th June '16
Area in sq. miles—135
Population—12,000 (approx)
Revenue—Rs. 1,00,000 nearly

Rewa Kantha States

Bhadarwa—Shrimant Thakur Saheb Shree Natvarsinghi Ranjitsinhji, Thakor of—
Date of birth—19th November '03
Date of succession—26th April '35
Area in sq. miles—27 (excluding several Wanta villages under Baroda States)
Population—13,520
Revenue—Rs. 1,14,000 nearly

Jambugodha—Meherban Rana Shri Ranjitsinhji Gambhirsinhji, Thakore Saheb of—Parmar Rajput. He enjoys full Civil and Criminal powers
Date of birth—4th January 1892
Date of succession—27th September '17
Area in sq. miles—143
Population—11,385
Revenue—Rs. 142,000

Kadana—Rana Shri Chatrasalji, Thakor of
Date of birth—28th January 1879
Date of succession—12th April 1889
Area in sq. miles—130
Population—15,370
Revenue—Rs. 1,32,000 nearly

Nasvadi—Thakor Ranjitsinhji, Thakor of—
Date of birth—24th March '05
Date of succession—13th Sept. '27
Area in sq. miles—1950
Population—4,197
Revenue—Rs. 33,000 nearly

Palasni—Thakor Indarsinhji Thakor of—
Date of birth—16th Aug. 1885
Date of succession—30th May '07
Area in sq. miles—12
Population—1,766
Revenue—Rs. 22,000 nearly

Sihora—Thakor Mansinhjee Karansinhjee
Date of birth—14th November '07
Date of succession—13th June '28
Area in sq. miles—19 (approx)
Population—5300
Revenue—Rs. 36,000 nearly

Uchad—Thakor Mohomadmia Jitawaba
Date of birth—15th October 1895
Date of succession—24th June '15
Area in sq. miles—8·50
Population—2,330
Revenue—Rs. 41,000 nearly

Umetha—Thakor Ramsinhji Raisinhji
Date of birth—19th August 1894
Date of succession—1st July '22
Area in sq. miles—24
Population—5,355
Revenue—Rs. 73,000 nearly

Central India States

Alipura—Rao Harpal Singh, Rao of—
Date of birth—12th Aug. 1882
Date of succession—26th March '22
Area in sq. miles—73
Population—14,580
Revenue—Rs. 70,000 nearly

Bakhtgarh—Thakur Rai Singh, Thakur of
Date of birth—3rd October 1889
Date of succession—30th May '12
Area in sq. miles—66
Population—10,414
Revenue—Rs. 74,000 nearly

Garauli—Diwan Bahadur Chandrabhan Singh, Chief of—
Date of birth—2nd April 1883
Date of succession—20th Dec. 1883
Area in sq. miles—21
Population—4,965
Revenue—Rs. 36,000 nearly

Jobat—Rana Bhimsing, Rana of—
Date of birth—10th November '15
Date of succession—20th May '17
Date of getting Ruling Power—14th March '36
Area in sq. miles—131,20
Population—20,945
Revenue—Rs. 81,550

Kachhi-Baroda—Maharaj Benimadho Singh
Date of birth—3rd October '04
Date of succession—13th June '06
Area in sq. miles—34·53

Population—5000
Revenue—Rs. 71000/-

Kathiwara—Rana Thakur Sahib Onkarsinhji, Rana of—
Date of Birth—5th December 1891
Date of succession—8th June, '03
Area in Sq. miles—70
Population of State—6096
Revenue—Rs. 44,880

Kothi—Raja Bahadur Sitaraman Pratap Bahadur Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—26th July 1892
Date of succession—8th August '14
Area in sq. miles—169
Population—20,087
Revenue—Rs. 70,000 nearly

Kurwai—Nawab Sarwar Ali Khan of—
Date of birth—1st December '01
Date of succession—2nd October '06
Area in sq. miles—142
Population—19,851
Revenue—Rs. 2,64,000 nearly

Mota Barkhera—Bhumia Nain Singh of—
Date of birth—7th November '07
Date of succession—4th June '12
Area in sq. miles—39
Population—4,782
Revenue—Rs. 53,000 nearly

Multhan—Dharmalankar, Dharm-bhushan Dharm-Divaker, Shreeman Maharaj Bharat Sinhji Sahib, Chief of—
Date of birth—1893
Date of succession—26th August '01
Area in sq. miles—100
Population—11,804
Revenue—Over Rs. 1,00,000

Nimkhera—Bhumia Ganga Singh, Bhumia
Date of birth—'11
Date of succession—27th March '22
Area in sq. miles—90
Population—5,358
Revenue—Rs. 62,000 nearly

Paldeo—Chaubey Shiva Prasad, Jagirdar of
Date of birth—1st March '08
Date of succession—3rd Oct. '23
Area in sq. miles—53·14
Population—9,038
Revenue—Rs. 50,000 nearly

Piploda—Rawat Mangal Singh, Rawat of
Date of birth—7th September 1893
Date of succession—5th Nov. '19
Area in sq. miles—35
Population—9,766
Revenue—Rs. 1,14,000

Sarila—Raja Mahipal Singh, Raja of—
Date of succession—11th Sep. 1898
Area in sq. miles—35·28
Population—6,081
Revenue—Rs. 1,00,000

Sarwan—Thakur Mahendra Singh
Date of birth—6th November '09
Date of succession—23rd April '21
Area in sq. miles—71
Population—7,199
Revenue—Rs. 60,000 nearly

Sohawal—Raja Bhagwat Raj Bahadur Singh, C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth—7th August 1878
Date of succession—23rd Nov. 1899
Area in sq. miles—213
Population—38,078
Revenue—Rs. 1,04,000 nearly

Tori Fatehpur—Dewan Raghuraj Singh, Jagirdar of—
Date of birth—28th Jan. 1895
Date of succession—7th April '41
Area in sq. miles—36
Population—6,269
Revenue—Rs. 31,000 nearly

Central Provinces States

Bastar—Maharaja Pravir Chandra Deo
Date of birth—25th June '29
Date of succession—28th Feb. '36
Area in sq. miles—13,725
Population—6,34,915
Revenue—Rs. 13,20,699

Chhuikhadan—Mahant Bhudhar Kishore Das of—
Date of birth—April 1891
Date of succession—30th Sept. '03
Area in sq. miles—154
Population—26,141
Revenue—Rs. 1,22,000

Jashpur—Raja Bijay Bhushan Singh Deo
Date of birth—11th Jan. '26
Date of succession—8th Feb. '26
Area in sq. miles—1,923
Population—2,23,632
Revenue—Rs. 3,62,342

Kanker—Maharajadhiraj Bhanupratap Deo Chief of—
Date of birth—17th September '22
Date of succession—8th Jan. '25
Area in sq. miles—1,429
Population—122,928
Revenue—Rs. 3,88,000

Kawardha—Thakur Dharamraj Singh Chief of—
Date of birth—18th August '10
Date of succession—4th Feb. '20
Area in sq. miles—805
Population—72,820
Revenue—Rs. 2,93,175

Khairagarh—Raja Birendra Bahadur Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—9th November '14
Date of succession—22nd October '18
Area in sq. miles—931
Population—157,400
Revenue—Rs. 5,80,000 nearly

Korea—Raja Ramanuj Pratap Singh Deo Raja of—

Date of birth—8th December '31
Date of succession—November '09
Area in sq. miles—1,647
Population—90,500
Revenue—Rs. 7,00,199

Makrai—Raja Drigpal Shah Hathiya Rai of
Date of birth—24th September '18
Date of succession—30th October '18
Area in sq. miles—155
Population—12,803
Revenue—Rs. 2,01,000 nearly

Nandgaon—Mahant Sarveshwar Das, of—
Date of birth—30th March '06
Date of succession—24th June '13
Area in sq. miles—871
Population—1,47,919
Revenue—Rs. 7,91,000

Raigarh—Raja Chakradhar Singh, Raja of
Date of birth—19th August '05
Date of succession—23rd August '24
Area in sq. miles—1,486
Population—2,41,634
Revenue—Rs. 6,46,000 nearly

Sakti—Raja Liladhar Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—3rd Feb. 1892
Date of succession—4th July '14
Area in sq. miles—138
Population—41,595
Revenue—Rs. 1,20,000 nearly

Sarangarh—Raja Bahadur Jawahir Singh,
Date of birth—3rd Dec. 1888
Date of succession—5th Aug. 1890
Area in sq. miles—540
Population—1,17,781
Revenue—Rs. 3,14,000 nearly

Surguja—Maharaja Ramanuj Saran Singh Deo C.B.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—4th Nov. 1895
Date of succession—31st Dec. '17
Area in sq. miles—6,055
Population—5,51,307
Revenue—Rs. 7,58,500 nearly

Udaipur—Raja Chandra Chur Prasad Singh Deo, Raja of—
Date of birth—5th June '23
Date of succession—8th Dec. '27
Area in sq. miles—1,052
Population—71,124
Revenue—Rs. 3,22,000

Mdras States

Sandur—Raja Srimant Yeshwantha Rao Anna Saheb, Rao Sahib, Hindu Rao Ghorapade, Mamlukatmadar Senapati Raja of—
Date of birth—15th November '08
Date of succession—5th May '28
Area in sq. Miles—167
Population—11684
Revenue—Rs. 2,03,000

Punjab States

Dujana—**Jalal-ud-Daul Nawab Mohammad** Iqtidar Ali Khan Bahadur, Mustaqil-i-Jan, Nawab of—
Date of birth—20th Nov. '12
Date of succession—21st July '25
Area in sq. miles—100
Population—25,833
Revenue—Rs. 1,650,000 nearly

Kalsia—Raja Ravi Sher Singh Sahib Bahadur, Raja Sahib of—
Date of birth—30th October '02
Date of succession—25th July '08
Date of Investiture with full ruling power : } 6th April '22
Area in sq. miles—192
Population—59,848
Revenue—Rs. nearly 3,50,000

Pataudi—Nawab Muhammad Iftikar Ali Khan Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth—17th March '10
Date of succession—30th Nov. '17
Date of Investiture—10th Dec. '31
Area in sq, miles—160
Population—24,500
Revenue—Rs. 3,10,000

Simla Hill States

Baghal—Raja Surendra Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—14th March '09
Date of succession—14th Oct. '22
Area in sq. miles—124
Revenue—Rs. 1,00,000 nearly

Baghat—Raja Durga Sing, Raja of—
Date of birth—15th Sept '10
Date of succession—30th Dec. 1941
Area in sq. miles—36
Population—93,595
Revenue—Rs. 1,10,000

Bhajji—Rana Birpal, Rana of—
Date of birth—19th April '06
Date of succession—9th May '13
Area in sq. miles—96
Population—14,263
Revenue—Rs. 99,000

Jubbal—Rana Sir Bhagat Chandra Bahadur K.C.S.I., Ruler of—
Date of birth—12th Oct. 1888
Date of succession—29th Apri '10
Area in sq. miles—288
Population—28,500
Revenue—Rs.8,50,000 nearly

Keonthal—Raja Hemendar Sen, Raja of—
Date of birth—21st January '05
Date of succession—2nd Feb. '16
Area in sq. miles—116
Population—25,599
Revenue Rs.—1,30,000 nearly

Kumharsain—Rana Vidyadhar Singh,
Date of birth—1895
Date of succession—24th August '14
Area in sq. miles—97
Population—12,227
Revenue—Rs. 75,000

Nalagarh—Raja Jogindra Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—1870
Date of succession—18th Sept. '11
Area in sq. miles—256
Population—52,737
Revenue—Rs. 2,71,000 nearly

Tiroch—Thakur Surat Singh, of—
Date of birth—4th July 1887
Date of succession—14th July '02
Area in sq. miles—75
Population—4,219
Revenue—Rs. 1,30,000 nearly

Western India States

Bajana—Malek Shri Kamalkhan Jivankhan, Chief of—
Date of birth—6th December '07
Date of succession—2nd. Feb. '20
Area in sq. miles—183,12
Population—14,017
Revenue—Rs. 1,82,424 average

Bantwa Manavadar—Babi Ghulam Moyuddinkhanji Fatehdinkhanji, Chief of—
Date of birth—22nd December '11
Date of succession—October '18
Area in sq. miles—221·8
Population—14,984
Revenue—Rs. 8,46,000 nearly

Chuda—Thakore Shri Bahadursinghji, Jarovarsinhji, Thakur of—
Date of birth—23rd April '09
Date of succession—20th January '21
Area in sq. miles—782
Population—11,338
Revenue—Rs. 2,11,000 nearly

Jasdan—Darbar Shree Ala Khachar, Chief of—
Date of birth—4th November '05
Date of succession—11th June '19
Area in sq. miles—296
Population—36,632
Revenue—Rs. 6,00,000 nearly

Kotda-Sangani—Thakore Shri Pradyumna-Sinhji
Date of birth—5th December '20
Date of succession—23-2-'30
Date of Installation—10-12-'40
Area in sq. miles—90
Population—12,165
Revenue—Rs. 1,50,000 nearly

Lakhtar—Thakore Saheb Shri Indra-sinhji Balavarsinhji, Thakore Saheb of—
Date of birth—15 April '07*
Date of succession—2nd July '40
Area in sq. miles—247,438
Population—21,123
Revenue—Rs. 4,49,000

Lathi—Thakore Saheb Shri Pralhadshinhji, Thakore of—
Date of birth—31st March '12
Date of succession—14th October '18
Area in sq. miles—41·8
Population—1l,812
Revenue—Rs. 2,60,000

Malia—Thakor Shri Raisinhji Modji, of—
Date of birth—14th February 1898
Date of succession—20th Oct. '07
Area in sq. miles—103
Population—12,060
Revenue—Rs. 3,02,000

Muli—Thakor Shri Harichandrasinhji, of—
Date of birth—10th July 1899
Date of succession—3rd December '05
Area in sq. miles—133·2
Population—16,390
Revenue—Rs. 1,57,000 nearly

Patdi—Desai Shri Raghuvirsinhji, of—
Date of birth—8th Jan. '26
Date of succession—25th Oct. '28
Area in sq. miles—39·4
Population—2,508
Revenue—Rs. 1,14,000

Sayla—Thakor Saheb Shri Madarsinhji, Vakhatsinhji, Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth—28th May 1868
Date of succession—25th Jan. '24
Area in sq. miles—222·1
Population—13,351
Revenue—Rs. 2,54,000

Thana Devli—Darbar Shri Vala Amra Laxman, Chief of—
Date of birth—28th Nov. 1895
Date of succession—12th Oct. '22
Area in sq. miles—94·2
Population—11,348
Revenue—Rs. 3,00,000 nearly

Tharad—Waghela Bhumsinhji Dolatsinhji Thakor of—
Date of birth—28th Jan. '00
Date of succession—19th Feb. '21
Area in sq. miles—1,260½
Population—52,839
Revenue—Rs. 99,000 nearly

Vadia—Darbar Shree Suragwala Saheb Chief of—
Date of birth—15th March '05
Date of succession—7th Sept. '30
Area in sq. miles—90
Population—13,749
Revenue—Rs. about 2 lacs

Zainabad—Malek Shri Aziz Mahomed Khanji Zainkhanji, Talukdar of—
Date of birth—21st June '17
Date of succession—26th January '23
Area in sq. miles—30
Population—3,456
Revenue—Rs. 1,200,000 nearly

4

Chronicle of Events

January 1945

His Majesty the King, in reply to the respectful and loyal greetings tendered by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal on behalf of the Government and the people of Bengal, requested His Excellency to convey to the Government and the people of Bengal the sincere thanks for Her Majesty the Queen and himself.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presided over a meeting in Calcutta to consider the various provisions of the Draft Hindu Code.

The Hon. Sir Ardeshir Dalal, in his inaugural address at the 27th session of the Indian Economic Conference, dwelt on the Government of India's plans for post-war development.

Mr. M. N. Gazdar, Finance Minister, Sind, was asked by the Premier Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to resign from the Sind Cabinet.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu clarified her views regarding the question of Congress running elections for local bodies.

An order was served on Sardar Trilochan, Singh a prominent Congress worker of the Punjab, directing him to leave the province within 24 hours.

The Rt. Hon. Srinivas Sastri, addressing a public meeting in Madras, outlined the part India should play in the Peace Conference.

Mr. G. E. Mehta, replying to an address of welcome by the Gujrat-Sammilani in Calcutta, said that India's future trade relationship and economic position would mainly depend on the political status of the country.

The first annual conference of the Madras Muslim Students' Federation was held in Madras.

Lord Zetland, speaking in London, said that Great Britain was reaping her reward by the loyalty of the Indian Army in the war.

Sir Jogendra Singh said at Karachi that if India stood united no power on earth could hold her back from her cherished goal of self-government.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee said at Jamshedpur that Hindus under no circumstances would submit to the vivisection India.

Mr. L. S. Amery stated in the House of Commons that persons detained as a result of the Congress disturbances in 1942 were being gradually released.

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha decided to send a delegation to China, Russia, U. S. A. and Britain.

The "Independence Day" (January 26th) was celebrated all throughout the country and by the India League in London and Cambridge, in collaboration with the Cambridge Majlis.

Sir Shaafat Ahmed Khan, in a farewell message said: "Be loyal to South Africa......Your spiritual and economic ties with India are strong as links of steel."

The South Arcot Kisan Congress was held under the presidency of Mr. N. G. Ranga, M.L.A. (Central).

Mahatma Gandhi's secretary stated in reply to a letter by Mr. M. C. Daver, re: "Quit India Resolution": "The resolution does not ask

English people to quit India. It only says that they connot stay in India as our rulers".

The 1st conference of the Trichy District Manuscript Magazine writers was held at Trichinopoly.

Mr. M. N. Roy inaugurated a campaign in Bombay for the popularisation of the Draft Constitution for Free India".

1st. H. E. the Governor of Bengal sent the following telegram to H. M. the King Emperor :—

"On behalf of Government and people of Bengal I tender to Your Majesty and Her Majesty the Queen respectful and loyal greetings for Christmas and the New Year which they believe will be especially happy for your Majesties by reason of the confident belief of all your Majesties' subjects in the complete victory of the Allied Cause in Europe within the coming year."

His Majesty replied as follows :—Please convey to the Government and people of Bengal the sincere thanks of the Queen and myself for their loyal greetings and good wishes which I heartily reciprocate."

Dr. M. N. Sircar of Calcutta, in his presidential address at the All-India Backward Classes' Conference held at Cawnpore, observed : "I take objection to calling yourselves depressed. You are suppressed not depressed. But for this suppression, none is more responsible than ourselves for we ourselves get into the hands of others and be their instruments."

Mr. Mohammad Yakub, President, City Muslim League (Cawnpore), in the course of a statement to the Press, made an appeal to Mr. Jinnah to intervene and save the U. P. Provincial Muslim League form disruption.

The eighth session of the All-India Students' Conference meeting under the presidentship of Prof. Humayun Kabir of Calcutta passed a resolution in Bombay, moved by Mr. Probhakar Kunte, expressing confidence in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and calling upon the students in the country to carry out the programme of constructive work among the masses as detailed by Mahatma Gandhi. The resolution reaffirmed the Congress resolution of August 1942.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presided over a meeting of women in Calcutta to consider the various provisions of the Draft Hindu Code.

2nd. Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar, presiding at the Indian Science Congress at Nagpur, elaborately dealt with the question of the development of industry in India in the post-war period.

Mr. W. G. Grigson, Revenue Member, Nizam's Executive Council, inaugurating the 25th Annual General Meeting of the Institution of Engineers (India) expressed the hope that coming years would at least see the inauguration and rapid completion of the Tungavadra Project—a joint undertaking of the Governments of Hyderabad and Madras.

Sardar Baldev Singh, Development Minister, Punjab, said in Calcutta that the Punjab was determined to help Bengal, which passed through a great disaster, and other deficit areas in respect of their food requirements.—The Minister was replying to a reception given in his honour by the Sikh community in Calcutta.

H. E. Sir Henry Twynam, Governor of C. P., inaugurating the 32nd. annual conference of the Indian Science Congress Association at Nagpur, observed : "We cannot perhaps attempt to make man happy, but we can attempt to make him comfortable. It is in this sphere that you (scientists) can add something to the store of human knowledge."

3rd. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member, Government of India, presiding at a conference of representatives of the Central, Bengal and Behar Governments held at the Secretariat, Calcutta, to consider means to give effect to the proposals of the Damodar Flood Inquiry Committee, appointed by the Bengal Government in 1944, made the statement : "The Damodar project must be a multipurpose one. We intend that it should not only deal with the problem caused by flood but also provide for irrigation, electricity and navigation."

Mr. G. L. Mehta, Deputy Leader of the Indian Delegation to the International Business Conference held at Atlantic City in November, returned to Calcutta.

The Conference called by the Bengal Government to consider bustee improvement in Calcutta, held its first meeting at Writers' Building, Calcutta.

His Excellency the Governor presided. Representative of Calcutta Corporation, Calcutta Improvement Trust and Government attended.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, presiding over a general meeting of the Calcutta Branch of the All-India Women's Organization, advised the conference to make every effort to bring women of all classes, including Harijans, within its fold.

Sir John Colville, Governor of Bombay, opening the Art-in-Industry Exhibition in Bombay, said: "India is justified in working forward to a prosperous future as an industrial country."

Mr. G. L. Mehta, Deputy Leader of the Indian Delegation to the International Business Conference in the U. S. A., in an interview in Calcutta, disclosed that Mrs. Roosevelt, wife of American President, expressed their inability to receive Mrs. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit at the White House.

Mahatma Gandhi, in reply to a letter from Dr. Ambedkar, wrote: "......The Hindu-Muslim question is for me a life-long question. There was a time when I used to think that, when the problem was solved, India's political troubles would be over. Experience has taught me that it was only partially true. Untouchability I began to abhor while I was in my teens."

Sir Mirza Ismail, Prime Minister, Jaipur, participating in the discussion on constitutional schemes for India at the Seventh Indian Political Science Congress, at Jaipur, said: "India must be one united country. I believe as firmly as ever in an All-India Federation with full autonomous Provinces. As a Muslim I would not be a party to the vivisection of India."

Sir Chunilal B. Mehta, leader of the Indian delegation to the International Business Conference at Rye, New York, who returned to Bombay, told pressmen that he took up the subject of a treaty of commerce and navigation between India and the United States at the Conference as well as outstde it.

Mrs. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit told an Indian meeing in New York: "Whatever difference may exist between the various races of India, they cannot be ironed out so long as the British dominate the country."

4th. "An intelligent American's guide to peace," edited by Mr. Sumner Wells, former under Secretary of State, asserted: "Too much of India's improvement has been dictated either by the need for profitable investment or by magnificent projects dear to the various Viceroys. But these impulses, though beneficial in modernizing the country, have not touched the heart of India's economic problem —the dire poverty of her people".

Mr. M. S. Aney, India Government's Representative in Ceylon, commenting on the Sapru Committee questionnaire in a Press interview, said: "It is a good move because it destroys something of the frustration that everybody in India is suffering from."

The Hon. Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Member for Planning and Development, Government of India, in his inaugural address at the 27th session of the Indian Economic Conference held in Delhi, dwelt on the Government of India's plans for post-war economic development and appealed for non-official co-operation.

A concerted drive for the formation of Labour Unions in the City of Bombay on the lines indicated by Mahatma Gandhi in his instructions to Congressmen was undertaken in Bombay by Congress workers.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, referring to the happenings in the country in August 1942, in the course of her address to a meeting of Congress-workers in Calcutta, observed: "The Congress did not start any movement. The movement was started because people were angry. The Congress did not condone any act done by anybody which violated the Congress pledge of non-violence.

The fifteenth Mysore State Medical Conference was held in the Medical School, Bangalore City, under the auspices of the Mysore Medical Association, Bangalore. Dr. D. V. Monteiro, Senior Surgeon with the Government of Mysore, presided.

5th. Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Planning and Development Member, Government of India answering questions at a Rotary meeting in New Delhi, said: "No one who is willing to work should starve for lack of work in agriculture or industry." He agreed that this should be the ideal of planning, but thought that in present Indian conditions this ideal would take a long time to achieve.

A 23-year housing plan to accommodate the increasing urban population in the Punjab was formulated in a comprehensive memorandum submitted by Mr. U. A. Coates, Provincial Town Planner, Punjab Government.

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, presiding over the 2nd session of the All-India

Music Congress, in Calcutta, said that the tradition of India has been a tradition common to all races and communities—a tradition to which everyone had made effective contribution.

6th Mr. M. H. Gazdar, Finance Minister, was asked by the Premier, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatulla to resign from the Sind Cabinet.

7th. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, clarifying her views regarding the question of Congress running elections for local bodies, in a Press interview in Calcutta, said: "It is my considered opinion that it is not advisable, or indeed in the existing circumstances proper, that while there is a general ban on Provincial and District Congress Committees, any functioning Congress Committees that have so far been excluded from the ban set up candidates for election to local bodies in the name of the Congress. Any Congressman, who chooses to do so, may, of course, contest these elections purely in his individual capacity without using the name and authority of the Congress".

The first draft of the first five-year plan of reconstruction and development in Orissa, entailing an expenditure of about Rs. 33 crores was outlined by Mr. B. K. Gokhale, Adviser to the Government at a Press Conference at Cuttack.

8th. Mr. M. H. Gazdar resigned his office of Ministership in Sind. It was officially announced that H. E. the Governor of Sind accepted Mr. Gazdar's resignation.

The Government of Bombay passed orders enforcing a revised grain levy scheme in all the dry crop areas of the province.

The Conference between Mr. B. K. Gokhale, Adviser to the Governor of Orissa and Sir T. Austin, Adviser to the Governor of Madras on the Doduma Hydro-electric scheme commenced in Cuttack.

Srimati Kamala Devi Chattopadhya, speaking on "Our Post-War Problems", said in Bombay that they had to be viewed in terms of the National Reconstruction "that was to be done in India". She also remarked: "The contribution that Mahatma Gandhi is making is of great value in such planning.

The seventeenth session of the National Defence Council opened at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi. His Excellency the Viceroy presided.

Pandit Neki Ram Sharma, a Congress leader of the Punjab and a member of the A.I.C.C. said at Lucknow: "There can be no pact between the Congress and the Muslim League in the Punjab politics. The demand of the Punjab Muslim League for the release of Congress prisoners is a political stunt and if the League has any sympathies for political prisoners there should have been no detenus in the Province where the League Ministries are functioning."

Nawab Mirza Yar Jung Bahadur, Agent to His Exalted Highness the Nizam, while speaking at the social gathering of the National College at Nagpur, pointed out "the absurdities" of the Pakistan theory.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery, opening an exhibition of Indian Commercial art & industrial design in London said that there was every prospect of a great future in India for closer association between artists and industrialists.

9th. An order was served directing Sardar Tarilochan Singh, a prominent worker of the Punjab Nationalist Students' Union, to leave the Punjab within 24 hours.

The National Defence Council met again at the Viceroy's House with H. E. the Viceroy in the Chair.

The Bengal Government proposed to spend Rs. 150 crores on a five year post-war reconstruction plan, of this Rs. 50 crores had been assured by the Central Government and Rs. 25 crores by the Finance Department, Bengal Government from the provincial exchequer. The balance was to be met by raising loans from the public.

The fifth Rohilkhand and Kumaoun Divisional Students' Conference concluded its twoday session at Bareilly under the presidentship of Maulana Hafizur Rahman, General Secretary, Jamaitul Ulema. The Conference adopted resolution recording its full faith in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, expressing its strong opposition to the Pakistan Scheme, demanding the release of Congress leaders and urging the formation of a National Government at the Centre.

Mr. B. K. Gokhale, Adviser to the Governor of Orissa, speaking at a public meeting at Cuttack, foreshadowed a great future for the town with its undisputed advantages.

A Press Note from New Delhi stated: "The Government of India under-

stand that H. M. G have, after consultation with the Governments of the Dominions and India invited Lord Keith to visit the Dominions and India to discuss with the Governments concerned the future organization of the telecommunication services of the Commonwealth."

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit at a Press Conference at Hot Springs (Virginia) declared: "India welcomes participation in any international security organization and would be happy to share responsibility on equal terms. But we realize that if there is to be a new world order, all countries must be on the same footing."

10th. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu issued a statement to the Press elucidating the constitutional position of primary members of the Congress.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Premier of Sind, in a statement said that while he was trying to keep the League forces intact in the provinces, Mr. G. M. Syed, president of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, after arriving at an honourable settlement with him at New Delhi, as the result of Mr. Jinnah's mediation, continued negotiations with the Opposition in the Assembly to formulate plans against the League Ministry.

The National Defence Council met at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi. H. E. the Viceroy presided.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, the Dewan, addressing the first general meeting of the Economic Development Board at Trivandrum, said that the work on which the Economic Development Board and the Post-War Reconstruction Committee were collaborating should concentrate on acquiring results of lasting benefit to the State.

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, addressing a public meeting in Madras, outlined the part India should play in the Peace Conference and the principles she should press for in reshaping the world order.

The Committee of Action of the All-India Muslim League met in New Delhi, Nawab Mohd. Ismail Khan presided. Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, Haji Abdul Sattar Sait and Qazi Mohd. Isa attended.

The Hindusthani Talimi Sangh All-India Education Board at its meeting at Sewagram altered its constitution to include pre-basic, post-basic, and adult education in its programme. Dr Hussein presided.

11th. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, addressing students and professors of the Calcutta University at the Senate Hall, asked: "What part are we to play in building the new world after the war? Are we simply going to listen to the terms dictated by others or shall we say that we must have a voice in framing the new charter of liberty—either signed or unsigned.?"

Mr. G. L. Mehta, who returned from the U. S. A., after attending the International Business Conference at Atlantic City as Deputy Leader of the Indian Delegation, replying to an address of welcome by the Gujrat Sammilani in Calcutta, said that India's future trade relationship and economic position would mainly depend on the political status of the country. He referred to the exclusion of India from a permanent seat on the International Monetary Organization.

Mr. N. V. Gadgil, President of the Maharastra Provincial Congress Committee, in a statement, said: "I have seen Mrs. Naidu's statement regarding the position of the Congress Committees with respect to enrolment of members and authority to take disciplinary action. Her interpretation is correct."

The progress made during the past six years in the experiment of Basic Education in various Provinces and States was reviewed at a four-day Conference of educationists, professors and teachers which commenced at the Khadi Vidyalaya Hall at Sewagram. Dr. Zakir Hussain presided over the Conference.

At the discussion of the economic problems of the Far East by the Pacific Relations Conference at Hot Springs, (Virginia) a United Kingdom official declared: "If Indians are basing their plans for the industrialisation of their country on their ability to get within an early period the repayment of their balances in London and the rest of the Empire they will be disappointed."

12th. The Transport Advisory Committee opened in New Delhi. Addressing the Council, His Excellency the Viceroy said it seemed to him that the first step in all schemes of social progress of which India was in such desperate need must be the improvement of the means of communication. Therefore, he regarded the Conference as in many ways the whole foundation for India's social and economic progress.

The Nawab of Bhopal, replying to an address at Bhopal, referred to postwar

reconstruction plans. He said that the aim of his Government was improvement of the general standard and conditions of life of his people.

Commenting on the second report of the Reconstruction Committee of the Viceroy's Executive Council, "The Times" said:' 'The primary aim of the Central Government is the uplift of the masses, entailing enhanced productivity, increased purchasing power and improved standard of living. To this end rapid industrialization is essential. It is to be accomplished by a measure of State Control determined by the circumstances of each industry."

The Bengal Government approached the Central Government for the promulgation of an ordinance validating the Moneylenders' Act, certain provisions of which were declared ultra vires by the Federal Court.

Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, the retiring Indian High Commissioner at a farewell banquet at Johannesburg said: "India is not bothering about the South African question—it is only a small speck on the horizon."

13th. Following upon the visit of Prof. A. V. Hill, Secretary, Royal Society, England, to India, the Central Government invited two other eminent British educationists, Sir Walter Moberly, Chairman, University Grants Committee of Britain, and former Vice-chancellor of Manchester University and Sir Cyril Norwood, President of St. John's College, Oxford, for a lecture tour of Indian Universities.

Mr. Pyarelal, Mahatma Gandhi's Secretary, issued the following extract from a letter which Mahatma Gandhi wrote to a correspondent in connection with the Independence Day: "I have no partiality for any militant programme for Jan. 26. According to my idea the constructive programme is the programme. Therefore it should be prosecuted with redoubled zeal."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing a Muslim gathering at Ahmedabad, said: "Pakistan is a certainty if we unite. We assure Hindus and Christians and other communities that in fighting for Pakistan we are fighting for the freedom of the whole country."

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit in an interview at Hot Springs (Virginia) said: "Britain recently missed two opportunities to show the genuineness of her promise to give India her independence and thus proved that she at present has no intention to do so."

Attempts to bring about reconciliation between the Muslim League and the Unionist Muslims were being made in certain quarters in Lahore.

14th. A resolution, expressing its complete faith in the Muslim League's demand for a free Muslim India was passed at the first conference of the Madras Muslim Students' Federation, Nawab Siddique Ali Khan presided. The conference also voiced its concurrence with the League's attitude towards the Sapru Committee which, it considered, was an attempt detrimental to the Muslim demand for Pakistan.

The results of the International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago with reference to the objects which the Government of India desired to see achieved were examined in a communique from New Delhi.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who inaugurated the Fourth Gujrat Muslim Educational Conference at Ahmedabad, emphasising the importance of education urged on Muslims that till a better system of education was evolved and introduced they should take the fullest possible advantage of the present system of education.

15th. Sir Edward Benthall, opening the meeting of the Post-war Transport Committee, defined the object of the Committee and said it was, on the basis of the existing state of affairs, to raise the productivity of transport and to develop a transport system in India which, at the cheapest possible cost in capital and running expenses, would provide for India's developing needs.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing a meeting at Ahmedabad, asserted that Pakistan was the only way "and the only way of cornering John Bull". He desired that the policy and programme of the Muslim League was inimical to Hindu interests.

Sardar Mangal Singh gave notice of an adjournment motion for the Central Assembly to discuss "the appointment of an Army Reorganization Committee to make detailed recommendations regarding the size, composition and organization of the future army in India."

16th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah declared at a public meeting at Ahmedabad that the acceptance of the fundamentals of the Muslim League's Lahore resolution by

the Congress, a modification of the "Quit India" resolution, which the A. I. C. C. adopted in May 1942, would lead to the creation of a united front and hasten the achievement of the country's freedom.

The 11th meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education in India, was inaugurated by Sir Hugh Dow, the Governor of Sind at the Sind Secretariat.

Lord Zetland, speaking at the Walton Pioneer Club on "India", in London, said that Great Britain with all her faults had done marvellous work and was reaping her reward by the loyalty of the Indian army in the War. Britain had given India peace, security law and justice, and had made vast irrigation works besides introducing the medical science and education.

Sir Jogendra Singh, Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, addressing the Rotary Club at Karachi, said that if India stood united no power on earth could hold her back from her cherished goal of Self-Government.

Sir Jogendra Singh, in an interview at Karachi, said that the chance of a possible settlement depended on the willingness of all parties to reach a settlement and the Sapru Committee might be able to bring about conditions which might be conducive to resolving some of the difficulties.

17th. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu emphasized the need for evolving a system of education which would make every Indian "re-learn the art of being Indian", in an address she delivered inaugurating the Andhra Provincial Women's National Education Conference at Mylapore.

The Natal Indian Congress, in a letter to Field Marshal Smuts, requested that the Premier should delete all the legislative acts flowing from the Pretoria Agreement and passed in interim, so that negotiations towards a settlement of the Asiatic questions might be started again from the beginning.—The legislation referred to included the Residential Property Regulation Ordinance, the Natal Housing Ordinance and the Expropriation Ordinance.

Sir Azizul Haque, addressing the annual general meeting of the Punjab Muslim Chamber of Commerce, emphasized the paramount need of rational distribution of food in the country. He suggested that there should be harmonious economic relationship in the matter of food distribution between one region and another.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, addressing a meeting at Jamshedpur, reiterated that the Hindus under no circumstances would agree to the vivisection of India, and it was, therefore, high time that the Congress gave up its policy of appeasement.

The question of religious instruction in educational institutions came up for consideration at the resumed session of the Central Advisory Board of Education

18th. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, presiding over the third anniversary celebrations of the Andhra Mahila Sabha in Madras, spoke of the great part women had played in history and exhorted them to solve or help to solve the communal trouble in the land. She said that the time has come when India should be internationally minded.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, speaking at a Press Conference in Madras, elucidated the constitutional position regarding admission to membership of the official Congress Organisations and the ad hoc Congress Sanghams that were coming into existence all over the country.

Sir Akbar Hydari and the members of the Government of India Mission, which was to leave for Britain to discuss with His Majesty's Government relief from the strain of war demands on Indian production, talked to Pressmen in New Delhi.—Sir Akbar Hydari said that the object of the Mission was to place India in a better condition than she would otherwise be to sustain her war efforts.

Mr. L. S. Amery stated in the House of Commons that persons detained as a result of the Congress disturbances in 1942 are being gradually released so far as is compatible with essential security considerations. Individual cases are, therefore, necessarily considered on their merits from that standpoint.

The Indian community in Great Britain decided to celebrate the Independence Day - January 26, in London.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in the course of a talk with journalists at Lahore, said: "It is the blackest lie to suggest that the idea of a Conciliation Committee was inspired by Gandhiji, and if any one still persists in saying that, I would let him have the joy of the lie. I can unhesitatingly say, I never got the idea of a Conciliation Committee either from Gandhiji or from the Viceroy's utterances".

Mr. V. V. Giri, in a statement in Madras, expressed grave doubts as to the benefit India might derive by the visit of a Parliamentary delegation to India.

Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar, Vice-President of the Hindu Mahasabha, expressed the view (at Poona) that the political and economic programme adopted by the Hindu Mahasabha was superior to any other existing one.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, speaking at a Press Conference in Madras, appealed to the Press to begin a campaign to create the necessary atmosphere for a common, equitable and just agreement being arrived at between the Congress and the Muslim League. Such an understanding would bring in its train peace and harmony.

19th. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, unveiling a portrait of the last Deshodharaka K. Nageswara Rao, in the premises of the M. C. Rajah Memorial Hostel, Madras, said that the Harijans, like other communities, had equal responsibilities in regard to the shaping of the future of the country. She said that the sooner the word "Harijan" went out or forgotten, the sooner would India achieve freedom. She appealed to the Harijans to produce their own leaders.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, chairman of the Conciliation Committee, in a Press interview at Lahore, said that the Committee's report would be ready by March.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee with Mr. N. C. Chatterjee arrived in New Delhi for the meeting of the Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly, had an interview with the Viceroy in New Delhi.

The Central Advisory Board of Education in India appointed a Committee to consider the various matters affecting the conditions of service of teachers at all stages of education.

The Maharastra Provincial Harijan Sevak Sangha decided to launch a movement for the entry of Harijans in the historic temple of Vithoba at Pandharpur.

20th. The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha began its sessions in New Delhi, with a six-hour sitting. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee presided.

The Conciliation Committee met Hindu, Sikh and Scheduled Castes' leaders of the Punjab at Lahore.

Mr. R. Hume, Commissioner of Police, Madras, issued an order under Rule 56 of the Defence of India Rules, prohibiting "the taking part in or holding of public processions, meetings or assemblies in connection with the Independence Day Celebrations in the City."

Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana, the Punjab Premier, had an interview with His Excellency the Viceroy.

21st. The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha which concluded its session in New Delhi, decided to send a delegation to Britain, U. S. A., Russia and China to "counteract the anti-Hindu and anti-India propaganda which is being carried on in England, America and other countries and to educate opinion in those countries on right lines with special reference to the ideology of the Hindu Mahasabha."

The 2nd. U. P. Press Conference commenced its sitting at Allahabad. Mr. K. P. Viswanatha Aiyar presided.

The 1st. session of the Andhra Students' Congress commenced at Masulipatam. Prof. Ranga presided.

22nd. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu made a fervent appeal to be united and to prepare the ground for Indian freedom, when she addressed a mass rally of workers, numbering about 50,000 at Perambur (Madras).

Mr. Jinnah at a Press interview in Bombay, declared: "My attention has been drawn to reports in a section of the Press that an agreement has been arrived at between Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan on behalf of the Muslim League and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai on behalf of the Congress with the consent of Mr. Gandhi and myself. I know nothing about this. There is absolutely no foundation for connecting my name with the talks which may have taken place between Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai."

Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Member for Planning & Development, Government of India, speaking at the annual dinner of the Deccan Chamber of Commerce & Industry said that in order to carry out post-war development plans they must be ready to make sacrifices. The self-interest of the few must give way to the interests of the many.

It was announced that the Government of India examined the report of the Technical Mission appointed to advise on the production of artificial fertilizers in India and decided to establish initially a factory at Sindri, near Dhanbad, in Bihar, to manufacture 350,000 tons of sulphate of ammonia per year.

A Press Note stated that the Bengal Government decided to remit all fines imposed under the provisions of the Collective Fines Ordinance in the Midnapore district in 1942.

The Bengal Government enforced temporary regulations under the Epidemic Diseases Act 1897 in Calcutta for the prevention and control of small-pox.

The delegates' session of the All-India Trade Union Congress passed a resolution strongly protesting against the continued detention of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other members of the Congress Working Committee and of thousands of Congress members and trade unionists and demanding their immediate and unconditional release.

23rd. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Indian Representative with the Government of Burma, speaking to Burma-India evacuees in Madras, suggested to the Indian evacuees from Burma to prepare and present to the Government a "Blue Print" giving an authentic and exhaustive statement of their case.

Sir Shaffat Ahmad Khan, retiring High Commissioner, replying to a farewell address under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress, at Durban, said: "I do not think Indians in Natal ever asked for a privilege or creation of vested interests. Ultimately they will get the same rights as other elements now enjoy. But for that conviction I could never have borne the tremendous strain of the crisis I passed through in the past three years."

The Vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University in reply to a communication from the Commander-in-chief seeking the former's assistance in recruiting pilots to the Indian Air Force, said that "the University has struggled hard to establish the I. A. T. C. on a permanent footing, but in view of the lack of interest on the part of the Government of Bengal and in view of the lack of financial assistance, the I. A. T. C. could not be organized as the University wanted to do."

Mr. S. K. Patil, General Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee made a statement on the subject of disciplinary action against the members of the Communist Party.

The text of the Government of India Resolution on the proposals for enlargement of the jurisdiction of the Federal Court was published.

24th. Mahatma Gandhi, in a letter to a local Congress worker wrote: "I do not favour any extremist programme for 26th January."

Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Member for Planning & Development, Government of India, addressed a meeting of the Post War Reconstruction General Committee at the Assembly Chamber in Madras.

At the meeting of the Cochin Legislative Council, the House passed by a majority, the Government remaining neutral, the first reading of the prevention of the Dowry Payment Bill moved by Mr. K. Joshua. The Bill gave rise to much discussion. Sir George Boag, Dewan-President presided.

25th. Sir Ardeshir Dalal, addressing a meeting of the Post-War Reconstruction General Committee, in Madras, expressed his views on the reconstruction plans which were evolved in the province. After surveying the proposals relating to the development of road and education he referred to the provincial plans for agricultural development.

Sir Ardeshir Dalal, in reply to a question at a Press Conference in Madras, made a categorical assurance that there was no suggestion of interference from Whitehall in the matter of the plans of the Government of India for post-war Reconstruction.

The Government of Madras, in a Press Note, stated that the general food situation in the Province continued to be on the whole satisfactory; supplies of rice in parts of a few districts were short of requirements, paddy was becoming available and the position was expected to ease within a short time.

In accordance with the action taken by H. M. G., the Government of India cancelled their notifications declaring Yugoslavia and the mainland of Greece as enemy territories.

A claims Commission was constituted under the War Department, Government of India.

Mahatma Gandhi sent the following cable to Mr. Krishna Menon of the India

League (in London): "Independence for India is essential for world peace as also peace for India. It must come but it will come earlier if England and other Powers see the obvious."

The Maharaja of Patiala made an appeal to the various Sikh organisations to bring about unity in the ranks of the Panth, replying to addresses of welcome presented by various Sikh organisations in the district of Amritsar.—The Maharaja referred to the close connexion of the founder of the Patiala State with the history of the Sikhs, and exhorted them to pull their weight together in the service of the Panth.

A session of the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society, consisting of the sixth annual meeting, a general meeting and a committee meeting of the Society was held in Calcutta with Mr. Devadas Gandhi in the chair.

26th. "Independence Day" was celebrated in Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and in the other parts of the country.

The Swaraj House held the Indian Independence Day Celebration in London.

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Supply Member, Government of India, addressing the Convocation of the Osmania University, pleaded strongly for freedom of thought and courageous expression of such thought.

His Excellency the Governor of Madras gave his assent to an Act amending the Madras City Civil Court Act 1892 and the Presidency Small Cause Courts Act 1882 in its application to the Province.

Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Planning Member of the Government of India, answering questions at a Press Conference in Madras, emphasised that it was very necessary for bringing post-war plans to full fruition, that a National Government should come into existence.

Dr. John Sargent, Educational Adviser with the Government of India, speaking on post-war educational reconstruction of India, in New Delhi, outlined the aims and objects of the educational plan of the Central Advisory Board of Education.

Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, speaking at the India Independence Day dinner given in her honour by the Indian League of America declared that India's struggle was an experiment in history, for nowhere in the world had the people sought to achieve freedom by non-violent means.

Ten Congress workers including one woman, were arrested at Connaught Place, New Delhi, while attempting to hold a meeting in connection with the Independence Day.

Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, in a farewell message to South Africa, said: "On my departure from South Africa I wish to take this opportunity of thanking my numerous European and Indian friends for their unfailing sympathy and kindness during my stay for three years......Be loyal to South Africa. To it alone you owe your allegiance. Your spiritual and economic ties with India are strong as links of steel and will endure, but South Africa is your mother land of which you should be legitimately proud."

27th. Sir U. N. Brahmachari, opening an exhibition of medical and pharmaceutical products in Calcutta urged a planned programme for further medical research in India.

The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference passed a resolution in Calcutta, calling upon Government to summon a conference.

28th. The Government of Bihar, under the Restriction and Detention Ordinance, 1944, issued orders asking the following persons to remain within the limits of their home villages: Mr. Srikrishna Sinha, ex-Premier Bihar, Mr. Anugrahanarayana Singh, ex-Finance Minister, Mr. Murali Manohar Prasad, Editor, "Searchlight" and Mr. Prajapati Misra.

The Afghan Military Mission, on the conclusion of a two-month tour in India, arrived at Peshawar from Lahore en route to Kabul.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary, All-India Muslim League, presiding over the Tinnevelly Muslim League conference expressed the view that the Muslims in India were talking of Pakistan without any mental reservation.

Sir Rahimtoola M. Chinoy, presiding over the 12th annual session of the All-India organization of Industrial Employers in Bombay, said that post-war planning as it was envisaged in India would require a degree of Government regulation and control.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit on her arrival in Washington, vigorously critised the failure of the U. S. A. to clarify its attitude towards India.

A Press communique from New Delhi explained the scheme under which it was hoped to send abroad in the autumn of the current year about 500 students for courses in technical subjects directly related to the various plans for post-war development.

It was learnt in New Delhi that Mr. S. C. Joshi, President of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation was to join the Central Government as Labour Commissioner for undertakings in the "Central sphere" on Feb. 1.

29th. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, at a Press conference in Madras, explained the programme and immediate work of the Hindu Mahasabha and declared that the specious doctrines of self-determination which depended on religious, provincial or caste considerations would ruin the cause of Indian liberty.

Addressing a public meeting in Madras, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee criticised the attitude of the Congress towards Muslims and its policy of appeasement and explained the view point of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha.

Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava, Food Member, Government of India opened the Fifth All-India Food Conference in New Delhi.

The South Arcot District Kisan Congress Conference was held at Tindivanam. Mr. N. G. Ranga, M. L. A. (Central) presided. A large number of delegates and other kisans from the district attended.

The Government of Mysore nominated Sir V. N. Chandavarkar as a member of the Committee constituted by the Government to review Labour Laws in the State.

Mr. A. M. Allapichai, President, Madras Provincial Nationalist Muslim Majlis, in a statement from Madras opposed the two-nation theory of the Muslim League.

Mahatma Gandhi's secretary stated in reply to a letter written by Dr. M. C. Davar, Secretary of the United Party of India urging the withdrawal of the "Quit India" Resolution: "The resolution does not ask English people to quit India. It only says that they cannot stay in India as rulers. English people or for the matter of that, any other people can surely stay in India as our brothers and friends."

The first conference of the Trichy District Manuscript Magazine writers was held at the Srirangam High School, Trichinopoly. Mr. K. Arunachalam presided.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari presided over a meeting in Madras to felicitate the Chennai Tamil Sangham on its work in coaching up students for the various University degrees in Tamil.

30th. Sir Akbar Hydari, Secretary, Industries and Civil Supplies Department, Government of India left for England to hold discussions with the Ministry of Production.

The Indian National Flag was hoisted in the ancient British University town of Cambridge, to inaugurate an Indian independence demonstration organised by the Cambridge University Majlis in collaboration with the India Society, London School of Economics and Cambridge University Labour and Liberal Clubs.

Dr. B. S. Moonje, addressing a public meeting at Bangalore, stated that the Mahasabha was ready to join the National Government formed by a reorganisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

The Working Committee of the Noakhali District Muslim League, decided to expel Mr. Syed Abdul Majid, Parliamentry Secretary to the Government of Bengal, from the District League and primary bodies for ten years.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing the members of the Teachers' College Teachers' Association, exhorted the teachers to adopt the mother tongue as the medium of instruction of all subjects including English.

In the Food Conference, in New Delhi, centred round the progress of the "grow more food" campaign, the position in respect of oil-cakes and the fixation of targets for acreage and means of production. Recommendations to Provincial Governments and States on the subjects were under consideration.

Addressing the conference, Sir Jogendra Singh, Member for Education, Health and Lands, stated that the food problem needed and would continue to need anxious care for many years to come.

31st. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, speaking of post-war reconstruction at a meeting of students in Madras, indicated a number of factors which would have to be taken into consideration in connection with the transition from war-time to peace-time economy and sounded a note of warning against facile assumptions.

Mr. M. N. Roy, who inaugurated a campaign in Bombay for the popularisa

tion of the "Draft Constitution for Free India" adopted by the Radical Democratic Party conference, declared: "Freedom must be interpreted to the common man in terms of his daily economic life."

Problems relating to the control and distribution of fresh foods and fuel formed the subject of discussions at the Food Conference in New Delhi.

Ignorance of India in Britain was referred to in the House of Lords when the need for the continuation, after the war, of the Empire Information Service of the Ministry of Information was stressed.

February 1945

The India (Estate Duty) Bill passed the committee stage in the Rouse of Lords and the 2nd reading in the House of Commons.

Representatives of the Sikh Community met in Lahore to discuss the Conciliation Committee's questionnaire.

Dr. John Sargent, in his Convocation Address at Lucknow, said that the report of the Central Advisory Board of Education would place India on an approximate educational level with other countries.

Sardar Ajit Singh, in his speech at a reception accorded to him by the Sikh Community, said: "The Sikhs do not want to encroach on the rights of others, nor would they allow their rights to be encroached upon by others."

The Central Legislative Assembly resumed the debate on Mr. Chettiar's motion re: Public Accounts Committee. 1942-43.

Sir J. P. Srivastava made a statement in the Central Assembly on the food situation in Bengal, Malabar, Cochin, Travancore and Vizagapatam.

The Nawab of Mamdot referring to the Sikhs said that the Muslim League could not deny them the status of a nationality.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee made an appeal at Suri for help in political, economic and social reconstruction of the Hindus.

H. E. Gen. Sir Claude Auchinleck, C-in-C in India, in a review of the war situation, said: "......The Indian fighting man deserves well of his country and this should not be forgotten when peace returns to the world."

In answer to a question in the House of Commons, Mr. L. S. Amery said that the number of persons detained on Dec. 1, the latest date reported to him, was 1,841.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Budget Estimates of the Bengal Government for 1945-46 revealed a revenue deficit of Rs. 8 crores.

H. P. Liu, Secretary, Chinese Association of Labour and a delegate at the World Trade Union Conference, expressed the view in London that India should be free at once.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in a statement said that the proposals before the Central Assembly to change the Hindu Law were harmful.

The Government sustained two defeats in the Central Assembly when the House passed two cut motions on the Railway Budget.

In the Central Assembly, it was stated that the total amount charged to the Defence Budget on account of stores and supplies purchased in India in the financial year 1943-44 was Rs. 312 crores.

The Central Assembly passed the Railway Budget totalling over Rs. 220 crores.

The Finance Member presenting the 6th War Budget in the Central Assembly, re: 1945-46 anticipated a revenue deficit of Rs.

155·77 crores and Rs. 163·89 crores in the Budget Estimates for the next year.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the seriousness of the cloth situation was discussed.

1st. Sir T. Vijayaraghavachariar, Dewan of Udaipur, addressing the members of the Christian College Union Society observed: "It is easy to attain political leadership if you follow a minority path. But that is a dangerous path. Follow the larger path of national unity."

The India (Estate Duty) Bill passed the Committee stage in the House of Lords without comment.

The All-India Food Conference made a series of recommendations, inter alia, to encourage the production of protective foods, to secure fair prices for the cultivator and laid down certain standards for rationing.

The All-India Rabindranath Memorial Committee was reconstituted and a new executive council and office-bearers elected at a meeting of the Committee in Calcutta. Mr. Justice S. R. Das was in the chair.

Mr. L. S. Amery, in reply to Mr. Sorensen, in the House of Commons said that the question of education was only part of a very wide programme of reconstruction covering many years, which the Government of India had under consideration in consultation with various Provincial Governments.

2nd. The Hindu Law Committee concluded its sitting in Bombay and left for Poona.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, presiding over an educational conference in Bombay, said: "Children must be educated and must not be instructed."

Mr. G. M. Syed, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, in a statement from Karachi said that he was ordered to confine himself within the village of Sonu for a period of three months.

Representatives of the Sikh community met in Lahore at the residence of Sardar Bahadur Ujjal Singh, M. L. A., former Parliamentry Secretary to the Punjab Government, to discuss the Conciliation Committee's questionnaire.

At the session of the Food Conference in New Delhi, Sir Edward Benthall, Member for War Transport, and officers of War Transport Department conferred with delegates over problems of movement and explained the comprehensive steps which had been taken to increase haulage and wagon capacity.

Sardar Bahadur Mir Hussain Bux Khan Talpur was elected to the Sind Assembly.

Sir C. Ramalinga Reddi, inaugurating the Madras Branch of the Indian Council of World Affairs in Madras, made a brief survey of the current world history, and said that in the future he envisaged a new global order in which new forces would operate for bringing about an enduring peace.

3rd. The first meeting of the Advisory Board of Archaeology was held in New Delhi.

The Standing Finance Committee approved proposals inter alia to collect data for a social security scheme for Indian labour, to continue grants-in-aid to cottage industries and further capital expenditure on the tele-communications scheme.

Dr. John Sargent, Educational Adviser, Government of India, addressing the annual convocation of the Lucknow University, emphasised that the aim of the report of the Central Advisory Board of Education was not to prescribe an ideal system of public instruction, but to outline the minimum programme of development which would place India on an approximate educational level with other countries.

The Hindu Law Committee arrived at Poona and recorded evidence of some of the witnesses.

4th. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party, in an interview at Wardhaganj, said: "There is no truth in the report appearing in a certain section of the Press that an agreement or a settlement has been reached between me and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing a meeting at the first Circle Congress Workers' Conference in Madras, made an appeal to the Congress to accept office with a view to rendering service to the people who were facing distressing conditions. He warned that the conditions were bound to worsen in the future and they must take up power and prepare for the difficult times ahead.

5th. At a meeting of the Bengal Women's Education League held in Calcutta, a resolution was passed requesting the Government to make a statutory grant for the education of girls and women equal to that for boys and girls.

The Natal Indian Congress Executive expressed the opinion that Mr. R. M. Deshmukh, High Commissioner-designate for India in South Africa should not proceed to South Africa until the Pegging Act was repealed and unless the Residential Property Regulation Ordinance and Local Authorities Expropriation Ordinances were vetoed.

Mr. Abdus Salam Siddiqui, Director of Education, Bhopal, addressing the Bhopal Rotary Club on post-war expansion of education in Bhopal State, declared that thirty percent of illiteracy was liquidated in Bhopal City as a result of enforcement of compulsory education.

The anniversary of the Institute of Rural Reconstruction was celebrated at Sriniketan under the presidentship of Mr. L. K. Elenhirst.

His Excellency Mr. R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal, addressing the annual meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, expressed the hope that the Society would lend the great weight of its prestige to the sponsoring and encouragement of the application of modern scientific research to the old arts of agriculture and of industry.

6th The 9th session of the Indian Roads Congress commenced its sittings in Madras. Delegates from all parts of India attended the conference. His Excellency Sir Arthur Hope opened the session.

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, addressing a meeting of students in Madras, stressed the importance of cultivating the habit of independent thinking.

Mr. S. A. Jawad, Director of Public Relations of the Chamber of Princes, addressing a Press Conference in Bombay, made an appeal to journalists to "play the game" and desist from the tempting pastime of speculation and imaginative presentation of news concerning the Indian States.

Dr. Syed Abdul Latif, in the course of his reply to the Sapru Conciliation Committee's questionaire, stated that many of the items embodied in the questionaire were of a manner which should have been addressed by a constitution-making body and not by a Conciliation Committee.

Mr. K. M. Munshi, giving evidence before the Rau Committee on Hindu Law reforms, expressed a fear that the present time was not suited for replacing the Smriti Law by a comprehensive Hindu Code.

About one lakh of primary Congress members were enrolled in Maharastra.

7th. The Special Committee of Rulers reached unanimous conclusions on the question of bringing about a solution of the deadlock caused by the resignation of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes.

Sardar Ajit Singh, Minister to the Frontier Government, in the course of his speech at a reception accorded to him on behalf of the Sikh community of the Frontier Province, said: "The Sikhs do not want to encroach on other's rights, nor would they like to allow their rights to be encroached upon by others. I would be the first person to support the Hindus if they want to have a Bill of this kind passed for the control of their temples."

A meeting of the Kisan Sub-committee of the Provincial Constructive Committee was held at Poona, under the presidentship of Mr. Keshavrao Jadhe. Various activities connected with the Kisan activities in Maharashtra were discussed.

8th. The Central Legislative Assembly began its budget session with Sir Abdur Rahim, President, in the chair.

The Government of India's withdrawal of the assurance given in 1944 to feed Calcutta was the subject of an adjournment motion sought in the Central Assembly.

The Central Assembly resumed the debate on Mr. T. S. Chettiar's amendment to the report of the Public Accounts Committee for 1942-43, declaring that as grave irregularities had been observed in the expenditure of large amounts in war publicity and other matters, steps should be taken immediately to put down these irregularities. The amendment was passed.

Mr. L. S. Amery stated in the House of Commons that the question of continued employment of women underground in Indian coal mines was being considered by the Government of India, and he expected to be informed shortly of their conclusions.

Mr. Amery said in reply to Mr. Sorensen, that the desired information was

not available as to how many members of the Legislative Assemblies were subject to village or house restriction and, therefore, were not able to attend their respective Assemblies.

The Madras Hindu Mahasabha, criticising the Draft Hindu Code, in the course of a memorandum to the Hindu Law Committee, pointed out that the legislature had no moral right to alter Hindu Law still less to make such revolutionary changes as were proposed.

9th. The Central Legislative Assembly passed without division Mr. Lalchand Navalrai's adjournment motion to censure the Government on their failure to adopt economic and other sanctions against South Africa.

The European South African Citizens' Association held its first meeting in Durban and passed a resolution calling on the Government to hold a referendum on the Indian question.

The Rt. Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, addressing a students' gathering in Madras, pleaded in very strong language for the establishment of a single organisation in which all the nations of the world, great and small, were brought together for mutual understanding and mutual help.

Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava, Food Member, in reply to Mr. Abdul Quayum, made a statement in the Central Assembly on the food situation in Bengal, Malabar, Cochin, Travancore and Vizagapatam.

10th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, initiating the debate on the adjournment motion to censure Government for not having applied economic sanctions against the Union Government, Mr. Navalrai said that when the question was debated in the house, Dr. Khare, Commonwealth Relations Member, made many assertions and gave hopes of the many things that Government would do but nothing had been done.

In a written answer to Prof. Ranga, the Home Member, Sir Francis Mudie, stated in the Central Assembly that Mr. Rajendra Prasad, member of the Congress Working Committee, was reported to be maintaining fairly good health considering the fact that he suffered from chronic asthma. All members of the Committee were well except Pandit Govinda Ballav Pant, who had a pain in the back, which was improving, and who might have to be operated on for hernia.

The Government suffered their second defeat in the Legislative Assembly when the Opposition carried an adjournment motion moved by Mr. Abdul Ghani, Muslim League Member, censuring the Government for condoning and encouraging unfair and illegal means of securing contributions to the Government War Loans and National Savings Certificates.

The Nawab of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Muslim League, addressing the Lyallpur District Muslim League Conference, said that through the fulfilment of the Pakistan demand alone both Hindus and Muslims could win real political freedom.—Referring to the Sikhs, the Nawab of Mamdot said that the Muslim League could not deny them the status of a Nationality, even though they were numerically a small nationality.

11th. The Punjab Nationalist Students' Conference made a declaration of complete faith in Mahatma Gandhi's constructive programme and full confidence in his leadership.

12th. The Central Legislative Assembly held a short sitting to pass two minor official bills and to refer a third to a Select Committee.

A party of Indian Editors arrived at Bagdad on their way to visit Indian Troops in the Middle East and Italy.

13th. The ninth session of the Indian Road Congress concluded with a meeting in Madras, at which papers were read and discussed. Mr. L. A. Freak, Chief Engineer, Roads and Buildings, the Punjab, presided.

Dr. Syed Mahmud, replying to a Press correspondent's question from Wardha, said: "Mr. Gandhi has not been sitting idle. He has applied himself strenuously to the fundamentals. I do not think any one else could have done anything more, situated as we are. If by any chance an honourable settlement becomes possible in the near future, it can only be as the result of all that Mr. Gandhi has so far done since his release."

At the 27th session of the Madras Local and Municipal Engineers' Conference, Mr. Geo. Priestly, Adviser to H. E. the Governor remarked: "My personal view is that you have little cause to be uneasy about your future".

The Indian Industrial Mission to Australia started a tour of the Commonwealth. They were met at Perth by Mr. Holland, Australian Trade Commissioner to India, who was in Australia and arranged a 49-day tour.

Sir Evelyn Wrench, sometime American Relations Officer to the Government of India, addressing a meeting of the East India Association in London, expressed the belief that India and Britain could achieve much for the advancement of civilisation as partners in the British Commonwealth.

The Government of Bihar decided to withdraw for 10 days the home interment orders served on three of the five prominent Congressmen of Bihar who were interned Jan. 28, namely, Mr. M. Prashad, Editor of Searchlight, Mr. A. Bari, Deputy Speaker, Bihar Assembly, and P. Misra.

A Press Note stated that the general food situation in Madras continued to be on the whole satisfactory.

14th. The Central Legislative Assembly resumed debate on Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh's motion for reference to the Select Committee of his Bill to remove legal disabilities under Hindu Law in respect of marriages between Hindus, particularly to legalise "Sagotra" marriages.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru invited Sir Tekchand to be a member of the Conciliation Committee.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee made an appeal at Suri (Birbhum) for help in political, economic, social and cultural regeneration of the Hindus.

15th. Sir Edward Benthall, the War Transport Member, presenting what he said as an orthodox bugdet in the Central Legislative Assembly, stated that it was not proposed to make any general increase in rates and fares, apart from the decision announced already that from Feb. 1, the port to port rates on certain goods be increased in order to bring them into line with the cost of shipment by sea.

Khan Bahadur Shaikh Mohammad Jan, M. L. C., General Secretary, All-India Muslim Majlis, in a statement to the Press said: "Whenever the slightest sympathy for political aspirations of this down-trodden country is shown by the progressive sections of the people of England or America, Mr. Jinnah does not fail to raise his head from his cool Malabar Hill retreat in order to indulge in mean tirades against the Congress and empty threats to the British Government of dire consequence for them if they ever have any truck with the Congress without his previous sanctions."

H. E. Gen. Sir Claude Auchinleck, C-in-C. India, in a review of the war situation in the Council of State, declared: "I have no hesitation in saying that we can be proud indeed of the part which India is playing in this tremendous struggle and of the contribution which she is making towards final victory over our enemies, and I know this House will join me in saying that the Indian fighting man deserves well of his country and that this should not be forgotten when peace returns to the world."

In the House of Commons, a question about the number of political detenues was asked by Mr. Sorensen (Lab). After referring to the statement by the Home Member in the Indian Legislative Assembly that under the D. I. Rules 5,708 were imprisoned and 7,574 detained on Jan. 1, Mr. Sorensen inquired how Mr. Amery reconciled these figures with those given by him of the number detained.—Mr. Amery replied: "I have so far received no confirmation of the report referred to. I don't know what was the question to which the former reply was addressed. ...... The number of persons detained on Dec. 1, the latest date reported to me, was 1,841."

Mr. Amery told the House of Commons that benefits for British personnnel in the Indian Forces would be on the general lines of those granted to British Forces.

Mr. William Dobie, M. P., as the chairman of the India League and on behalf of a number of Members of Parliament interested in India, addressed a letter to Sir Walter Citrine to ask that "the British Delegation at the World Trade Union Congress express desire and hope that in the planning of peace and in post-war world India will take her place as a great and free country."

16th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, an estimated revenue deficit of Rs. 8 crores was revealed in the Budget Estimates of the Bengal Government for 1945-46, presented by Mr. T. C. Goswami, Finance Minister.

In the Council of State, complaints against "reckless driving" of military

vehicles were made in a debate on Haji Syed Mohammed Hussain's resolution recommending, that in view of frequent and serious accidents caused by these vehicles, they should not be allowed to be driven within the limits of any municipality, town area and any cantonment at a speed exceeding 15 miles an hour and no training of motor drivers be permitted within the above limits.

The Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly decided to move three cut motions on the Railway Budget.

In the House of Commons the India Estate Duty Bill was given a second reading. Moving the second reading of the Bill which had already passed through the House of Lords, Mr. Amery said that it was a small measure whose only purpose was to remedy an oversight in the drafting of the Government of India Act of 1935 more particularly with reference to partition of taxation as between the Central Government and the Provinces.

17th. Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, High Commissioner for India in the Union of South Africa, returned to India on the relinquishment of his office.

Sir Mahomed Zafarulla Khan, leader of the Indian delegation to the Commonwealth Relations Conference which opened in London, made a spirited speech in which he pleaded for full Dominion Status for India, and told Commonwealth statesmen that they could no longer stop India from achieving her desire.

Mr. W. A. M. Walker, in his presidential Address at the annual meeting of the Indian Jute Mills Association, discussed the condition of the Jute industry in Bengal.

Mahatma Gandhi issued the following statement: "I have delayed giving my opinion on the Bihar Government's challenge to Congress workers in the hope that the storm was an isolated mistake and that it will correct itself. I find I was mistaken. On the top of the happenings in Bihar comes news that Sri Purushottamdas Tandon has been re-arrested. The workers in Bihar are well-known, and of them one is an ex-Prime Minister and another is ex-Finance Minister. Tandonji is the Speaker of the U. P. Assembly. Now comes news that Sri Gopabandhu Chaudhury of Orissa, equally well-known too, has been re-arrested.......This is one picture. The other is, the Viceroy holds talks with Sj. Bhulabhai Desai. The air is thick with rumours of big changes. The rumour hardly squares with the news I have summarised and which the public knows already."

H. P. Liu, Secretary, Chinese Association of Labour and a leading delegate at the World Trade Union Conference, said in London, in a statement on India: "Firstly, India should be free at once. Secondly, our sympathy is always with the Indian freedom movement. We have unbounded admiration for such great world leaders like Gandhiji and Pandit Nehru. Mr. Nehru's release would be a great moral triumph for our war of freedom for peoples. Thirdly, labour movements in India and China must strengthen collaboration in order to secure a higher standard of living for Asiatic peoples.

—**18th.** Sir Sultan Ahmed and Sir Jogendra Singh, Members of the Executive Council, speaking at a public meeting in New Delhi, dwelt upon the importance of cultural and social contacts as a means of achieving unity.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in a statement from Benares, said: "I have already expressed my opinion that the proposals before the Central Legislative Assembly to change the present Hindu Law are quite harmful to the Hindu Society. An institution, the members of which belong to all religions and communities, specially the present Legislative Assembly, has no right to bring about revolutionary changes in the personal laws of Hindus."

The birthday of Sri Ramkrishna Paramhansa was celebrated with great solemnity at the Ramkrishna Maths all over India.

19th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, the President admitted a motion for adjournment by Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari to discuss the refusal of the Government to give any information in the Assembly before a decision on the proposal of giving war allowances to senior members of the I. C. S. drawing salaries between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 was taken.

In the Central Assembly, Mr. T. S. A. Chettiar asked: "Were the cases of the members of the Congress Working Committee reviewed in January and fresh orders of detention passed on them?" The Home Member: "Yes, the orders were extended."

At the annual meeting of the Freedom of Trades Association of India in Calcutta, various problems affecting trade and commerce were discussed.

20th. The Federation of the Trades Associations of India, at their annual meeting in Calcutta, adopted a resolution in suggesting amendment of the Cotton Cloth Prohibition Order to enable retail dealers to post parcels of cotton materials in execution of bonafide mofussil orders.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Bengal's total indebtedness and the loss suffered by the Government on account of the trade operations of the Civil Supplies Department figured prominently during the general discussion of the Provincial Budget estimate for 1945-46.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. K. Sahabuddin, Labour and Industry Minister, reiterated that Government stood by its policy of nationalisation of the electric supply industry in the province, while speaking on an adjournment motion censuring Government for its failure to take over the Calcutta Electric Supply undertaking. It was a policy of nationalisation and not municipalisation, the Minister added.

Nawab Muhammad Ismail, Chaudhuri Khaliquzzaman and Mr. Kazi Muhammad Isa, members of the Muslim League Committee of Action, who were deputed by the League High Command to bring about League solidarity in Sind, had talks with the leaders of various groups in the Sind Assembly.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Government was defeated when the House passed by 58 votes to 46 the Muslim League Party cut motion to express disapproval of the plan by which the Railways proposed to take part financially in the running of road services.

The Council of State opened the general discussion of the Railway Budget.

Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar, leader of the Opposition in the Punjab Assembly, in defiance of the restriction imposed on him by the Punjab Government, attended the Punjab Assembly.

The negotiations to resolve the differences between the Sind Muslim League and the Sind Premier finally broke down.

The Punjab Legislative Assembly discussed two Bills affecting Muslims only. Muslim members belonging to the Unionist and the League parties took an interest in the debate.

21st. The Central Legislative Assembly resumed the voting on demands in the Railway Budget. The first motion was moved by Mr. Ramnarayan Singh to raise the question of inconvenience to third class passengers.

Government sustained two defeats, when the House passed two cut motions on the Railway Budget, sponsored by the Congress Party—one to discuss the inconvenience of third class passengers (carried without division) and the other urging Indianisation of higher grades of the Railway service (carried by 51 to 40).

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Legislative Chambers (Members' Emoluments) Amendment Bill was passed without any amendment. The Bill sought to increase the salary of members of Legislature from Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 per month and also their daily allowances from Rs. 10 to Rs. 15.

In the Sind Legislative Assembly, an echo of the restraint orders on Congress M. L. A.'s was heard on the opening day of the Budget session, when Khan Bahadur Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur, Home Minister, in reply to opposition question, stated that it was not the intention of the Government to disallow Congress members from attending the session. The Congress members could attend the session with the permission of the District Magistrate.

Five members of the Indian Scientific Mission, who returned to India after 5 months' stay in the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Canada, in a statement in New Delhi, said that in the course of their lectures and conversations in the U. K. they advocated the view that for developing India, her natural resources must be used to the fullest extent, and for this purpose there should be a National Government at the Centre as well as in the Provinces.

22nd. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. C. M. Trivedi, War Secretary, replying to a question from Mr. Mannu Subedar, stated that the total amount charged to the Defence Budget on account of stores and supplies purchased in India in the financial year 1943-44 was Rs. 312 crores.

The first supplementary estimate of the expenditure of the Madras Government for 1944-45 was authorised by His Excellency the Governor under Section 93 of India Act 1935.

The reiteration of the Government's attitude to the State Congress was made

in the Sri Mulam Assembly by the Dewan President, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, during question hour.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, general discussion on the Budget proposals began, Mr. Dhirendra Lal Barua initiating the debate.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, an adjournment motion designed to condemn the Government for their alleged failure "to prevent the present cloth famine" was defeated by 104 to 65 votes.

The Civil Supplies Minister, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, while admitting the existence of a cloth famine, said that he was trying his best to improve the supply position.

In the House of Commons, Mr. L. S. Amery described as "obviously fantastic" the statement by Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit in the U. S. A. that India was a vast concentration camp and without religious differences.

The Central Assembly passed by 51 votes to 32, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta's cut motion asking for more dearness allowance for railway employees.

At the Council of State, Mr. G. S. Motilal (Congress) moved a resolution to raise the number of elected members of the House and to broaden the franchise in case general elections were held.

Mr. Amery, replying to a question about the rate of exchange for British troops in India, told the House of Commons that British troops were paid in rupees under the Indian Pay Code and were liable to tax under the Indian Income-tax Act. The troops were paid by the Government of India and not by the British Government.

23rd. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Khan Sahib Hamiduddin, Parliamentary Secretary, Public Health Department, in reply to Rai Harendranath Chaudhuri. gave the information that malaria took a total of 292,819 lives in municipal and rural areas of Bengal during the six months, May to Oct. 1944. The number of such deaths during the same period in 1943 was 275,599, in 1942, 188,391 and in 1941, 158,906.

The Punjab Legislative Assembly discussed non-official Bills and resolutions.

The Central Legislative Assembly passed two cut motions and faced a tie of votes on a demand on which the Nationalist Party called a division to mark its resentment against the Government's obstructive attitude.

The Central Assembly passed the Railway Budget totalling over Rs. 220 crores.

24th. Dr. B. S. Moonje, presiding over the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha Conference at Jalpaiguri, said that the Raj they wished to establish in India would be a democratic Raj on the basis of one man one vote.

In the Sind Legislative Assembly, the question whether the hoisting of a National Flag on private houses was an offence was raised by Mr. Nichaldas Vazirani.

The Hidayatullah Ministry was defeated in Sind by 25 votes to 19.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Supplementary Estimate of expenditure for 1944-45 amounting to Rs. 65,73,34,400 was presented by Mr. T. C. Goswami, Finance Minister. Of this, Rs. 33,10,200 is charged and the balance voted.

His Excellency Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras, declared open the "Arthur Hope Polytechnic" at Coimbatore.

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, Sir Manoharlal, Finance Minister, announced that a post-war Reconstruction Fund with an initial contribution of Rs. 2 crores from the year's surplus was created by the Punjab Government to finance post-war development under the consideration of Government.

Sardar Sir Buta Singh, who was in London as one of the delegates to the Commonwealth Relations Conference, stressed the Sikh opposition to the scheme for the division of India.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, inaugurating the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha Conference at Jalpaiguri, called upon all parties and peoples who believed in the goal of a free and united India, in which all would enjoy equal rights of citizenship, to come forward at the supreme crisis in the history of the country and create a public opinion which bureaucrats or empire-builders would not dare resist.

25th. The fifth annual conference of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation which met under the presidentship of Sir M. Visveswaraya, concluded in New Delhi.

Mr. B. G. Kher, ex-Premier of Bombay, speaking at a crowded gathering at Surat, visualised a double revolution in the country—educational and economic, on the occasion of the 21st anniversary of "Gurukul Supa".

26th. Khan Bahadur Haji Maula Bux was sworn in as the sixth Minister in the Hidayatullah Ministry.

The Hindu Law Committee took evidence in Calcutta on the draft Hindu Code prepared by them at the instance of the Government of India, at the residence of Mr. N. R. Sarkar.

The President and members of the Working Committee and other leaders of the Mysore State Congress met at Bangalore, and reviewed the political situation in the State and took stock of the Party's strength in the Legislatures in the light of the general elections.

Mr. Amery turned down the proposal for a parliamentary delegation to India on grounds of passage and other difficulties. He held out conditional hope for the future.

Mahatma Gandhi, in the course of his message at Wardhaganj, to the All-India Hindusthani Prachar Conference, said : "I see no reason why what was at one time a common language of both Hindus and Muslims should not again become the lingua franca."

27th. The Sind Premier Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, stated in an interview at Karachi that, by including Khan Bahadur Maula Baksh in the Ministry, he had obviated the possibility of sec. 93 rule in the province, which would have been inevitable after the failure of the efforts of Mr. G. M. Syed and Mr. M. H. Gazdar to form a coalition with Opposition Hindu and Independent Muslim members.

Sir Chintaman D. Deshmukh, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, speaking before the Rotary Club of Poona, discussed the fundamental issues involved in the successful planning for wealth and welfare of India in the post-war period.

28th. Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, sent a strongly worded telegram to Mr. G. M. Syed, President of the Sind Muslim League, denouncing his actions in "letting down his leader and party".

Sir Jeremy Raisman, presenting the sixth war budget relating to 1945-46, anticipated a revenue deficit of Rs. 155·77 crores in the Revised Estimates of the current financial year and of Rs. 163·89 crores in the Budget Estimates for the next year.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the seriousness of the cloth situation in Bengal was emphasised during the resumed discussion of the Budget.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the consideration of the Embankment (Amendment) Bill (as passed by the Council) was moved by Mr. B. P. Pain, Minister for Communication & Works.

Before the Hindu Law Committee in Calcutta, members of a joint committee of several women's organisations spoke in favour of the Draft Hindu Code.

In reply to a question sent in writing by Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee, a Congress member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly (in detention), it was admitted by Khan Bahadur Mohammad Ali, Parliamentary Secretary, that a letter written by Dr. Banerjee to Mahatma Gandhi was withheld.

March 1945

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Finance Minister announced that the Government of India proposed to send a delegation to Britain, re. liquidation of sterling balances.

The Nationalist Christian Party of Bombay opposed the Pakistan Scheme.

Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar was arrested for attending the Punjab Assembly.

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, a current revised surplus of Rs. 139 lakhs for the year was forecast by Sir Manohar Lal.

Swami Sahajananda resigned from the Presidentship of the All-India Kishan Sabha.

Sir M. Zafrulla Khan, leader of the Indian delegation to the London Conference, condemned racial discrimination.

The Royal Commission in the House of Lords, signified Royal assent to the passing of India (Estates Duty) Act.

Sir Ghulam H. Hidyatullah, Sind Premier, submitted the resignation of his Cabinet.

In the N. W. F. P. Assembly, Sir Aurangzeb Khan, Premier, submitted the resignation of his Ministry.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the release of all security prisoners was the subject for consideration.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir amended the Jammu and Kasmir Constitution Act.

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan was released.

In the Sind Legislative Assembly, the Sind University Bill was referred to a Special Committee.

His Majesty's Government invited His Excellency the Viceroy to come to London.

The Government of U. S. S. R. proposed to invite scholars from Indian Universities to deliver a series of lectures at the Russian Universities on ancient Indian history and civilization.

1st. In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Finance Member informed the House that the Government of India proposed to send a delegation to Britain to discuss the question of the liquidation of sterling balances.

The Executive Committee of the Nationalist Christian Party of Bombay, in a memorandum submitted to the Sapru Conciliation Committee, expressed opposition to Pakistan and support for an all-India Federation with elections to Legislatures, Central and Provincial, based on joint electorates and adult franchise, with reservations of seats for minorities.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the question of privilege attaching to the publication of speeches made in an Indian Legislature was discussed.

Viscount Cranbourne, Dominions Secretary and Leader of the House of Lords, when replying on the debate in the House of Lords on the Crimea Conference announced that India has been invited to take part in Empire discussions preliminary to the San Francisco Conference.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. T. C. Goswami, Finance Minister, gave details about the losses on trading operations of the Civil Supplies Department.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, supplementry demands of the Bengal Government for 1944-45 were discussed. The total covered by the estimates was Rs. 65,73,34,000, out of which Rs. 33,10,200 was charged and the balance was voted.

Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar was arrested for defying the ban on attendance at meeting and for attending the Punjab Assembly.

Mr. L. S. Amery, answering questions in the House of Commons about the Chamber of Princes, replied "yes" when asked by Capt. Gammans, firstly, whether normal functioning of the Chamber of Princes which was inaugurated by royal proclamation had been interrupted since the resignation of the Chancellor, the Prochancellor and 19 members of the Standing Committee.

The Central Legislative Assembly by 22 votes to 21 passed Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh's motion for reference to a Select Committee of his Bill to remove legal disabilities under Hindu Law in respect of marriage between Hindus.

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, a current revised surplus of Rs. 139 lakhs for the next year were forecast by Sir Manohar Lal, Finance Minister.

2nd. Enquiries in authoritative quarters on the question of reported shortage of cloth in several Provinces, with particular reference to Bengal, showed that the Central Government textile authorities had been despatching enough cloth to the various deficit Provinces, and it was not understood as to why some of the Provinces, inspite of their receiving the quotas of cloth allotted to them, found it difficult to meet the demands of the consumers.

The Central Legislative Assembly, by 55 votes to 43. passed Sir Mahomed Yamin Khan's resolution asking Government to take immediate steps to abolish the National War Front branch of the Department of Information and Broadcasting and to liquidate forthwith the National War Front Organisation in the Centre and in the Provinces.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Bengal Government's policy of gradual release of political prisoners consistent with public safety was restated by Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Chief Minister. This was in reply to a non-official resolution urging immediate release of these prisoners which was defeated by 73 votes to 50.

In the Assam Legislative Assembly, Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhuri, Finance Minister, in his speech in introducing the Budget, said that the year (1943-44) closed with a revenue surplus amounting to Rs. 69,95,000. The chief contributory causes for this surplus were increased revenue from Assam's share of the Central Income Tax, better collection of Agricultural Income Tax and a considerable increase under the heads "Land Revenue", "Provincial Excise" and "Other Taxes and Duties."

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, an attempt to raise the question of the arrest of the leader of the Opposition, Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar through a privilege motion failed, as the Speaker, Sir Shahabuddin, ruled that, it being the last day for voting on supplemantary grants, the motion could not be taken up.—The motion was brought forward by a Congress member, Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma, Raja Gazanafar Ali, Muslim League member, backing it, said there was nothing in the rules to prevent a discussion.

In the Sind Legislative Assembly, a Bill to regulate the powers and privileges of the members of the Assembly was published. The Bill which was the first of its kind in any provincial legislature in British India, followed the British parliamentary system, subject to the restrictions laid down in the Government of India Act.

3rd. The Hindu Law Committee after taking more evidence on the Draft Hindu Code concluded their work in Calcutta.

The Commonwealth Relations Conference which began its session on February 17, 1945, concluded.

Swami Sahajananda resigned from the Presidentship of the All.India Kishan Sabha.

The Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry began in New Delhi. It was attended by representatives of the various chambers of commerce.

Mr. Mohammed Usman Soomo was appointed as Parliamentary Secretary to the Sind Ministry.

4th, Sir B. P. Singh Roy, President of the Bengal Council and delegate to the British Commonwealth Relations Conference in London, at a meeting of the Students' Union, said that the Indian political deadlock proved the bankruptcy of Britain's statesmanship.

With reference to reports of a cloth famine in Bengal, inquiries made in New Delhi showed that during the five months ended November 30,1944 Bengal received for civil consumption 0·4 yds of mill cloth per head, more than any other part of India.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit declared in a nationwide broadcast from New York: "Asia will be the testing ground of all the theories advanced by the United Nations but the continuation of colonial empires will be a constant danger to world peace and the progress of humanity."

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (in New Delhi) passed a resolution urging the necessity of an early declaration by the Government of India of its industrial policy.

Mahatma Gandhi, in an interview to the Orient Press at Nagpur, said: "Congressmen who have associated themselves for the fulfilment of our constructive programme need not be agitated over what local Governments say or do. Whether their policy is merely local or represents that of the Centre, they should learn to shed fear."

5th. The Central Legislative Assembly began the general debate on the budget—Mr. Mannu Subedar, opening the debate, said that inspite of his protestations Sir Jeremy Raisman was a true representative of John Bull and Co. in this country. It might be, he added, that Mr. Churchill was not liquidating the

Empire but Sir Jeremy Raisman was very effectively liquidating the economic life of the country.

Mr. K. S. Gupta, Congress member, representing Ganjam and Vijagapatam, suddenly took ill and became unconscious in the Central Assembly in the afternoon while he was speaking on the budget. He died shortly afterwards.

The Raja of Padukottah in the State Council ordered that the Devadasi services in all Sircar temples in the State should be abolished with immediate effect. The action was consequent on the non-official resolution passed at the previous session of the Padukottah Legislative Council urging the abolition of the Devadasi services in all State temples.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the immediate necessity for legislative measures to improve the condition of Calcutta's bustee dwellers, was urged by the Revenue Minister, Mr. Tarak Nath Mukherjee.

In the Bengal Assembly, Khan Bahadur Mohammad Ali, Parliamentary Secretary, replying to a question stated that the cases of security prisoners in Bengal were reviewed every six months, and as a result of such reviews, 102 security prisoners had so far been released and others, though not released, after review of their cases, had been served with fresh orders of detention.

6th. Sir M. Zafrulla Khan, leader of the Indian delegation to the London Conference on Commonwealth Relations, condemned racial discrimination at a Press conference in London.

The Hindu Law Committee held its first sitting in Madras. The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, Rao Bahadur K. V. Aiyar and Dewan Bahadur R. V. Krishna Aiyar gave evidence.

Khan Bahadur Haji Maula Bux, the Sind Minister, had discussion with the Premier Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah at Karachi.

The hope that the Sapru Committee would succeed in evolving a formula acceptable to the principal elements in the public life of India was expressed by Sardar Harnam Singh, member of the Committee on his return from Delhi to Lahore.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, a warm tribute was paid to the memory of the Late Mr. K. C. Gupta, who died in the Assembly Chamber on the 5th March.

Mr. Bertrand Russel advocated independence for India opposing the offer of Dominion Status while discussing the question of the future of India at a meeting in the Cambridge University.

In the Central Assembly, the Home Member, in reply to a question put by Mr. Sri Prakasha, said: "Arrangements are being made for the transfer of the members of Congress Working Committee from Ahmednagar to their respective provinces, but I have so far received no information that any of the transfers has actually taken place."

7th. The Royal Commission in the House of Lords signified Royal assent to the passing of the Indian (Estate Duty) Act.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the working of the Civil Supplies Department with particular reference to distribution of cloth came in for a good deal of criticism during the general discussion in the Supplementary Budget Estimates for the current year.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, resuming the general debate on the Budget, Mr. Azhar Ali characterised the Budget as one of "extortion in different ways". He felt that the Hydari Mission would fail with the result that India's sterling balances would be wiped out. The "grow more food" campaign, he added, was a hoax.

In the Council of State, Sir Shantidas Askuran, opening the general discussion on the Budget, recalled that when Lend-Lease arrangements were made by the U. S. A. for helping the common War effort, President Roosevelt gave the assurance that the contributions which different nations would make towards the Defence Bill would be measured in terms of the capacity of each country to bear it. Yet nearly Rs. 124 crores had been debited to India as her part of the reverse Lend-Lease aid to the U. S. A., in the War up to the end of 1944-45.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ali, Parliamentary Secretary to the Chief Minister, stated that some persons arrested under Rule 129 of the Defence of India Rules were detained in the Intelligence Branch and Special Branch for periods varying up to a maximum of two months.

Mr. N. G. Ranga, M. L. A. (Central) said in a statement to the Press in New

Delhi: "After consulting the Kisan Congresses of the U. P., Bihar, Bengal, Punjab, C. P. and of Southern India, we have come to the conclusion that the All-India Kisan Congress should be an advisory body and not a mandatory organisation."

A new constitution for the Natal Congress on broad democratic lines was envisaged by an important resolution passed by 89 to 14 votes at a Representative Committee meeting in Durban.

8th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Azizul Haque, the Commerce Member in reply to Mr. T. S. A. Chettier, said that the brass utensils manufacturing industry had been supplied brass sheets since june 1944 at the rate of approximately 400 tons a month.

Mr, Bertrand Russel agreed to take active part in establishing the Tagore Institute at Cambridge. At the inaugural meeting of the Institute the organisers decided to propose the name of Lord Russel for the presidentship of the Institute.

The Central Legislative Assembly agreed to refer to a select committee the Finance Member's Bill further to amend the Income Tax Act 1922 and the Excess Profits Tax 1940.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the hardship caused by scarcity of cloth was referred to by several members speaking on the supplementary Budget Estimates.

Sir Cyril Norwood, in an interview in Bombay said: "The Sargent Scheme was the best that could be desired in the present circumstances for the development of education in India."

In the House of Commons, Mr. Amery declined to make a fresh statement on the British Government's policy towards India.

The Hindu Law Committee resumed its sittings in Madras. More witnesses were examined.

9th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. Abdul Quayum initiated the debate on the Congress Party's censure motion against the Government of India, "that the demand under Executive Council be reduced to Re. 1."—The Congress Party's cut motion was passed by the House by 61 votes to 53.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, with the granting of demands in respect of general administration, civil works, education, police, administration of Justice and under several other hands, the discussion on the Supplementary Budget concluded.

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, Raja Gaznafar Ali, continuing his speech in reply to the Premier's statement on the dismissal of Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, urged His Majesty's Government to recall the Governor, Sir Bertrand Glancy as, he said, he had by his unconstitutional act in dismissing Sardar Shaukat Hyat violated the Government of India Act.

10th. The Central Legislative Assembly passed by 59 votes to 48 the Muslim League party's cut motion to refuse supplies to the Planning and Development Department.

The Hindu Law Committee concluded its sittings in Madras after recording further evidence. Several witnesses were examined.

11th. The Central Parliamentary Board of the All-India Muslim League called upon the Sind Premier to tender the resignation of the whole cabinet and to reconstitute a Coalition Ministry in which there should not be any Muslim who was not a Muslim Leaguer.

A press Communique from New Delhi said: "The Government of India having been invited to take part in the Conference to be held shortly in London and San Francisco on the World Security Organisation selected Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar and Sir Firoz Khan Noon as two of India's representatives. At the invitation of His Excellency the Crown Representative Sir V. T. Krishnamachari agreed to serve as the third."

Cables urging the Government of India to recall the High Commissioner, Mr, R. M. Deshmukh and to impose economic sanctions were sent by the Anti-segregation Council to Lord Wavell, Mr. Khare, Sir Raza Ali, Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Jinnah and other prominent Indians.

Mr. John Sargent, Education Commissioner, in a broadcast from New Delhi, said: "I cannot forget that every year more than 7,000,000 children in British India alone reach the age when they ought to go to school, but only a small

proportion get there. The rest pass inevitably on to join the great mass of illiterates. But at the same time there is no branch of human activity in which it is more dangerous to substitute quantity for quality than education. Without good teachers we shall never succeed."

12th. The general discussion in the Supplementary Budget for 1944-45 concluded in the Bengal Legislative Council.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly took up consideration of Budget grants under different heads.

The Central Legislative Assembly passed by 58 votes to 43, the Nationalist Party's cut motion to discuss the cloth and yarn position.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatulla, Sind Premier, met His Excellency the Governor and submitted the resignation of his Cabinet.

Mahatma Gandhi observed in a Press statement at Sewagram : "Congressmen, whose only calling is service of the people, will serve mutely and without caring for the consequences that may befall them by reason of their services. That is the true meaning of do or die."

13th. The Central Legislative Assembly passed by 57 votes to 37 the European Group's cut motion to urge "the need for economy generally for more stringent control of expenditnre on civil departments in particular."

The Sind Premier, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatulla issued the following statement : "I am the leader of the largest individual party, and I have an absolute majority in the House with the coalition of the Hindu Independent Party. No other individual can face the House tomorrow and get the Budget through except myself."

The Bengal Legislative Council, by 18 votes to 17, rejected an opposition adjournment motion criticising the Government for their alleged failure to pay Calcutta Corporation Rs. 9,00,000 as taxes of the Council House, thus causing considerable hardship to ratepayers.

In N. W. Frontier Province Assembly, following the passing of the no-confidence motion in the Assembly, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, the Premier submitted the resignation of his Ministry to His Excellency the Governor, but was asked to continue until His Excellency had time to make alternative arrangements.

Mr. Clarkson, Minister of the Interior, speaking in the South Africa Senate, said that during the recess steps had been taken in the Transvaal to promote co-operation between the local authorities and their Indian population with the object of improving the living conditions of the Indians.

14th. In the Council of State, the President announced that Government had decided to set apart an official day for the discussion of Mr. Thirumala Rao's resolution urging adequate representation of non-official opinion in India at the San Francisco conference.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Home Member, Sir Francis Mudie informed Mr. T. M. A. Chettiar, that the Government of India had seen Mahatma Gandhi's statement regarding the constructive programme and were in full sympathy with it.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, redress of political prisoners' grievances was urged by the Opposition when the House considered the budget demands for Rs. 1,10,70,000 under the head "Jails and Convicts Settlements."

The Bengal Legislative Council passed the Finance Bill, 1944. The measure extended the operation of enhanced rates, introduced by the Bengal Finance Act, 1943, in respect of Entertainments Tax, Totalisator Tax, Betting Tax, and Electricity Duty upto March 31, 1948.

Sir Ghulam Hussain reconstituted his Ministry in Sind.

Dr. Khan Sahib, who was received by the Governor of the North-West-Frontier, Sir George Cunningham, formally accepted the invitation to form a Ministry.

15th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, during discussion of the Finance Bill, Mr. C. P. Lawson (European Group) dealt with the black-out regulations in Calcutta and commented on the difference in their application to military as against civilian vehicles.

The Council of State rejected by 25 votes to 17, Haji Syed Mohamed Husain's resolution asking the Government to set up a committee of both houses of the Central Legislature, under a High Court Judge, to review the various rules under

Ordinances issued under the D. I. Act and suggest alternatives when desirable.

The text of President Roosevelt's letter sent to Mr. Samuel Dickstein, Chairman of the House of Representatives Immigration Committee which was studying the legislation on Indian Immigration, was released to the Press.

Mr. L. S. Amery, replying to a question in the House of Commons, said: "It is not intended to detain Congress leaders indefinitely. The Government of India will consider their release when they are satisfied they will not prejudice the maintenance of law and order and the safety of India as a war base."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, a non-official resolution urging the immediate release of all security prisoners was considered.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir amended the Jammu and Kashmir Constitution Act. By virtue of this amendment, both the popular Ministers, Mr. M. Beg and Wazir Ganga Ram, appointed from amongst the members of the Proja Sabha, would retain their seats in the State Assembly.

16th Orders for the release of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and eight others, including four Congress members of the N. W. F. P. Assembly, were issued by Dr. Khan Sahib on assuming the office of Premier.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Federick James, during the debate on the Finance Bill, urged that retail shops for Government employees should be closed down.

Sir J. P. Srivastava, Food Member, said in the Central Assembly, that attempts were being made by the Provincial Governments to increase milk production.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, lack of medical supplies and hospital arrangements as also dearth of doctors and trained nurses with reference to the epidemic situation in the province were stressed by different members during the discussion on the medical and public health budget.

A resolution condemning Dr. Ambedkar's move "to vivisect India by forming a separate nation of the Scheduled Castes outside the fold of Hinduism" was adopted at a public meeting held at Gopalgunj (Faridpur).

The Assam Legislative Assembly passed demands for grants—Rs. 29,35,000 and Rs. 22,25,100 in respect of General Administration and Land Revenue respectively. The Government was criticised for "all-round corruption in the administration."

The First Legislative Council and Representative Assembly constituted under the Government of Mysore Act, 1940 was dissolved.

Lt. Gen. Sir Henry Willcox, Chairman, Army Reorganisation Committee, addressing members of the Central Legislature, discussed the three roles of Army—local defence, defence against aggression, and duties in aid of the civic power. He emphasised at the outset that modern army was very much dependent on industry for its need and, therefore, the industrial development of India was of great importance to the fighting services.

17th. In the Assam Legislative Assembly, by the casting vote of the Speaker, the Saadulla Ministry was saved from censure. There was a tie (39-39) over a cut motion criticising the motor transport organisation, particularly for the failure of Government to arrange passenger services to ease the transport difficulties.

Dr. Khan Sahib and his two colleagues, Dewan B. Gandhi and Khan M. A. Khan were sworn in by the Governor of the N. W. F. P. at Peshawar.

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, (along with ten other security prisoners) was released.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the administration of the Co-operative Department was criticised by several members. All opposition cut motions were lost without a division.

The Sind Legislative Assembly restored the Supplementary grant of Rs. 4,08,000 under "General Administration" which had been refused on February 24.

The Governor-General appointed Mr. K. Sanjiva Row, C.I.E., Member of the Federal Public Service Commission, to act as Chairman during the absence on leave of Mr. F. W. Robertson, C.S.I., C.I.E., with effect from March 20, 1945, or from the date thereafter on which the latter might avail himself of the leave.

A Press Note from New Delhi said : "The Government of India have found it necessary to control the entry into, and exit from, India of foreign civilians by military aircraft under military charter, and have made some amendments in the Foreigners' Order to achieve this object."

18th. To register their protest against the Hindu Code Bill, about ten thousand women, including two hundred from Amritsar, gathered in the lawns of the Lahore Museum where the Hindu Law Committee was recording evidence.

At the second open sitting of the National Liberal Federation of India at Lahore, resolutions urging the British Government to form a National Government at the Centre and deploring the continuance of the political deadlock in India and asking the Government of India to release the members of the Congress Working Committee and the other Congress leaders were adopted.

19th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, in reply to a question put by Mr. T. S. A. Chettiar, Sir Francis Mudie, Home Member, said that the members of the Congress Working Committee did not ask to be transferred and the decision to transfer them was taken by the Government of India.

An account of the activities of the Conciliation (Sapru) Committee was given by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at a party given by the Calcutta Conciliation Group in Calcutta.

The report of the Select Committee on the Income Tax Bill including one which provided that the relief to be given in respect of buildings and machinery built or installed after March 31, 1945, be fixed at one-tenth of the cost to the assessee of the machinery or plant.

20th. The Government of Madras expected a net surplus of Rs. 80,15,000 in 1945-46 according to the budget estimates ; Revenue was estimated at Rs. 41,25,29,000 and Expenditure at Rs. 40,45,14,000.

In the Sind Legislative Assembly, the Sind University Bill was referred by the Ministerial Party to a special committee consisting of Pir Illahi Bux, Education Minister, Mr. Nichaldas Vazirani, Revenue Minister, and Mr. Dialmal Doulatram.

An appeal to the Viceroy to intervene and stop the cloth famine in Bengal was made in a joint statement by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Jagadish Prasad, who visited Calcutta in connexion with the work of the Conciliation Committee.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, questions about the attendance in the legislature of Congress members in detention, withdrawal of the ban on Congress organisations and the utility of the Publicity Department of the Government, were raised, when the Chief Minister moved the demand for Rs. 1,80,28,000 for expenditure under the head "General Administration".

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the general debate on the Finance Bill was resumed.

Mahatma Gandhi said in a special interview in Bombay: "All talk of the resolution of the present deadlock is useless so long as members of the Congress Working Committee and other Congress members are in detention."

21st. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. C. M. Trivedi, War Secretary, referred to Mr. C. P. Lawson's plea for a review of the military necessity for the black-out in Calcutta.

In the Council of State, the House rejected by 24 votes to 15, Mr. Thirumal Rau's resolution relating to India and the San-Francisco Conference.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, an Opposition adjournment motion criticising the Ministry for the appointment of Mr. Syed Abdul Salim, M. L. A., as sole handling agent for yarn and cloth of finer counts for Dacca, was talked out.

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Civil Supplies Minister, Bengal, at a Press Conference in Calcutta, explained the reasons for the cloth crisis in the Province. He said: "It is not possible to solve the cloth problem unless supplies are adequate."

The Cochin Legislative Council, passed the second reading of the Cochin Vagrancy Bill and accepted the Select Committee report on the Preservation of Eris Bill and also passed the second reading of the Cochin Arbitration Bill. Sir George Boag, Dewan President, presided.

Dr. John Sargent, Educational Adviser, Government of India, presiding over a meeting in New Delhi, expressed the need for a teachers' organisation on the lines of the National Council of Teachers in England to make their voice felt in the country.

Mr. L. S. Amery told a Press conference in London that during Lord Wavell's visit, the question of India's constitutional and political future naturally would be discussed.

It was announced that His Majesty's Government invited His Excellency

Field-Marshal Viscount Wavell, Viceroy and Governor General of India, to come to London.

22nd. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Francis Mudie, Home Member, emphasised the point that what the Government of India and Provincial Governments were hoping for was some clear indication that the Congress Party had abandoned the method of coercing those who did not agree with them and paralyse the administration of the country.

In the Council of State, Mr. H. M. Patel, Industries and Civil Supplies Secretary, replying to Mr. Thirumal Rau, said that there was no absolute shortage of cloth in Bengal.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, criticism of the organisation and working of the Civil Supplies Department by the Opposition, suggestions by Mr. D. Glading for dealing with corruption in the services and a plan for relaxation of lighting restrictions by Mr. R. H. Stevenson, which was endorsed by all sections of the House, were the features of the day's discussion.

Malik Barkat Ali, M. L. A., commenting on Lord Wavell's visit to England, raised the plea at Lahore that India's representatives at the San Francisco Conference should be leaders of the people and not merely nominees of the Government.

The food position in India was raised in the House of Commons by Mr. Sorensen. Mr. Amery replied: "The yields for 1945 cannot effectively be eetimated now."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in course of a Pakistan Day message, in New Delhi, made an appeal to Muslims to take a solemn oath that they would not fail to make all sacrifices for the establishment of Pakistan.

23rd. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Azizul Haque, Commerce Member, dealt with the cloth situation in the country, the question of consumer goods import and India's export trade.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Bengal Government's cloth distribution arrangements came in for trenchant criticism.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, a non-official motion urging strong representation to the Central Government to allot 18 yards of cloth per head of the population of the province, as had been allotted to the Punjab, Bombay and Delhi, was carried.

Sir Muhammad Saadulla proposed to form a new Cabinet in Assam.

In the N. W. F. P. Legislative Assembly, Dr. Khan Sahib, Premier, participating in the discussion, declared : ":So long as I run this Government no one would be unfairly detained in jail."

The Cochin Legislative Council considered official and non-official bills and passed a number of supplementary grants concerning additional allotments of expenditure in the various departments.

24th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, problem of development of handloom industry, rehabilitation and organisation of fishermen, improvement in the supply and marketing of fish in Calcutta and urban areas and strengthening of the department of the Labour Commissioner, were discussed.

Dr. Khan Saheb, the Premier, speaking in the N. W. F. P. Assembly, said : "I will not sit quiet until and unless by my deeds I prove to the outside world that corruption has been totally eradicated from this province."

The report of the Provincial Industries Committee presided over by Mr. P. S. Rau, I. C. S., Commissioner, Nagpur Division, was submitted to the Government of Nagpur.

The Provincial Conference of the Bengal Jamait-ul-Ulema, adopted a number of resolutions on various subjects including the political situation in India.

25th. A resolution demanding the immediate release of all political prisoners in India was passed unanimously at the annual conference of the National Council for Civil Liberties (London).

26th. The Central Legislative Assembly resumed the general discussion on the Finance Bill. Sir Henry Richardson dwelt upon the demands which the post-war period would make on India's leaders.

Sir N. N. Sircar, former Law Member, Government of India, in a statement, said : "Muslims inspite of Mr. Jinnah's assertions may not be too confident of getting Pakistan but they are playing their cards well. They may get the two-

nation theory verbally denounced but accepted in reality by securing for the Muslims 25 per cent, 75 per cent for non-Muslims".

Members of the Congress Assembly Party of Sind, in a statement, defined their attitude to the Hidayatullah Ministry.

The Rt. Hon. Sir Shadi Lal died in New Delhi at the age of 73.

27th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, the President read a message from the Governor-General, recommending that the Assembly do pass the Finance Bill in the form in which it was originally introduced. By 57 votes to 50 the House refused leave to the Finance Member to re-introduce the Finance Bill.

The Council of State passed without division Mr. Hussain Imam's resolution recommending that steps be taken to help the dyeing and printing (cotton cloth) cottage industry and save it from unfair competition.

A mass meeting of Indians at Maritzburg passed a vote of no-confidence on the Natal Indian Congress leaders. The resolution said that the leadership had had results disastrous to the best interests of the country.

In the Sind Legislative Assembly, the Hidayatullah Ministry came out successful when the House passed the entire budget. The Congress having decided not to be a party to the making and unmaking of ministries, the opposition withdrew their one-rupee cut motion on the demand under "General Administration."

28th. The Bengal Legislative Assembly threw out the Agricultural Budget by 106 votes to 97. This was the first defeat suffered by the Nazimuddin Ministry.

In the Council of State, the President ruled out of order an adjourn[illegible] motion to discuss "the refusal of the Governor General to permit discussi[illegible] in the Legislative Assembly of a resolution regarding the delegation to San [illegible]isco Conference."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, an adjournment motion as in [illegible]cil of State was attempted by Mr. Yusuf Abdulla Haroon, who in reply to [illegible]r's question, stated that in refusing permission to the Assembly to discus[illegible]lu-tion regarding the San Francisco Conference, the Governor General must [illegible]ted with the advice of the Governor-General-in-Council.

The Sind Legislative Assembly passed a Bill increasing the salaries of Ministers, the Speaker, the Deputy Speaker and Members of the Assembly. The Congress Party opposed the Bill.

29th. In the House of Commons, the cloth shortage in Bengal was referred to by Mr. Sorensen. Mr. Amery replied : "War conditions have led to a reduction throughout India of the supply of cotton cloth available for civilian consumption."

The Council of State passed by 27 votes to 11 the motion for the consideration of the recommended Finance Bill and later passed the Bill without a division.

The Bombay Budget anticipated a revenue of Rs. 2,909·19 lakhs on the basis that the existing taxes and levies were to be continued and provided for an expenditure of Rs. 2,908·95 lakhs, leaving a revenue surplus of 0·24 lakhs.

The 2nd supplementary budget of the Madras Government for 1944-45, included a number of new items of expenditure, authorised by the Governor, totalling approximately Rs. 10½ crores.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Speaker (Mr. Syed Nausher Ali), holding the view that refusal by the House of supplies demanded by the Ministry for a major department was unmistakable censure of the Government, declared that he could not allow the Ministry to function as such in the Legislature. The Speaker adjourned the House *sine die*.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Dr. Ambedkar's Bill providing for a tenweek holiday to women miners before confinement was sent to a Select Committee.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar cabled to Mr. L. S. Amery, expressing his opinion that no pact or constitution framed without consulting the Hindu Mahasabha, which alone represented the Hindus, could be binding on them.

In the Sind Assembly, Mr. R. K. Sidhwa, leader of the Congress Party, made it clear that his party had not bargained its neutrality towards the Hidayatullah Ministry in return for the release of the Congressmen still in jail and the withdrawal of the restraint orders on those already free.

30th. Out of 29 panels proposed to be set up to make recommendations to Government on the development of industries both existing and new, 25 were constituted. On receipt of the reports of the various panels and in consultation with Provincial industrial committees, the overall plan of industrial development for the country for the first five years period after the war would be decided upon.

The Government of U. S. S. R. proposed to invite scholars from Indian Universites to deliver a series of lectures at the leading Russian Universities on ancient Indian history and culture for the benefit of Soviet citizens.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant and Acharya Narendra Deo were brought to the Naini Central Jail.

31st. Mr. Jinraja Hedge tabled an adjournment motion for the Central Assembly to discuss Government's failure to prevent indiscriminate and excessive requisitioning of foodgrains under threat of prosecution, resulting in scarcity of food and enforced starvation for two days in a week in South Kanara district."

A proclamation under section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935, was issued by Mr. R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal, in a Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary, assuming the administration of the Province.

The Governor of Bengal authorised the annual estimates of expenditure for 1945-46 and also prorogued both Houses of the Legislature.

In the Orissa Budget estimates for 1945-46, a deficit of Rs. 8,68,000 was revealed. The total revenue was estimated at Rs. 2,94,33,000 and expenditure at Rs. 3,03,01,000.—The year 1945-46 which was expected to open with an overall deficit of Rs. 28.000 was likely to close with an overall surplus of Rs. 75,000.

A Be gal Press Note said: "The Government of Bengal have decided to exercise complete control over the distribution of cloth from Calcutta to the districts in the Province."

Mahatma Gandhi in a statement on the National Week observed: "I feel that India was never nearer the goal of the triple expectation of achieving communal unity, full establishment of khaddar and swaraj than now in spite of many blunders."

5 members and 5 advisers of the Government of India Mission, headed by Sir Akbar Hydari, Secretary of the Industries and Civil Supplies Department returned to Karachi after an eight week stay in the United Kingdom, where they discussed with His Majesty's Government the extent to which war demands on India could be reduced or offset by help in other directions.

April 1945

The South African Indian Congress decided to send a delegation to San Francisco.

Proposals for the formation of a National Government at the Centre and restoration of autonomy in all the provinces were made in a resolution of the Conciliation Committee.

The Government of Bengal promulgated the Bengal Mustard Oil Control Order, 1945.

The Central Legislative Assembly passed Mr. Mannu Subedar's resolution asking for the early removal of Secs. 111 to 121 of the Government of India Act, 1935.

The result of the Hydari Mission was that the relief obtained under the heads of steel, leather, timber, woollens, cement and cotton textiles in 1945 was about Rs. 4 crores and in 1946 about 70 crores.

The Council of State passed 6 official Bills which had been passed previously by the Assembly. The Bills were to amend the Factories Act, 1913, the Indian Merchandise Marks Act, 1941, the Indian Army Act, 1911, the Indian Air Force Act, 1932.

The Committee of Action of the All-India Muslim League considered numerous matters relating to the working of the League in the various provinces.

The Kashmir Assembly passed the Jammu and Kashmir Children Bill.

Mr. L. S. Amery moved in the House of Commons that the House

should approve the India Orders (Failure of constitutional machinery) relating to Madras, Bombay, the U. P., C. P. and Berar and Bihar.

The Government of Madras decided to enhance the existing scale of dearness allowance to Government servants.

Master Tara Singh, in the course of the Presidential address of the 6th U. P. Sikh Conference, dealt with the position of the Sikh community in the future constitution of India, especially with reference to the Sapru Committee Proposals and the duty of Sikhs to the country.

1st. The South African Indian Congress decided to send a delegation to San Francisco to advise the Indian delegation on the colour question in South Africa, particularly the Indian question.

Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in a Press statement in Madras said: "I consider it my duty to warn the public against the move of Government—to associate some non-official legislators as advisers at the San Francisco Conference.

Proposals for the formation of a National Government at the Centre and the restoration of autonomy in all the provinces were made in a resolution of the Conciliation Committee, which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru cabled to Lord Wavell in London.

The Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference resumed its sitting in Bombay. Mr. Kasturi Srinivasan presided.

The immediate release of all Indian political prisoners—leaders as well as rank and file of the Congress—and the withdrawal of "lawless Ordinances" were demanded in a resolution passed at a meeting of a large number of Indian and English students of the Oxford University.

2nd. The Bengal Administration Inquiry Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Archibald Rowlands, signed its report.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah issued a statement in New Delhi, in which he observed that the Sapru Conciliation Committee "were nothing but the hand maids of Congress and have played and are playing to the tune of Mr. Gandhi."

The Central Legislative Assembly passed Dr. Ambedkar's Bill to provide for holidays with pay for factory workers.

The talks between representatives of the South African Indian Congress and the Acting Prime Minister, Mr. Hofmeyr and the Ministers of Interior and Welfare ended at Capetown.

3rd. Bengal Government promulgated the Bengal Mustard Oil Control Order, 1945.

The 9th annual session of the All-India Kishan Sabha opened with the meeting of the Central Kisan Council.

Mr. K. M. Munshi in a statement from Madras, observed 'inter alia': "Indian political progress cannot wait on Mr. Jinnah's goodwill. Mr. Jinnah has a right to his own views. So have the overwhelming majority in the country, both Hindus and Muslims, who do not want the country to be divided. Apart from the political and religious creed of Akhand Hindusthan, for which I stand, there is no alternative to a united India either nationally or internationally."

4th. The Government of India's short term wartime road transport policy as well as its larger post-war transport policy were explained in a statement made in the Assembly by the War Transport Member, Sir Edward Benthall. He was resubmitting before the House the demand of Rs. 32 lakhs which had been rejected on a cut motion during the debate on the Railway Budget grants earlier in the session.

The Assembly passed without a division, Mr. Mannu Subedar's resolution asking for the early removal of secs. 111 to 121 of the Government of India Act, 1935. These sections relate to commercial safeguards.

In consequence of the operation of sec. 65 of the Government of India Act, in Bengal, by the proclamation made by H. E. Mr. R. G. Casey under sec. 93 of the same Act, taking over the administration in his own hands, the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker of the Bengal Assembly and the President and the Deputy President of the Bengal Council, would not be entitled to draw their salaries from March 31, 1945.

An appeal signed by 90 well-known British women and sent to the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Amery and Lord Wavell, said: "The political deadlock in India and the continued imprisonment of many of its national leaders assume added significence in the light of the development in the Far East and the coming conference of San Francisco,

5th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, informed the House that there was no reduction or suspension of salt concessions granted under the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. The question of the revision of the war allowance granted to Government servants was under the consideration of the Government.

An interim scheme for the distribution of mill-made cloth in Bengal on a ration basis was outlined by Mr. W. S. C. Tully, Director General of Consumer Goods, Civil Supplies Department.

The Central Assembly resumed the debate on Mr. M. A. Kazimi's motion for reference to a select committee of his Bill seeking to insert a new clause after section 93 of the Indian Penal Code.

Sir Firoze Khan Noon, Defence Member of the Governor-General's Council, speaking at the Empire Conference in London, said: "We are here to represent India and not His Majesty's Government and we are going to San Francisco also to represent India and not His Majesty's Government."

Allama Mashriqi, the Khaksar leader, sent a cable "as a spokesman, speaking on behalf of 297 million Indians of all denominations" to Mr. Churchill, Mr. Amery and Lord Wavell in London, stating that he was drafting a constitution acceptable to all parties in India.

6th. The Sapru Committee cabled a resolution to Lord Wavell and Mr. Amery recommending that no recruitment of non-Indian personnel to the I. C. S., the I. P., or similar services be made by the Secretary of State, "because recruits of the required competence are available in this country and the recruitment of non-Indians would prejudicially affect the working of India's future constitution."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the President ruled out of order an adjournment motion attempted by Maulvi Abdul Ghani to discuss the "wrong information" given to the House by the Food Member on April 4, 1945 and the Food Member's refusal to verify his statement when its correctness was challenged.

In the Council of State, the President ruled out of order two adjournment motions tabled by Mr. P. N. Sapru.

Mahatma Gandhi, addressing the prayer meeting in Bombay, said that the only way to achieve freedom was through the Constructive Programme. Some people, he added, talked of the parliamentary methods. He did not want to mention that name. He wanted to forget the parliamentary method.

The result of the Hydari Mission, summarised in an official statement, was that the relief obtained under the heads steel, leather, timber, woollen, cement and cotton textiles in 1945 was about Rs. 4 crores and in 1946 about 70 crores.

In the Central Assembly, Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, moved that the Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to banking companies be referred to a Select Committee.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit declared in an address at Baltimore, that World War III might be brewing in the Pacific, unless a solution was found for the colonial question.

7th. At a Press conference in Hyderabad (Dn), Mr. C. A. Rebello, Textile Commissioner, Nizam's Government and British administered areas, said that though a certain degree of cloth and yarn shortage did exist it was not so bad in Hyderabad as in other parts of the country because of the arrangements made by the State control authorities to distribute whatever was available as evenly as possible through the Dominions in accordance with the normal requirements in former times.

8th. Mr. S. S. Mirjakar, Vice-President of the All-India Trade Union Congress and a member of the Textile Control Board at an informal meeting of Pressmen in Madras, urged the need of reconstituting the Textile Control Board providing for a larger share of representation to consumers and workers.

Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Member of the Congress Working Committee in a statement to the Press in Bombay said that the acceptance of Ministry in the Frontier Province did not mean any reversal of the Congress policy.

The Conciliation Committee which met in New Delhi, under the presidency of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, concluded their final session and passed unanimously fifteen resolutions which together gave a picture of what they thought should form the broad basis of the future constitution of India.

The Delhi Political Prisoners' Relief Conference was held on Gandhi grounds (New Delhi), Mr. Sri Prakasa presided.

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivas Sastri in a statement in Madras, said: "India's dignity, her war services and her future position in the East—all require that her people should choose their own Government at once and that that Government should choose its delegation whether at San Francisco or at future conferences."

9th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Chair stated that the Governor General has disallowed Nawab Siddique Ali Khan's adjournment motion to discuss "the gross and deliberate misrepresentation at the Empire Conference of India's present constitutional position by Sir Firoz Khan Noon, one of the representatives of the Government of India to the San Francisco Conference, in stating that, he and his colleague represented India, whereas the fact is that the people of India had no say whatsoever in their selection as delegate to the San Francisco Conference." The Governor General declared that this motion could not be moved without detriment to public interest.

Mr. K. M. Munshi in a statement in Madras, said: "The Sapru Committee's recommendations present a highly workable solution of the Indian deadlock."

Protesting against the Sapru Committee's proposals, Sir N. N. Sarcar, ex-Law Member, Government of India, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Vice-President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, and 13 other Hindu leaders of Bengal in a joint statement said that they were opposed to the recommendation of the Committee for parity of representation as between Hindus and Muslims in the Central Executive, the Central Legislature and the constitution-making body. To reduce a majority to a minority was so preposterous, unjust and undemocratic that time need not be wasted over demonstrating its inequity.

The Central Assembly resumed the debate on Sir Jeremy Raisman's motion for reference to a Select Committee of the Banking Bill.

A joint meeting of the Sind League leaders and the Ministers held at Hyderabad (Sind) discussed the future policy and programme of the Hidayatullah Ministry.

10th. Dr. M. R. Jayakar and Sir Jagadish Prasad, members of the Sapru Committee, when they met Mahatma Gandhi in Bombay, communicated to him what were considered in political circles to be the reactions of Whitehall to the Sapru Committee's recommendations.

Eleven members of the Central Assembly and the Council of State issued a statement urging the need for scrutiny of India's defence expenditure by leaders of the Opposition parties.

The Central Legislative Assembly resumed the debate on Sir Jeremy Raisman's motion for reference to the Select Committee of the Banking Bill.

11th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. Kailash Beharilal attempted to move an adjournment motion to discuss the "conduct of Mr. Le Bailly, Deputy Commissioner, Delhi, as President of the Delhi Municipal Committee in indulging in utterly uncalled for and provocative action in tearing into pieces a copy of the resolution on Chimur and Ashti riot case convicts which was handed to him personally by the retiring Vice-President at the last meeting of the Municipality."

In the Council of State, the President ruled out of order two adjournment motions to discuss the statement made by Sir Firoz Khan Noon in London that in practice India was a Dominion and would be represented at San Francisco as a Sovereign State.

The Central Assembly agreed to refer to a Select Committee the Finance Member's Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to banking companies. It also passed Dr Ambedkar's Bill to amend the Mines Maternity Benefit Act, as reported by a Select Committee.

The Council of State passed six official Bills which had previously been passed by the Assembly. The Bills were to amend the Factories Act, 1934; the Indian Companies Act, 1913; the Indian Merchandise Marks (Amendment) Act, 1941; the Indian Army Act, 1911; the Indian Air Force Act, 1932; and the Bill to repeal certain enactments and to amend certain other enactments.

12th. The Central Legislative Assembly resumed discussion on the War Transport Member's Supplementary demand for Rs. 82 lakhs to meet miscellaneous expenses.

In the Council of State, the War Transport Secretary stated in reply to Mr. Narayandas Girdhardas, that increase in the price of black market petrol in

Delhi suggested that illicit petrol was more difficult to obtain and that Government's attempts to prevent leakages into the black market were producing some results.

Allama Mashriqui, the Khaksar leader, commenting on the Sapru report, said: "The question of Pakistan has been very badly handled and not even Mr. Gandhi will agree with the Committee on that question. Pakistan is now too far advanced to be ignored or bypassed, and whatever its merits or demerits, it has got to be dealt with in accordance with current sentiments."

The Central Assembly agreed by 49 votes to 10 to Sir Edward Benthall's Supplementary demands for Rs. 82 lakhs for running motor services to relieve congestion on railways.

Mr. Amery, when asked by Mr. Sorensen, in the House of Commons, if the proposals made by representative Indians to Lord Wavell and the British Government were being sympathetically considered, replied that they were.—

Mr. Amery added that no decision had been reached on the question of the release of Congress leaders, which, Mr. Sorensen said, the concensus of Indian opinion favoured.

13th. "Jalianwallah Bagh Day" was observed in Delhi by holding a mass meeting under the auspices of the Delhi Congress Organising Committee.

9 members of the Central Legislature issued a statement on the Sapru Committee Report.

14th. In the Council of State, Mr. Hossain Imam, leader of the Muslim League Party, sought to move an adjournment motion to discuss the question of "the instructions issued by the Government of India to the Bengal Government for the purchase of cloth in Calcutta for export to China". Mr. Hossain Imam withdrew his motion after hearing Sir Akbar Hydari's statement.

15th. Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, presiding over the Tanjore District Delta Mirasdars' Conference, held at Mayavaram, expressed opposition to the Agricultural Income-tax Bill.

Mr. Yusuff Sait, presenting the annual report of the working of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce, at its annual meeting in Madras, made a strong plea for the removal of control on the economic life of the people by increasing the local supply of goods and services.

16th. Inaugurating the Madras District Fourth Circle Third Political Conference, Mr. Nagindas Master, ex-Mayor of Bombay, said that there was no justification whatever for the existence of a spirit of defeatism in the country and for the belief that the country had lost ground.

Mr. K. M. Munshi, inaugurating a branch of the Arya Samaj in Chintadripet, paid a tribute to its founder Dayananda Saraswati, and urged the need for revitalising Hinduism as a modern force so that they could take their legitimate place in the forefront of modern nations.

The Committee of Action of the All-India Muslim League concluded a three day session during which they considered numerous matters relating to the day-to-day working of the League Organisation in the various Provinces.

The State (Kashmir) Assembly passed the Jammu and Kashmir children (Pledging of Labour) Bill.

Mahatma Gandhi's views on the caste system as expressed in his earlier writings were re-stated by him in the course of a reply to a series of questions sent to him by a friend together with extracts taken out from the Mahatma's own writings.

17th. Bengal's cloth supply position with particular reference to the per capita allotment for the province was discussed by Mr. Vellodi, Textile Commissioner, Government of India, with representatives of the various Chambers of Commerce and associations connected with the cloth and yarn trade in Calcutta.

A large number of Indian sweetmeat shops closed as a protest against the reduction in the sugar quota allotted to the manufacturing industry.

Viscount Cranbourne, the Dominions Secretary disclosed in the House of Lords that at the talks between the Empire delegates principles such as that of no imprisonment without trial, were discussed.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, addressing a meeting in New Delhi, said that he was entirely for acceptance of office. He said: "I want Government with power and not a Government without any real power".

18th. The House of Lords formally approved the continuance in force of the

Proclamations made in 1939 under the Government of India Act, 1935, the Governors of the provinces of Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Central Provinces, and Bihar for continuance of their legal authority.

19th. Mr. Greenwood, Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, asked Mr. Churchill in the Commons whether it would be possible to have a discussion on India at some proper time. He did not want it on the motions which were to be taken to approve the continuance in force of the Proclamations made under the Government of India Act, 1935, and suggested that they should be taken formally.

Mr. Churchill replied that if Mr. Greenwood was in a position to guarantee that the Indian proclamation order would be taken formally, Government would appreciate it.

20th. Mr. Amery, moving that the House of Commons should approve the India (Failure of Constitutional Machinery) Orders relating to Madras, Bombay, the U. P., C. P., & Berar, and Bihar said that their purpose was to extend the authority of the Commons for another year in regard to the system of direct rule in these provinces—a rule which came about in circumstances with which the House was familiar.

Representations were made by the Natal Indian Congress for employment of Indian clerks in post offices in predominantly Indian areas and Indian artisans in Government works and housing schemes, particularly those intended for Indians.

21st. Increased dearness allowance to Central Government servants, other than railway employees, was announced in New Delhi.

New distinctions for the 11th Sikh Regiment fighting in Italy were announced in a Press Note.

Two meetings were held in Bombay to celebrate the seventh death anniversary of the poet and thinker, Dr. Iqbal.

Dr. Syed Mahmud, presiding at the All-Frontier Political Conference at Peshawar, said the British statesmen would make a great blunder if they did not settle the Indian problem to the satisfaction of Indians.

22nd. A transition from the pre-war policy of laissez faire industrialisation of India was announced in a statement issued by the Government of India on their future industrial policy.

The Government of Madras decided to enhance the existing scale of dearness allowance to Government servants.

At a Press conference in Calcutta, Mr. M. K. Vellodi, Textile Commissioner with the Government of India, said: "To describe the existing state of supply of cloth or yarn in Bengal as a famine is unwarranted by facts and is indeed a gross exaggeration."

23rd. The Government of India's statement of policy on industrialisation promoted widespread interest in British political and industrial circles.

24th. Mr. Mohamed Rafique, presiding at the annual meeting of the Calcutta Muslim Chamber of Commerce, urged comprehensive industrialisation as a prime national necessity for India.

His Highness Sir Ishwari Singhji Bahadur, Maharao Raja of Bundi State, passed away after a long illness.

25th. Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Member for Planning, Government of India, in an interview in Bombay, cleared some misunderstandings caused by the publication, in a summary form, of the Government of India's Communique on industrial policy. This ought to be cleared, said Sir Ardeshir, by a perusal of the full text.

Mr. R. A. Khedgiker, member of the All-India Trade Union Congress delegation to the World Trade Union Congress held in London, in an interview in Bombay, expressed the view that the British Press, with one or two exceptions, completely ignored all news coming from India, but that the vast majority of the people in Great Britain were in favour of granting complete independence to India at the earliest opportunity.

Dr. Khan Saheb, Premier of N. W. F. P., in an interview at Peshawar said that he had given no assurance to the Governor to support the war effort nor was any such assurance asked for.

26th. The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha decided to observe May, 10 as "Independence Day".

Problems relating to Government's post-war industrial policy in the light of

the principles enunciated in the communique on the subject were discussed by the Committee of the Indian Merchants Chamber with Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Member for Planning & Development.

Mr. Amery, replying to a question in the Commons, said that the status of India at the San Francisco Conference was the same as that of the other United Nations taking part.

27th. Mr. B. Mukherjee, Deputy Secretary, Supply and Transport Department, Government of Orissa, at a press conference at Cuttack, said that rationing of dhoties, saries and some finer qualities of cloth would be introduced in Orissa on the completion of preliminary arrangements.

28th. The Government of Madras reviewed the scheme of dearness allowance to their servants and came to the conclusion that the rates sanctioned in April 1944 needed enhancement.

Sir Ardeshir Dalal, speaking at a tea party given in his honour by the All-India Muslim Chamber of Commerce in Bombay, said that Government proposed to establish shortly a machinery for the protection of industries started during war-time.

Mr. Ravi Narayan Reddi, in the course of his presidential address at the 12th session of the Hyderabad State Andhra Conference, observed: "It is a pity that the political situation in our State is far from satisfactory. Corruption has become rampant, richmen and landlords are evading their duty of contributing to the revenue of the State and this heavy task has fallen on the shoulders of the poor ryot. Cloth shortage is on the increase, Yarn is not available,......Famine has begun its death dance in many parts of the State."

Sir Jogendra Singh, Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, addressing the annual meeting of the Indian Chamber of Commerce at Lahore, said: "It is under the sheltering wings of a United India that the communities can prosper and move forward to mould the future and secure the Four Freedoms which is the goal of all nations."

29th. Talk of Lord Wavell threatening to resign over the failure of the British Government to revise their Indian policy was reported by the political correspondent of *Reynold's News*.

Dr. Syed Mahmud, in an interview at Peshawar, said: "I am impressed by seeing the Frontier Mussalmans so much wedded to our freedom movement."

Master Tara Singh, in the course of his presidential address of the sixth U. P. Conference at Cawnpore, dealt with the position of the Sikh community in the future constitution of India, especially with reference to the Sapru Committee proposals and the duty of the Sikhs to the country.

30th. Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, Chairman of the Committee of Action, All-India Muslim League, said at Lucknow: "The political deadlock which unfortunately exists today can only be overcome and resolved if the two most important political organisations in the country, namely, the Congress and the Muslim League, agree on the essentials of the future constitution and the interim arrangements."

Sir Badridas Goenka, President, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, in the course of a statement on the Government of India's future industrial policy, pointed out certain essential pre-requisites for the achievement of the objectives which were set forth,

May 1945

The war ended in Europe, with the unconditional surrender of Germany.

Mr. N. M. Joshi, labour leader, made an appeal to the workers of India to unite solidly under the banner of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

Mr. Price suggested in the House of Commons, a bill for the reform of the land system in India, especially in Bengal along the lines of the recommendations of the Floud Commission.

Mr. R. Sorensen raised the question of epidemics in Bengal, in the

House of Commons. Mr. Amery replied : "The incidence of cholera in Bengal as a whole has during the past year been below normal."

The Governor General-in-Council appointed Mr. P. C. Mathew, I. C. S., as Agent of the Government of India in Ceylon.

Sardar Lakhbir Singh, at the Frontier Akali Conference at Peshawar, said : "The entire Sikh community is with the Congress as far as the question of Independence of India and the welfare of the country is concerned."

The Bengal Famine Enquiry Commission presided over by Sir John Woodhead observed inter alia : "A million and a half of the poor of Bengal fell victim to circumstances for which they themselves were not responsible ......It has been reckoned that the amount of unusual profits made on buying and selling of rice during 1943 was Rs. 150 crores.

The Secretary of State for India sent a Victory Day message to the Viceroy.

The Report on the Administration of the Mysore State for the year ending June 30, 1944 revealed an all-round progress.

The Government of India prepared and forwarded to the Provincial Governments, a unified scheme of social security for industrial workers.

Victory Day was celebrated in New Delhi, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and in the other parts of India.

The Earl of Scarborough was appointed Under Secretary of State for India in Mr. Churchill's "caretaker" Government. He replaced the Earl of Listowel.

1st. Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A. (Central) labour leader, addressing the May Day rally of workers held in Bombay, made an appeal to the workers of India to unite solidly under the banner of the All-India Trade Union Congress which alone could protect their rights and interests.

The Government of India had under consideration the form that an Indian National War Memorial should take.

Sir J. P. Srivastava, Food Member, Government of India, addressing the first meeting of the panel of scientists formed to advise the Food Department on food technology, stressed the need for a full fledged food industry in India with its tropical and in some parts, humid climate.

A survey of the advantages and shortcomings of the Indian Legislature in war time was given by Sir Frederick James, Member of the Legislative Assembly at a meeting of the East India Association in London.

When Mr. Price suggested in the House of Commons, that Mr. Amery should consider introducing into the Central Legislature a bill for the reform of the landsystem in India, especially in Bengal, along the lines of the recommendations of the Floud Commission, Mr. Amery replied : "Legislation affecting the land tenure is, under the Government of India Act, 1935, a matter for the provincial legislatures."

2nd. Sir Feroz Khan Noon, Member of the Indian delegation to the San Francisco Conference, claiming that Mahatma Gandhi's politics were 50 years out of date and that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru would be an excellent successor to him, asserted that Mahatma Gandhi would be doing a great service to the country if he retired in favour of a younger man.

The Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, in the course of a statement of the participation by foreign capital in Indian industrialisation, said : "India would prefer to go without industrial development rather than allow the creation of new East India Companies in this country, which would not only jeopardise her economic independence, but would also effectively prevent her from acquiring her political freedom."

3rd. In the House of Commons, Mr. R. Sorensen raised the question of epidemics in Bengal. He wanted to know its extent and nature with particular reference to cholera, how far Calcutta was affected and what measures were being taken to deal with it.—Mr. Amery replied : "The incidence of cholera in Bengal as a whole

has during the past year been below normal, but I have seen recent reports of a cholera epidemic in Calcutta, and have asked the authorities for a report. Small-pox has been not very greatly above normal and very much below the corresponding figure for last year. Malaria, which has been for some time above average, has recently been showing a downward trend."

Mr. Amery told Mr. Thomas Fraser that famine conditions did not obtain in Malabar and Northern Circars.

Mr. Amery told Viscount Hinchingbrooke that none of the 200 members of the Central Legislature was serving terms of imprisonment. One member of the Council of State and three members of the Legislative Assembly were under detention.

A deputation to the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, to convey to him the terms of the resolution approved at the annual conference of the British Party was officially announced by the Party.

4th. Mrs. Pandit, on behalf of the India League of America and the National Committee for India's freedom, submitted to the San Francisco Conference a memorandum calling for an immediate declaration of India's independence.

An offer to Sir Firoz Khan Noon that he would give his hearty co-operation if Sir Firoz would ask his Government, on pain of resignation, to release Pandit Nehru and his fellow prisoners, thus enabling Sir Firoz to fulfil his wish, was made by Mahatma Gandhi in a statement on the suggestion that he should retire in favour of Pandit Nehru.

The Governor General in Council appointed Mr. P. C. Mathew, I. C. S., as Agent of the Government of India in Ceylon, with effect from April 9, 1945.

Viscount Cranbourne, British Dominions Secretary, when out-lining to the Press the United Kingdom draft of the charter on territorial trusteeship for inclusion in the United Nations' Charter, made it clear that it was not intended to place India under trusteeship.

The Director General of U. N. R. R. A., Mr. Herbert Lehman, announced that the Government of India, with the approval of the Legislature, agreed to contribute more than Rs. 8 crores to U. N. R. R. A. Notice of this was given to U. N. R. R. A. in Washington by Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai, Agent General for India.

5th. Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Planning Member of the Government of India, explaining the object of his visit, in London, said: "I am here to consider various problems of future trade and business relations between India and Britain. I shall investigate the possibilities of securing capital goods from this country and examine the facilities here for training Indian students and technicians."

Sir Firoz Khan Noon, commenting on Mahatma Gandhi's statement that he would co-operate with Sir Firoz Khan Noon's wish that he should retire in favour of Pandit Nehru if Sir Firoz Khan asked the Government of India to release Pandit Nehru, said: "If Mr. Gandhi thinks my suggestion for his retirement in favour of Pandit Nehru is good on merits, I cannot understand a great man like Mr. Gandhi laying down conditions before he does a good deed."

Mr. N. M. Joshi, General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, in an interview in Bombay, expressed the view-point of labour on the Government of India's declaration regarding post-war industrial policy.

Sardar Lakhbir Singh, President of the Reception Committee in his welcome address at the Frontier Akali Conference which opened at Peshawar, said: "The entire Sikh community is with the Congress as far as the question of independence of India and the welfare of the country is concerned.".

6th. Indian seamen and workers were present at May Day celebration at the Indian Workers' Centre in London, Mr. S. Quershi, Secretary of the Centre, said: "We rejoice at the victory of the Red Army, the army of liberation. We hope one day this gallant army will crush Imperialism as it crushed Fascism on the continent."

Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani, presiding over the open session of the Jamait ul-Ulema-i-Hind at Saharanpur, put forth a strong demand for the formation of a National Government at the Centre."

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, addressing the Scheduled Castes' Federation in Bombay, suggested a new approach to the communal problem and put forward a new solution which, he claimed, was better than Pakistan.

7th. Germany surrendered unconditionally to the Allies. The war in Europe ended.

The Bengal Famine Enquiry Commission, presided over by Sir John Woodhead, in their report released for publication from New Delhi, observed: "It has been for us a sad task to inquire into the course and causes of the Bengal famine.

We have been haunted by a deep sense of tragedy. A million and a half of the poor of Bengal fell victim to circumstances for which they themselves were not responsible. Society, together with its organs, failed to protect its weaker members. Indeed there was a moral and social breakdown, as well as an administrative breakdown.

"It has been reckoned that the amount of unusual profits made on the buying and selling of rice during 1943 was Rs. 150 crores. Thus every death in the famine was balanced by roughly Rs. 1,000 excess profit."

Mahatma Gandhi said at Mahabaleswar: "My only advice to you is to go to your own neighbouring villages and serve the villagers there...Learn Hindusthani, either in the Devanagri or in Urdu Script and teach the same to them......No speeches are required but there is the necessity for actual service through work."

8th. A Press Note from the Viceroy's House, New Delhi stated: "The Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery sent the following V-Day message to the Viceroy: "After 5½ years bitter conflict, complete victory over our enemies in Europe has been achieved. At this great moment in history, I send to the princes and people of India, profound and grateful thanks of H. M. G. for all that India has done in this long struggle. The valour and deeds of the Indian Army have been beyond all praise. The Royal Indian Navy has taken its parts in this victory. Nor must we ever forget the work of the Indian merchant seamen who, through dangers, have toiled to maintain the traffic of the sea."

9th. The statement by M. Molotov, at a press conference, that a special organisation of the United Nations should expedite the realisation of principles of equality and self determination of nations, raised interest among Congress Indians in San Francisco.

The Report on the Administration of the Mysore State for the year ending June 30, 1944, revealed an all-round progress. The position of the State's finances was very sound.

Sir Sultan Ahmed, Information Member, in a radio talk from New Delhi, dwelt on India's magnificent contributions in men and materials to the war effort of the United Nations and claimed that India deserved to be formally recognised as a free and equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Mr. Biswanath Das, former Congress Premier of Orissa, in an interview, said that there was no intention on the part of the Congress to form a Ministry so long as th Indian political deadlock lasted. The case of the N. W. F. P., he said, was different.

10th. Mr. M. S. Aney, Agent of the Government of India in Ceylon, speaking at Poona, made an appeal to his countrymen to be alert to fight for the safeguards and interests of their brethren in Ceylon.

11th. The Government in an Order, made a consolidated statement on the educational concessions to the children and dependents of Defence Services personnel.

Swami Sahajananda, President of the All-India Kishan Sabha, addressing the 12th session of the Bihar Provincial Kishan Sabha at Patna, referred to what he described as the "Communist revolt" within the Kishan Sabha Organisation.

It was announced from New Delhi: "The Government of India are setting up a co-ordinated organisation to deal with the resettlement and re-employment in civil life of demobilised members of the defence services and discharged war workers."

12th. The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, at its meeting in Calcutta, adopted a resolution expressing satisfaction at the termination of the War in Europe, but adding that until India was declared independent, she could not wholeheartedly participate in the Victory celebration.

The 35th annual session of the Madras Provincial Educational Conference reassembled at Calicut, Dr. B. V. N. Naidu presided.

The Government of India prepared and forwarded to the Provincial Governments, a unified scheme of social security for industrial workers covering health, insurance, maternity benefit and employment injury. On receipt of replies from the Provincial Governments, the question of introducing a Bill in the Assembly to carry out the scheme would be considered.

13th. "The last chapter in the war will be written in the East and the women in India have a great part to play," observed Mrs. Casey in a Press statement in which she referred to the long and faithful service of Indian and British women workers in Bengal since the outbreak of war in Europe.

The Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha demanded (in Calcutta) the immediate release of all political prisoners—detenus and others. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee presided.

Mahatma Gandhi, in a letter to Mian Iftikharuddin, President of the Punjab Provincial Committee, said that so long as the Congress was an unlawful organisation, there could be no Congress candidate for any by-election.

The close ties between India and Ceylon, cultural, industrial, economic and political, which subsisted in the past and which "cannot but become strengthened in the future" was emphasised by Indian Congressmen addressing the Ceylon Indian Congress on the concluding day of its annual session. The speakers also stressed that the salvation of both the countries lay in struggling together for freedom from foreign domination under which both were now suffering.

After referring to Ceylon's cultural and spiritual heritage from India, Dr. Syed Mahmud said that India was determined to get its freedom at all costs.

14th. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit declared at California that the new ties forged between America and India would help the solution not only of India's problem, but the problem of colonial possessions everywhere.

The Bengal Administrative Inquiry Committee, presided over by Sir Archibald Rowlands, remarked: "No one, least of all, those who have to operate it, would claim that the administrative machine in Bengal is adequate for the tasks which confront it, still less for the greater tasks that lie ahead."—The Committee, which reviewed the whole field of administrative machinery in Bengal, made a number of proposals for improving the existing system.

Sir Ardeshir Dalal, in an interview in London, stated: "The possibility that British Capital will infiltrate into the floating and management of Indian industries cannot be ignored."

Victory Day was celebrated in New Delhi, Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and in the other parts of India.

Mr. M. N. Roy, addressing the session of the Central Political Council of the Radical Democratic Party in Delhi, declared: "No other organised force, including the established Government of this country, is more entitled than the Radical Democratic Party to celebrate this victory."

15th. An appeal for a broad and just consideration of the Indian problem in Natal was made by Administrator D. E. Mitchell to the Provincial Council at Maritzburg. He said nothing should be done to jeopardise the solution of the problem which had national and international considerations.

A note of warning with regard to the probable repercussions which would be created in the employment market after the cessation of hostilities, was sounded in the reports of the Appointments and information Board of the Calcutta University for the years 1942-44.

16th. In the House Commons, Mr. Amery received a deputation of some members of the Labour Party Executive Committee headed by Prof. Harold Laski, Vice-chairman of the National Executive Committee.—The deputation presented to Mr. Amery the resolution on India which were adopted by the annual conference of the Party in December 1944.

An India Book League on the lines of those existing in some other lands was formed for the first time in India with Lahore as headquarters.

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, leader of the Indian delegation to the San Francisco Conference in a speech before the San Francisco International Centre, declared: "On an equal level of importance with the political functions of the world organisation will be its functions in the sphere of economic and social development throughout the world."

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit criticised at San Francisco Sir Edward Stettinus, the United States Secretary of State for the statement on the future of dependent peoples, declaring that by it "the Secretary of State has given the imperialistic powers a convenient excuse to hold people in submission."

17th. Sir William Barton, former Resident in Baroda, Mysore and Hyderabad, speaking in London, declared: "Indian States would be reluctant to conclude with British India an agreement that might in any way impede British co-operation in their economic development."

Mahatma Gandhi, whose advice regarding the formation of a Congress Ministry in the Central Provinces was sought by Mrs. Anusuyabai Kale, Deputy Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. P. B. Gole and Mr. V. Kalappa in Mahabaleswar,

advised them not to take such a step so long as the members of the Congress Working Committee were in Jail.

18th. Mrs. Pandit sent the following cable to the British Labour Party conference in Lancashire: "The Indian people have lost confidence completely in the present British Government. If existing conditions continued they will also lose faith in British Nation. British Labour can help to save the situation if true to its own ideal of democracy, it takes steps to end the deadlock by release of untried political prisoners. Thus alone is any constructive amelioration of the situation possible."

Strong Opposition to the proposed levy of a tax on agricultural incomes by the Government of Madras was voiced by several prominent publicists at a meeting held under the auspices of the National Liberal Federation at Mylapore. Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar presided.

In an open letter addressed to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member, Government of India, the members of the U. P. Sweepers' Panchayat accused Dr. Ambedkar of carelessness and unsympathetic attitude towards the sweeper community."

In the fourth report of the Select Committee on British expenditure in India, issued as White Paper, the Committee stated that they were unable to examine British expenditure in India in any detail and had to content themselves with the broadest survey of facts that were ascertainable from responsible departments in Britain.

19th. Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Secretary of the India Overseas Association referred to the problem of feeding India's evergrowing population.

A number of M. P.'s in an open letter on India written to the Prime Minister Mr. Churchill and the Secretary of State for India Mr. Amery, said: "Without a satisfactory solution of the Indian problem, British moral influence is unlikely to prove effective in the security organisation.

20th. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member, Government of India, explaining his plan for the solution of the communal problem at a social gathering in Bombay, said that there was no dispute about the future constitution of India except for the communal questions.

Pandit Kunzru, who arrived in British Guiana on May, 10, was welcomed by the Indian community at the Town Hall, George Town, and accorded a civic reception at New Amsterdam.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, at Matheran, called upon the Muslims of India to make redoubled efforts to remove the educational backwardness of the community so as to keep it abreast of other nations in the matter of educational progress.

21st. A Provisional Committee of Congress workers with Lala Onkar Nath as President and Mr. Ved Prakash Khanna as Secretary was formed in New Delhi, to carry on the constructive programme of the Congress. The decision was taken at a meeting attended by about 150 Congressmen.

The Labour Member of Parliament, Mr. Sorensen and other speakers challenged the Labour Executive on the reason why the Labour deputation had to wait for five months before the Secretary for India, Mr. Amery, would receive them

Professor Harold Laski made a fierce attack on Mr. Amery when he replied for the Executive. "My Amery", he said, "put them off for five months on the ground that he was conducting negotiations which he wanted to conclude before receiving the deputation."

2~nd. Great economic development in India, which would not only raise the economic welfare of India's millions but also contribute substantially to world prosperity, was envisaged by Prof. P. J. Thomas, economic adviser to the Indian delegation to the San Francisco Conference.

The Durban City Council, by 19 votes to 1, turned down the plans for an Indian School in Durban, for which the Minister of the Interior had already granted a building permit.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, in the interview with the United Press of America, assailed British, Dutch and French insistence that dependent peoples under the proposed world trusteeship system be given only a promise of self-government instead of true independence. She urged the United States not to permit America's "traditional position and vast prestige to be tarnished" by conceding "European imperialists' demands."

Mahatma Gandhi, addressing the scouts at the Hindusthan Scouts Association

training camp at Mahabaleswar, exhorted them to carry on the struggle for freedom without respite.

The Andhra Chamber of Commerce, communicating their views to the Government of Madras on the Agricultural Income Tax Bill, observed that the reasons and objects put forth by the Government to justify the imposition of the new tax were quite unconvincing.

23rd. The Indian industrialists in Britain were entertained by the Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery. Those present included Mr. G. D. Birla, Mr. J. R. D. Tata, Sir Sultan Chinoy, Mr. A. D. Shroff, Mir Laik Ali, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar and Mr. Ajay Singh.

The statement that Mr. Amery had declared that Pakistan as a solution to the Indian problem was wholly unacceptable to the British Government was made by Prof. Harold Laski addressing the conference of the Indian League at Blackpool.

A message from the Secretary of State for India to Civil employees of the Government of India said: "I wish to express to all members of the civil administration in India the high appreciation of His Majesty's Government of their devotion and continuous work over the last five and a half years during which war in Europe as well as in the East has made its insistent call on every servant of the State in India.

The Gwalior Rajya Hindu Sabha Conference opened at Gwalior. Delegates from all districts and neighbouring States attended.

24th. The Under Secretary for India and Labour Peer, the Earl of Listowel, resigning from his post on the dissolution of the Coalition Government, expressed the conviction that the responsibility for India was the greatest of Britain's Imperial responsibilities and that what the Labour Party had set out to do was to hand over effective political power to India at the earliest possible moment.

25th Mr. M. A. Jinnah, declaring that the Labour Party's policy regarding Palestine as explained by Dr. Hugh Dalton would be a breach of faith with the Mussalmans of India, called upon the Labour Party leader, Mr. C. R. Attlee, to clarify without delay the official Labour Party policy on the question.

26th. The Government of Madras published a blue book embodying their five year plan of post-war reconstruction and development. The schemes were estimated to cost Rs. 136½ crores on the aggregate of which Rs. 50 crores would be met by the Central Government.

The Earl of Scarborough was appointed Under Secretary of State for India in Mr. Churchill's new Government. He replaced the Earl of Listowel, former Labour Under-Secretary of State for India.

27th. Mr. Shantikumar N. Morarjee, in a statement on the Industrial Mission to England, said: "We cannot ignore the significance of the sponsoring interest of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India in the visit of this industrial delegation and its far reaching effects on the national policy of this country's future development of industries."

Khan Abdul Samad Khan, Baluchistan Congress leader, in a statement at Karachi, said: "The Mussalmans in this country loved freedom as much as any one and are quite prepared to pay the price for achieving it." He added: "The Mussalmans in Sind should lead and support any Congress movement, but there is some flow in the Congress Organisation in Sind. The late Mr. Allah Bux, a confirmed Nationalist, had received opposition more from Congress than from the so-called Muslim communalists. It is up to the Congressmen in Sind to make their organisation broad-based so as to include Muslims."

Criticisms made by the Oxford statistician, Prof. E. F. Schumacher, that the Bombay Plan, if adhered to, would produce the wildest inflation, brought forth a rejoinder from one of the authors of the plan, Dr. John Mathai, who said that the planners fully realised the possibilities of inflation latent in the proposals and contended that India must be prepared to adopt within reason whatever measures might be necessary to speed up economic development.

28th. A pledge of the Labour Party's faith in self-government for India was given by Mr. Clement Attlee, Leader of the Labour Party. Mr. Attlee said: "We cannot give India a constitution, but we will assist India to work out her constitution. I think the Cripps offer remains the most practical method for

Indians to decide their own destiny, but the Labour Party is open to consider any other proposals'"

The Government of Cochin passed orders on the main recommendations of the Industrial Development Committee which was presided over by Mr. Mannu Subedar of Bombay.

29th. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, speaking at San Francisco, said that there was no hope that victory for the Labour Party in England would have any great meaning for India. The Labour Party declarations, she said, were good, but offered only Dominion Status, which was valueless, with no integrity behind it.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing a public meeting in Madras, put forth a call to the nation to consider afresh its political strategy in the light of the changed situation and not to miss the opportunity of seizing power when it presented itself.

The Acting Premier of S. Africa, Mr. Hofmeyr, the Interior Minister, Mr. Clarkson, the Welfare Minister, Mr. Lawrence and the Natal Administrator, Mr. D. E. Mitchell, met the High Commissioner for India and discussed the Housing Emergency Powers Bill at Capetown.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Price asked Mr. Amery, if any part of the draft constitution for India prepared by the Radical Democratic Party would be adapted to the constitution.—Mr. Amery replied: "I have noted the proposals of the Radical Democratic Party. But it is for Indian opinion to pronounce whether they are acceptable as a solution of the political problem."

Sir Ardeshir Dalal told an East India Association meeting in London: "India cannot allow economic events to wait upon politics and the economic planning of India must go on whether the Government enjoys full confidence of the people or not."

30th. Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, in an interview in Calcutta, said: "Mr. M. A. Jinnah rejected the proposal made by Gandhiji in September last, because they were a mockery of Pakistan and did not concede Pakistan as Mr. Rajagopalachari seems to misrepresent."

31st. The text of a Bill, designed to improve slums in Calcutta and the other urban areas in Bengal was published in an extraordinary issue of the Calcutta Gazette for general information.

Mr. J. B. Priestly advocated an international guarantee of Indian sovereignty during a period in which Indians alone must frame their own constitution.

June 1945

In the House of Commons, Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in a statement on India, stated inter alia: "It is not the intention of H. M. G. to introduce any change contrary to the wishes of the major Indian communities. But they are willing to make possible some step forward during the interim period if the leaders of the principal Indian parties are prepared to agree to their suggestions."

H. E. the Viceroy in his broadcast speech said: "I have been authorised by H. M. G. to place before Indian political leaders proposals designed to ease the present political situation and to advance India towards her goal of full self-government."

The Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League passed a resolution urging the All-India Muslim League to revise its policy.

Mr. Churchill issued a "Declaration of Policy", in which he observed: "The prowess of the Indian Army must not be over-looked in framing plans for granting India a fuller opportunity to achieve Dominion Status."

At the 3rd session of the Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress Conference, a resolution was passed protesting against the continued detention of the members of the Congress Working Committee and other political prisoners.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Sardar Patel and Acharya Narendra Deo were released from Jail.

Master Tara Singh, Akali leader, advised a Sikh Diwan at Lahore to accept the British Government's offer through Lord Wavell.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, ex-President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in an interview, re : the Viceroy's proposals said : "The Congress clearly ceases to be the Indian National Congress if it accepts this Government offer and thus recognises itself as a representative body of a section of the Hindus."

Sardar Patel, speaking at Panchgani, remarked : "The Congress is not a sectional organisation. It represents Indians belonging to all creeds and races."

Mahatma Gandhi released to the Press a letter which he wrote to Mr. Winston Churchill.

The Congress Working Committee authorised the President and other Congressmen who were invited by the Viceroy, to attend the Leaders' Conference at Simla.

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha under the Presidency of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee condemned the Wavell Plan.

The Leaders' Conference opened at the Viceregal Lodge, Simla. All the invitees were present with the exception of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Leaders' Conference at Simla discussed the scope, functions and responsibilities of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

The Leaders' Conference was adjourned till July, 14.

1st. A Government of India, Home Department press communique from New Delhi said: "Recruitment of candidates with approved "war service" to fill "war-reserved" vacancies in the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police will shortly begin and will be carried out on the basis of the pre-war ratios between British and Indian recruits."

Dr. Syed Mahmud, addressing a gathering in Madras, expressed his conviction that the time was fast approaching when Muslim India would rise as one man and compel its leader to come to terms with the Congress and to march together with the Congress to win freedom.

The Budget session of the reconstituted Mysore Representative Assembly commenced at Bangalore. Pradhana-Shiromoni N. Madhava Rau, Dewan presided.

2nd. The Government of Madras, on a careful consideration of the report of the Committee on the revision of the scales of pay of Government servants, decided that further consideration of the question should be deferred until after the war.

The Sind Muslim League Assembly Party endorsed the resolution of the Sind League Working Committee seeking Congress co-operation in the sphere of the League's parliamentary programme in Sind and urged the Hidayatullah Ministry to implement the programme to be jointly prepared by the leaders of both the organisations for the common good of the masses in Sind.

3rd. Dr. Syed Mahmud, addressing a meeting in Madras, refered to the "disruptive tendency" amongst not only the younger but also the older generation of the people of India and appealed to them to root out the causes that kept such a tendency alive.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah issued a statement to the Press on the situation in Syria and Lebanon.

4th. The Mysore Representative Assembly passed all the four Bills taken up during the day, including the Mysore Income Tax (Amendment) Bill.

The first All-Kerala Women's Conference sponsored by the Kerala Desiya Mahila Samaj was held at Tellicherry, Mrs. S. Ammu Swaminathan presided. The conference was attended by about 150 delegates from all over Kerala and nearly 15,000 visitors.

A statement issued on behalf of Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit on the report of the Bengal Famine Commission declared that Mr. L. S. Amery should immediately resign office as Secretary of State for India "as did Sir Austin

Chamberlain in 1917 when the Mesopotamia report disclosed the utter incompetence of the then Government of India."

Mr. Mahomadbhoy I. M. Rowjee, former Sheriff of Bombay, in a statement, supported the plea of Mr. Hooseinbhoy A. Laljee on behalf of the Shias to avoid criticism of Shia Imams by Sunnis.

5th. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, speaking under the auspices of the Civil Liberties Committee at Chicago, said that the new world order would collapse like a house of cards without a 'foundation of justice and equality for all peoples of the world, whatever their creed, colour or religion." Mrs. Pandit pointed out that the Great Powers fought Fascism but "allowed Imperialism in the world".

In the Mysore Representative Assembly, the fuel situation in Bangalore City was discussed at great length in the course of an adjournment motion, which was carried unanimously. Pradhanasiromani N. Madhava Rau, Dewan of Mysore, presided.

The Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League passed a resolution urging the All-India Muslim League to revise its policy and transfer control of the Assembly Parties from the Central Parliamentary Board to the Provincial Leagues.

6th. Mr. G. M. Syed, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League sent cables to Mr. Churchill and Mr. L. S. Amery, communicating to them the resolution of the Sind Muslim League opposing granting of extension to Sir Hugh Dow, Governor of Sind.

Mr. L. S. Amery, in a speech at the London Rotary Club, after referring to India's war achievements, said: "It is in the setting of these facts of India's war achievements, of the strides which she has made economically and of the far greater strides that she is planning, that Indians naturally envisage their country's present political position."

7th. Mr. G. M. Syed made the demand for sovereign powers for the Provincial Muslim Leagues at Karachi.

Mr. A. Joshi, presiding over the 7th session of the Jaipur Praja Mandal, said that all bodies and activities in the Indian States derived direct or indirect inspiration from the Indian National Congress.

Mr. Amery told the House of Commons in reply to a question that there was no record of any Indian child having been born in mines in India.

In the Mysore Representative Assembly, an adjournment motion to discuss the Government Order granting more powers to the village panchayats in the State was talked out. The House discussed the Budget.

8th. The freedom of India was one of the main measures advocated in the British Communist Party election programme.

The ban on the Congress organisations in Assam was lifted by the Provincial Government.

9th. Mr. Churchill issued a "Declaration of Policy" to the electors, in which he stated inter alia: "The prowess of the Indian Army must not be overlooked in framing plans for granting India a fuller opportunity to achieve Dominion Status. We should remember those friends who stood by us in our hour of peril and should be over mindful of our obligations towards the minorities and Indian States.......The arrangements made in the war for constant mutual consultation with the Dominions and India on all matters of joint interest must be perfected in peace".

In the Mysore Representative Assembly general discussions on the Budget for 1945-46 were continued, which reassembled under the presidency of the Dewan.

Khan Bahadur Mahmood Shariff, presiding over the 5th session of the All-Mysore State Muslim League, held at Bangalore, said that the State Muslim League had always held that it was not opposed to Responsible Government.

10th. The Government of India and the Burma Government stationed in Delhi were taking vigorous steps to resume Indo-Burma trade. In this connection, a Committee consisting of 23 leading businessmen in India having large interests in Burma was accorded permission to visit Rangoon to study the conditions prevailing there and report to the Custodian of Properties in Burma.

The Government of Jodhpur started a vigorous policy of fostering and developing municipalities for the town areas and panchayats for rural areas throughout the State. Considerable reform was undertaken in the sphere of local self-government during the past few years.

Mahatma Gandhi said at Panchgani that though he could not enthuse over the Allied Victory in Europe as a victory of truth over falsehood, he wanted to make it clear that a victory for the Axis would have been far worse. He also said that it was his conviction that if India could win Swaraj through truth and non-violence, he would be able to bring deliverance to all the other oppressed nations.

At the 3rd session of the Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress Conference in Calcutta, a resolution was passed protesting against "the continued detention of the members of the Congress Working Committee, thousands of Congressmen, pre-reform days prisoners and trade unionists in Bengal as well as in other provinces" and demanding their immediate and unconditional rele se.—Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose, President of the All-India Trade Union Congress presided over the Conference.

Mr. N. R. Sarkar, former Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, who with other industrialists visited a number of British industries, said at Birmingham: "The Government of India must press the British Government for priority to be given to India's requirements of machinery and skilled technicians."

11th. Mahatma Gandhi, in an article entitled "Two Powers" wrote : "Ram Rajya can be religiously translated as Kingdom of God on Earth ; politically translated, it is perfect democracy in which inequalities based on possession and non-possession, colour, race or creed vanish. In it, land and State belong to the people, justice is prompt, perfect and cheap and therefore, there is freedom of worship and speech and of the Press—all this because of the reign of self-imposed law and moral restraint."

The 1st Andhra Trade Union Congress met at Rajahmundry, under the presidency of Mr. C. V. K. Rao. In the course of his presidential address, Mr. Rao stated that all their demands could be fulfilled only when they obtained a National Government, to give food, cloth and shelter to their people.

The second session of the Sri Mulam Assembly met at Trivandrum, Dewan Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar presided. The president made a comprehensive statement, in the course of which he dealt with the food situation in the State, control of consumers' goods and the secretariat reform, among other matters.

The Interim Report of the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into matter affecting the Indian population in Natal, recommended that the Union Government should invite the Government of India to send to the Union a delegation composed substantially of Indians to discuss with the Union Government and other bodies all matters affecting Indians in South Africa.

A conference of the Southern Zone of the All-India States Muslim League was held at Bangalore under the presidentship of Maulvi Abdul Hassan Syed Ali of Hyderabad.

The 5th annual session of the All-Mysore State Muslim League was held at Bangalore under the presidentship of Khan Sahib Mahmood Shariff; a resolution stated "that the ultimate goal of the people of Mysore shall be the establishment of Responsible Government, under the aegis of H. H. the Maharaja."

12th. In the Travancore Assembly, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan President reminded the House that all the detenus in the State had been released and the Government had issued a press communique stating that they did not feel any more the need for the detaining of any one.

The Government of Cochin decided upon reducing the number of official seats in the Legislature from 12 to 10, thus increasing the non-official nominated seats from 8 to 10.

The Mysore Representative Assembly passed several resolutions on the budget for the year 1945-46.

The Government of Mysore passed orders reorganising the existing Boards of the Mysore Economic Conference and its Standing Committee and granting the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council the privilege of electing 15 and 8 members respectively, to serve the Committees.

13th. The activities of the Calcutta Vigilance Association in fighting social evils were reviewed at its annual meeting in Calcutta. The Metropolitan presided.

Representative Emanuel Celler of New York urged that the United States should do everything possible to unblock Indian Sterling balances, in a speech before the House of Representatives which was considering the Bretton Woods conference proceedings.

14th. In the House of Commons, Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, made a statement on India. He stated inter alia: "During the recent visit of Lord Wavell to this country, H. M. G. reviewed with him a number of problems and discussed particularly the present political situation in the country.— "While H. M. G. are at all times most anxious to do their utmost to assist Indians in the working out of a new constitutional settlement, it would be a contradiction in terms to speak of the imposition by this country of self-governing institutions upon an unwilling India. Such a thing is not possible, nor could we accept the responsibility for enforcing such institutions at the very time when we were, by its purpose, withdrawing from all control of British Indian affairs.— "It is not the intention of H. M. G. to introduce any change contrary to the wishes of the major Indian communities. But they are willing to make possible some steps forward during the interim period if the leaders of the principal Indian parties are prepared to agree to their suggestions and to co-operate in the successful conclusion of the war against Japan as well as in the reconstruction in India, which must follow the final victory."

H. E. the Viceroy in his broadcast said: "I have been authorised by H. M. G. to place before Indian political leaders proposals designed to ease the present political situation and to advance India towards her goal of full self-government. These proposals are, at the present moment, being explained to Parliament by the Secretary of State for India. My intention in this broadcast is to explain to you the proposals, the ideas underlying them and the method by which I hope to put them into effect."

An invitation to Party Leaders to confer with him on proposals to ease the political situation in India and to help her to advance towards the goal of self-government was one of the principal features of H. E. the Viceroy's broadcast.

Mr. C. R. Attlee, leader of the Opposition, speaking after Mr. Amery in the House of Commons debate on India, asked his friends in India to "seize this opportunity."

15th. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Acharya Narendra Deo and the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad were released from jail.

Master Tara Singh, Akali leader, when he addressed a Sikh Diwan at Lahore, made a plea to accept the British Government's new offer through Lord Wavell.

His Majesty the King, in his speech proroguing Parliament, said: "My Government have authorised the Governor-General of India to invite participation of Indian political leaders in the Government of British India. I earnestly hope that this invitation will be accepted, so that the immediate tasks of waging war against Japan and post-war developments in India may be undertaken with the full co-operation of all sections of Indian public opinion."

Mahatma Gandhi, in a statement on the Viceroy's plan to solve the Indian deadlock said that the Congress Working Committee alone was competent to declare the Congress attitude to the new proposals.

In the debate in the House of Commons on the White Paper on India, Mr. William Cove said: "We must meet a new Indian situation because Britain, facing as she does Russia and America, cannot live more and have her being unless she maintains the goodwill, friendship and co-operation of all members of the British Commonwealth, and in that society India is a star."

Sir Stafford Cripps, Labour Party leader, speaking at Edinburgh, said that he welcomed whole heartedly the suggestions put forward in the White Paper.

In the Travancore Assembly, Mr. A. M. Thambi, Director of Public Instruction, made a statement regarding the adjournment motion which sought to discuss the scarcity of text-books.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, ex-President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in the course of an interview on the Viceroy's proposals, said: "The Congress clearly ceases to be the Indian National Congress if it accepts this Government offer and thus recognises itself as a representative body of a section of the Hindus by letting the League, the Depressed Classes to be represented as different communities."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, made a vehement attack on the Viceroy's proposals and protested against the exclusion of the Mahasabha even from consultation and described Lord Wavell's plan as a "Communal award more monstrous than the first."

The acting President of the European Association, Mr. Rowan Hodge, in a

statement issued in Calcutta, said: "The European Association will fully support the Wavell Plan."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League, in a telegram to the Viceroy accepting his invitation to the Simla Conference, said: "I reciprocate your appeal for co-operation and goodwill and hope that the Muslim League will make its contribution to any just and reasonable interim provincial settlement."

16th. The Government of Madras, reviewing the food situation in the Province during the fortnight ending 31st May, 1945, stated that the situation continued to be satisfactory.

An exchange of telegrams took place between His Excellency and Mahatma Gandhi on the former's broadcast on the British offer to solve the Indian deadlock. On Mahatma Gandhi's suggestion the telegrams were released to the Press by the Viceroy.

Britain's latest offer to India was welcomed by all sections of the British Press. There was unanimous hope that Indian leaders would respond to the gesture.

17th. Mahatma Gandhi sent to the Viceroy a long letter seeking clarification of certain points and pressing definite views on the use of the expression "Caste Hindus" in the Viceregal broadcast.

Sardar Patel, speaking at Panchgani, "not as a member of the Working Committee but as a Congressman", said: "The Congress is not a sectional organisation. It represents Indians belonging to all creeds and races. It can be and has been represented by Muslim, Hindu, Christian and Parsi Presidents. I hope that no nationalist will be a party to any arrangement which has as its basis a religious division."

18th. Mahatma Gandhi released to the press a letter which he wrote to the British Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, from Panchgani on 17th. July, 1944. He wrote: "You are reported to have a desire to crush the simple "Naked Fakir", as you are said to have described me. I have been long trying to be a fakir and that naked a more difficult task. I, therefore, regard the expression as a compliment, though unintended. I approach you then as such and ask you to trust and use me for the sake of your people and mine, and through them, those of the World".

The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, received a letter from the Bengal Governor conveying to him the Viceroy's invitation to attend the Leaders' Conference at Simla on June 25.

A further exchange of views on Lord Wavell's proposals for an interim Government at the Centre and the proposed Leaders' Conference at Simla on June 25 took place between the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said at Naini Tal: "Unless the whole political, economic and administrative systems were overhauled, with honest good men at the top holding the reins of Government, the evils would not be remedied. The good men were either in jail or sitting at home because they could not 'toe the line.'

At a meeting of the Hindu Mahasabha in Calcutta, a resolution characterising the plan as anti-national and anti-Hindu and demanding its immediate withdrawal was passed. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee presided.

19th. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit declared at a Press Conference at San Francisco that the British Government's proposals to end the political deadlock in India were very closely connected with the British election campaign."

Mr. Herbert Morrison, chairman of the Labour Party Election Committee, at a conference with foreign journalists, said that at the moment the British parties were in agreement on policy in regard to India. He said: "We agree on the Cripps plan and we agree on the Wavell plan. The next move is up to the Indians. I cannot answer for them."

The Government of Bengal decided to increase the rate of the tax on the sale of goods imposed under the Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) Act, 1941 from half anna in the rupee to three quarters of anna in the rupee.

The Mysore Government announced the appointment of three non-official Ministers for the second term under the Mysore Government Act of 1940.

The Viceroy released to the Press two further telegrams exchanged between himself and Mahatma Gandhi on the Leaders' Conference at Simla.

To implement the recommendations of the Rowlands Committee in regard to

the establishment of a Development Board the Government of Bengal decided to set up a Post-War Reconstruction Board as an interim measure.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in an interview in New Delhi, said that the Simla conference must be called and given a chance to a settlement.

20th. The Congress President Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in an interview in Calcutta, said that in the Viceroy's proposals nothing had been said about the method of selecting the members of the Executive Council. If they were selected by those attending the Simla Conference jointly there should be no objection to the procedure.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru expressed confidence in Bombay, in the successful outcome of the Simla conference called by Lord Wavell to settle the political deadlock.

21st. The Congress Working Committee met in Bombay, after a lapse of nearly three years, to discuss and arrive at a decision on Lord Wavell's proposals for the solution of the Indian political deadlock.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said in Bombay : "We are seeking an interim agreement and much can be agreed upon now that could be accepted permanently."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, accepted the Viceroy's invitation to him to attend the leaders' Conference at Simla and asked for an interview with the Viceroy prior to the Conference.

Mr. Amery made a statement at Preston (Lacashire) in which he said: "The British proposals now before India have behind them the agreement of all parties in Great Britain. These proposals were framed in consultation between myself, Lord Wavell and members of the late Coalition Government."

22nd. The Congress Working Committee concluded its session at Bombay. The following statement was issued :

"The Congress Working Committee, meeting after nearly three years, has had to consider many important problems both national and international. Members of the Working Committee, just released from prison, have not even had the opportunity of getting in touch with the people or to acquaint themselves with events which have taken place during the last fateful three years. However, in view of the existing circumstances, the Committee considered the Viceroy's proposals about the Simla conference, and it was decided that the President and other Congressmen invited be authorised to attend. Certain directions have been given them, and they have been asked to seek elucidation in regard to many points which still require clarification."

The Shiromoni Akali Dal met at Amritsar to discuss the Viceroy's offer and authorised Master Tara Singh to attend the Simla Conference.

At the Mysore Legislative Council, Mr. H. B. Gundappa Gowda took charge of his office and presided over the session.

Dr. B. S. Moonje, in a statement to the Press at Nasik, asked : "Who represents the Hindus both politically and communally in the Simla Conference ? Are the Hindus, for the sin of being a majority community, to be completely ignored ?"

Mr. L. S. Amery, speaking at Birmingham, replied to the Communist allegations of his responsibility for the Bengal famine.

The Wavell plan was considered at a meeting of the Trichinopoly Branch of the Indian Christian Association, under the presidentship Mr. S. E. Pakkiam Raja, President of the Association.

23rd. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, asked about the Wavell Plan, said that it was in the nature of an interim arrangement to organise a change. He added : "It is obviously an interlude, and if I feel that a brief temporary arrangement helps me in any way to attain my goal, I accept it."

Mahatma Gandhi and the President of the Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad were given full plenary powers by the Congress Working Committee to deal with all phases of negotiations arising out of the Simla Conference and Lord Wavell's proposals to the political deadlock in India.

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha met at Poona and considered the Wavell Plan in all its aspects. The Working Committee appointed a sub-committee of six persons to draft a resolution on the Wavell Proposals in the light of discussions. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee presided.

24th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad left for the Viceroy's House for his interview with the Viceroy at Simla.

Mahatma Gandhi arrived at the Viceregal Lodge for his interview with the Viceroy.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a Press conference at Bombay, referred to Indian Communists, and said: "I have every sympathy for Russia and the great advance Russia has made, but from many points of view, I do not think the nation's policy can be bound up with Russian foreign policy. The general question is whether their policy has been injurious to the cause of India."

The Punjab Civil Liberties Union passed resolutions at Lahore demanding wholesale release of Congress leaders and workers and urging the legalisation of Congress organisations throughout the country.

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha met at Poona, under the presidentship of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee to consider the Wavell Plan "as a deliberate device on the part of the British Government to perpetuate British rule over India, to camouflage the issue of India's independence, to break the solidarity of the Indian Nation, to reduce the Hindus who constitute about 75% of India's population to a minority by the introduction of parity between Caste Hindus and Muslims, and disparity between Muslims and the Scheduled Castes and to divide the politically minded Hindu Community into separate entities as Caste Hindus and Scheduled Castes."

Lord Wavell's preliminary discussions with leaders began at Simla. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. Jinnah and Mahatma Gandhi separately saw His Excellency.

Sir R. M. Deshmukh, the Indian High Commissioner, in South Africa, making his first public speech at Durban, told the gathering at a reception in his honour given by the Natal Indian Congress that the interim report of the Natal Judicial Commission has shown how a re-definition of Indian status in South Africa could be achieved.

25th. The Leaders' Conference opened at the Viceregal Lodge at 11-30 a.m. at Simla. All the invitees were present except Mahatma Gandhi.

Acharya J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress, addressing a Press Conference on the Wavell proposals at Lucknow, said if the coalition at the Centre was to be based on Hindu Muslim parity then elements other than the Muslim League and the Congress should also have been invited. To say that the Congress only represented Caste Hindus would not be correct. It was the only national body representing all interests.

The Government of India sanctioned a grant of Rs. 1,82,200 towards recurring and non-recurring expenditure involved in the fisheries development schemes in the Travancore State for the years 1945-48.

After a brief address from the Viceroy appealing to those assembled to rise above sectional interests, the leaders expressed their view points on certain general aspects of the Wavell Plan.

26th. The Leaders' Conference at Simla took up for discussion one of the items on the agenda, namely, the scope, functions and responsibilities of the Viceroy's Executive to be constituted on the basis of H. M. G.'s proposals.

The Indian Delegation to the United Nations Conference (at San Francisco), after outlining the stand it had taken on all disputed points in drafting the World Charter, declared in a formal statement that although some of its views had been disregarded and while it was conscious that its view points had not been accepted on all matters and the charter was not as perfect as it would like it to be "the Indian Delegation is nevertheless convinced that the Charter proposed is a heroic attempt by the nations assembled to create an international organisation for the welfare of mankind."

27th. It was officially announced that after a one-hour session, the Leaders' Conference, at Viceregal Lodge, Simla adjourned till 11 a.m. June 29th to enable the delegates to continue their private discussions.

Mr. L. S. Amery, speaking at Birmingham said: "I hope it will now be possible with the help of the Indian Leaders, to set India well forward on the path of complete freedom."

Mr. A. D. Shroff, Director of Tatas, Bombay, declared that India did not need any immediate assistance in the way of foreign capital.

In a message received by Mr. Fenner Brockway in London, Mahatmaji said: "The campaign for Indian freedom and for the freedom of the Asiatic, the Negro

and other exploited races of the world is one, and the victory in the west and the impending victory in the East are empty without the central fact of India's freedom. I can hope only for victory in the British general election for that party which works sincerely and wholly for that end."

A resolution urging the immediate release of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and opining that there was "no justification for his arrest" was adopted at a public meeting in Calcutta, held under the auspices of the Congress, Hindu Mahasabha and several other organisations of Bengal.

28th. The deliberations of the Simla Conference reached a stage of impasse between the Congress and the Muslim League.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a meeting at Allahabad, observed: "Individually, I do take responsibility for all that happened in the country during the August disturbances. I do not want to shake off this responsibility and stand aside. But to say that the Congress organised any movement is fantastic and absolutely wrong. Whatever happened after the arrest of the leaders was spontaneous."

The Communist candidate at Sparkbrook, Mr. R. P. Dutt's rejoinder to the Conservative leaflet dealing with the Communist allegations regarding Mr. L. S. Amery's personal responsibility for the Bengal Famine brought forth a reply from Mr. Amery.

29th. The Leaders' Conference met at 11 a.m. and adjourned at 12-15 p.m., it was officially announced "to enable the delegates to carry on further consultations". The conference was expected to re-assemble on July 14, in Simla.

Mahatma Gandhi, in an interview at Simla, said that it was his "hope and prayer" that there would be a happy outcome of the Simla Conference in an effort to form an interim nationally based Government.

Chronology of the European War

September 1939—May 1945

September (1939)

1—Germany invades Poland.
3—Britain and France declare war against Germany. *Athenia* sunk north-west of Ire-land.
27—Warsaw falls.

October

11—Empire Air Training scheme announced. Barter agreement—timber for tin and rubber—concluded with U.S.S.R.
12—Chamberlain rejects Hitler's peace proposals.

November

17—Allied Supreme Council adopts plans for pooling economic resources.

December

13—Battle of the River Plate.
17—Following the River Plate battle, German pocket battleship the *Admiral Graf Spee* scuttled.
First contingent of Canadian troops lands in Britain.
27—Indian troops land in France.

1940

February

12—First contingent of Anzacs reaches Suez.

March

18—Hitler-Mussolini meeting at the Brenner Pass.
20—Daladier resigns.
28—Supreme War Council decision not to conclude peace or armistice except by mutual consent.

April

9—Germans invade Denmark; Copenhagen occupied.
Germans invade Norway.
10—First Battle of Narvik, German advance from Oslo.
13—Second Battle of Narvik; seven enemy destroyers sunk.
15—British landing near Narvik.
16—British landing in Faroe Islands.
16-18—British troops land at Namsos.
18-19—British troops land at Andalsnes.
20—Announcement of French landing in Norway.
23-25—British fail to reach Trondheim.

May

2—Allied forces embark at Namsos (announced on May 3)
3—Polish landing in Norway announced.
10—Germany invades Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg; British and French troops enter Belgium; Germans cross the Maas at Arnhelm; British troops land in Iceland; Churchill becomes Prime Minister.
11—British War Cabinet formed.
13—Dutch Government move "elsewhere".
14—Local Defence Volunteers in U. K. proposed; bombing of Rotterdam (of the 50,000 civilian casualties, 30,000 were killed); Holland capitulates; Queen Wilhelmina arrives in London.
15—Germans break across the Meuse.
B.E.F. withdrawn west of Brussels.
24—Germans advance to the Channel ports.
28—Narvik falls.
Belgian army capitulates.

May 28-June 3

—Dunkirk evacuation; 244,585 British and 112,546 French and Belgian troops evacuated. 222 British naval vessels and 635 other British craft engaged in the operation.
British material lost—700 tanks, 2,400 guns and 50,000 vehicles of all kinds.
British casualties total 13,000 killed and 40,000 P.O.W.

June

3—Paris bombed.
5—Battle of France. Germans forced the Somme and Aisne-Oise crossings.
Cripps appointed Ambassador to Russia.
11—French retire across the Marne.
Italy at war with Britain and France.
13—Paris declared an open town.
14—Germans enter Paris.
16—British offer of Anglo-French Union rejected by French Government.
Reynaud resigns.
Petain forms new government.
17—Evacuation of B.E.F. from France completed; de Gaulle's broadcast appeal to the French to continue the fight.
18—Hitler-Mussolini meeting at Munich.
25—Hostilities in France end.
German armistice accepted.
26—Announcement of de Gaulle's plans to continue fight.
28—Viceroy promulgates new Ordinance to conscript skilled Indian labour.

July

4—Kassala and Galabat occupied by Italians. French warships in British ports taken over.

5—Petain's Government break off diplomatic relations with Britain.
15—Moyale attacked by Italians; withdrawal of British garrison.

August

2—Beaverbrook joins War Cabinet.
4—Somaliland invaded.

August 8—October 31

The Battle of Britain—2,375 enemy aircraft were destroyed in daylight by fighters of the R.A.F. and anti-aircraft fire. The R.A.F. lost 733 aircraft, a ratio of 3-1; 975 pilots were killed. During the period August-September 1940 there were five separate occasions when the R.A.F. shot down over a hundred enemy aircraft daily. Enemy aircraft shot down on August 15 numbered 181; on September 15 the number was 185.
16—British evacuate British Somaliland.

September

3—Anglo-American agreement; Sea and Air Bases in Newfoundland and Bermuda to be leased free to America. Bases in Jamaica, St. Lucia, Trinidad Antigua and British Guiana leased in exchange for the transfer of 50 destroyers to the United Kingdom.
9—First U.S. destroyers taken over.
14—Indian troops arrive in Egyptian territory.

October

25—Eastern Group Conference inaugurated by the Viceroy in New Delhi.
28—Italians invade Greece.

November

11-12—Fleet Air Arm attack Italian naval units in Taranto harbour.
23—Bevin outlines new scheme for Indian workers and seamen.

December

9—Wavell's Cyrenaica offensive begins.
11—4th Indian Division smash Italian fortresses and capture Sidi Barrani.

1941

January

18—Cassala re-occupied.
22—Tobruk captured.

February

1—Agordat captured.
2—El Agheila reached.
5—Benghazi captured.
1—27—Siege of Keren, Keren captured by Indian troops on February 27.
15—Kismayo captured.
25—Mogadishu captured.

March

4—First Lofoten raid; fish-oil factory and ships destroyed.
11—Lease-Lend Bill signed by President Roosevelt.
28—Battle of Cape Matapan.
30—H. M. the King sends message to the Viceroy, congratulating India on the part played by her armed forces in the capture of Keren.

April

2—British withdraw from Merza Brega.
3—Announcement of R.I.N.'s notable part in assisting land operations in Eritrea.
British evacuate Benghazi.
Hostile *coup d' etat* engineered by Rashid Ali in Iraq.
6—Addis Ababa occupied; Germans invade Greece and Yugoslavia; British and Imperial Forces in Greece.
13—Siege of Tobruk begins. Germans capture Bardia.
17—An Indian brigade landed to protect the oil supply line in Iraq.
19—British, Indian and other Imperial forces arrive in Basrah.

April 2—June 15

—German counter-offensive in North Africa.

April 25—May 2

—Evacuation of Imperial Forces from Greece.
27—Germans occupy Athens.
28—Germans capture Sollum.

May

5—Haile Selassie enters Addis Ababa.
10—Rudolf Hess lands in Scotland.
19—Duke of Aosta capitulates at Amba Alagi.
20—Germans invade Crete.
27—*Bismarck* sunk.
31—British troops enter Bagdad; end of rebellion; reinstatement of Emir Abdul Ilah.

June

1—British forces withdrawn from Crete. Evacuation of British and Imperial Expeditionary Forces (17,000 troops reach Egypt).
8—Fifth Infantry Brigade of Fourth Indian Division strikes towards Damascus.
22—Germany invades Russia.
30—Lwow captured.

July

1—Riga captured.
14—Allied forces occupy Syria.

August

14—Atlantic Charter meeting between Churchill and Roosevelt.
Russians announce evacuation of Smolensk.

18—Germans capture Kingisepp. Leningrad threatened.

September

9—Persian Government signs treaty of alliance with Britain and U.S.S.R.
19—British forces reach Teheran.
Germans occupy Kiev.

October

October 5—December 6—Battle for Moscow.
16—Odessa falls.
20—Limit of the German advance was between 25 to 30 miles north, west and south of Moscow.

November

1—Sevastopol threatened.
7—Decision to arm U.S. merchantships and to permit them to enter combat zones.
13—U.S. Neutrality Act revised.
16—Germans capture Kerch.
22—Germans enter Rostov.
27—British relieve Tobruk.
28—Russians recapture Rostov.

December

7—Japan launches air attacks on U.S. naval, military and air bases at Pearl Harbour. Other air attacks on Manila, Shanghai, Malaya, Thailand, and Hong Kong.
8—Britain and the Dominions declare war on Japan.
U.S.A. declare war on Japan.
China declares war on Italy, Germany and Japan.
Japanese attack on Hong Kong; Japanese troops land in Thailand, near Malayan frontier.
10—H.M.S. *Prince of Wales* and H.M.S. *Repulse* sunk by Japan.
11—Italy and Germany declare war on the United States.
U.S. Congress declares war against Germany and Italy.
17—British capture Benghazi.
22—Japanese launch major attack on the Philipines.
23—First meeting of Anglo U.S. War Council in Washington.
24—More Japanese landings in Luzon; Manila raided.
Indian troops in Libya occupy Barce.
25—Surrender of Hong Kong (forces engaged : 4,000 British, 2,000 Indian, 2,000 Canadian and a local voluntary force of 6,000).
26—Second Lofoten raid. Manila declared open city. Churchill in Washington. addresses Congress.

1942

January

2—Manila and Cavit fall.
3—Twenty-six nations, including Britain, U.S.A., Russia, China, the Netherlands and India sign joint declaration against Axis Powers.
8—Rommel withdraws to El Agheila.
23—Jap air raid on Rangoon.
27—Churchil announces (i) Combined Chiefs of Staff Committee to be set up in Washington (ii) Pacific War Council to be set up in London; (iii) U.S. land and air forces to join British forces in United Kingdom. Dominions to be represented in War Cabin t.
23—27—Japanese landing in New Guinea at Lae; Japanese landing in Solomon Islands.
28—Russian cross Upper Donetz into the Ukraine.
30—British withdraw to the Island of Singapore.
31—Japanese capture Moulmein.

February

9—Marshal Chiang Kai-shek visits Delhi.
12—According to New Delhi announcement India invited to be represented on War Cabinet and on Pacific War Council.
15—Singapore falls.
17—British and Indian airmen active over enemy positions in Burma.

March

7-9—Rangoon evacuated and extrication of British forces from Pegu.
23—Japanese occupy Andaman Islands.
27-28—St. Nazair raided. Principal battleship dock destroyed.

April

6—Japanese bomb India for the first time, attacks on Coconada and Vizagapatam in Madras Presidency. Japanese landings on Bougainville.
16—H. M. the King awards George Cross to Malta.
18—American Technical Mission arrives in Delhi.
29—Lashio falls. Evacuation of Mandalay, British retreat to India. Four-fifths evacuated to India.

May

4-7—British landing in Madagascar. Diego Suarez captured.
4 8—Coral Sea Battle.
Japanese fleet withdraws after heavy losses.
6—Corregidor garrison surrenders.
15—First British forces retreating from Burma reach Indian frontier.
26—Twenty-year Anglo-Soviet Treaty signed in London, providing for full collaboration during and after the war.
30-31—R.A.F. raid Cologne with 1,130 bombers.

June

1-2—R.A.F. raid Essen with 1,036 bombers.
10—German summer offensive opens in Russia.
War Resources Committee of Viceroy's Council announced.
11—Duke of Gloucester arrives in India on an inspection tour of the forces.
21—Germans capture Tobruk.

July

1—Germans reach El Alamein. Germans recapture Sevastopol after a seven-month siege.
2—Viceroy's Council enlarged. First Indian Defence Member appointed. Indian representatives on War Cabinet and Pacific War Council announced.

August

12—Churchill visits Moscow.
19—Commando raid on Dieppe.

September

3—Germans capture Novorossisk.
12—Germans enter the streets of Stalingrad.

October

23—Montgomery opens offensive at El Alamein.

November

2—Allies capture Cocoda.
3—In Egypt Axis forces begin to retreat.
8—Allied landing in North-West Africa. Casablanca, Oran and Algiers captured.
11—Epic fight of H.M.I.S. *Bengal* with two Jap destroyers while escorting Dutch oil tankers.
13—British capture Tobruk.
16—British First Army enters Tunisia.
20—British capture Benghazi.
25—Australians capture Gna.

December

15—British capture El Aghella.
20—First Jap air raid on Calcutta.

1943

January

2—Allies occupy Bua.
14-24—Roosevelt and Churchill together with their Chief of Staff meet near Casablanca. Conference named "The unconditional Surrender meeting."
16—Iraq declares war on Germany, Italy and Japan.
23—British capture Tripoli.
30—Adana Conference. Churchill meets Inonu.

February

2—German resistance in Stalingrad ends. German Sixth Army consisting of 300,000 men completely destroyed.
25—R.A.F. begin round-the-cloth bombing.

March

2—Battle of Bismarck Sea begins.
20—British capture Mareth. Fouth Indian Division plays prominent part.
29—British capture Gabaz and El Hamma.

April

6—British capture Akarit position.
7—Eighth Army makes contact with the Americans.
7-10—Hitler and Mussolini met at Fuehrer's headquarters.
10—British capture Sfax.
12—British capture Sousse.

May

11—U.S. forces land on Attu Island. Churchill arrives in Washington.
12—All organised axis resistance ends in North Africa.
20—Announced that a Commando force under Wingate has spent 3 months in Central Burma.
30—All Japanese organised resistance ceases in Attu.

June

7—Composition of French Committee of National Liberation announced.
11—Allies occupy Panthellaria.
12—Lampedusa surrenders. H. M. the King arrives in North Africa.
13—Linosa surrenders.

July

9-10—Invasion of Sicily. Indian troops on the southern shores of the island.
15—Russians announce new offensive north and east of Orel.
25—Mussolini resigns; Badogolio becomes Italian Prime Minister.

August

10—Churchill arrive in Quebec for conference.
17—Messina captured. All enemy resistance in Sicily ends.
25—Appointment of Lord Mountbatten as Supreme Allied Commander of South-East Asia announced.

September

3—Allied landings on the mainland of Italy. A detachment of Jodhpur infantry were the first Indians to set foot on the Italian mainland.
8—Eisenhower announces unconditional surrender of Italy.
11—Surrender of Italian Navy.
22—Midget Submarines attack German battleship *Tirpitz*.
27—Foggia captured.

October

1—Fall of Naples.
4—Corsica liberated.
12—First air raid on Madras.

13—Italy declares war on Germany.
18—Conference of Foreign Ministers in Moscow.

November

9—U.N.R.R.A. agreement signed in Washington.
22—Cairo Conference—Roosevelt, Chiang Kai-shek and Churchill meet.
28—Teheran Conference between Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill.
29—Sword of Stalingrad presented to Stalin.

December

24—Names of Commanders of European Liberation Army announced.
25—German battleship *Scharnhorst* sunk.

1944

January

23—Allied landing South of Rome.

February

2—Financial and Mutual Aid Agreement between U.K. and French Committee of National Liberation.
26—Red Army advance in the north towards Lake Peipus and Lake Pskov.
28—Jap withdrawal in Arakan.

March

1—Allied landing on Admiralty Islands.
17—Airborne troops land in the rear of Japanese communications in Central Burma.
21—German occupation of Hungary announced.
22—Japanese raiding columns enter Manipur.

April

3—Russian troops enter Rumania.
10—Red Army liberates Odessa.
16—Lord Mountbatten transfers headquarters from Delhi to Kandy
24—Allied landing on New Guinea Coast.

May

12—Offensive in Italy by the Eighth and Fifth Armies.
17-18—Fall of Cassino.
26—Germans invade Bulgaria

June

4—Allies liberate Rome.
6—Allied landing in Northern France. 1,183 Indian sailors took part in the operations (announced later).
7—Japanese withdrawal from Kohima area.
8—Capture of Bayeux
10—Indian troops occupy Pescara.
15—Super-Fortresses bomb Japanese mainland.
16—First flying bombs fall on Southern England.
20—Allied occupation of Elba complete.
23—Russian offensive on the Central Front.
27—Cherbourg in Allied hands.
28—Capture of Mogaung.

July

9—Capture of Caen.
20—Japanese retreat from Imphal. Attempt on Hitler.

August

3—Allies capture Myitkyina, important Japanese base in North Burma; Rennes liberated.
6—Tamu captured.
12—German retreat begins from Normandy.
15—Large Allied force lands in South France.
17—Japs driven out of Manipur State.
19—Falaise liberated. German 7th Army trapped in the "Falaise pocket".
22—French enter Toulon (Finally cleared on August 27).
23—French capture Marseilles. Americans reach Grenoble.
24—Rumania accepts peace terms offered by United Nations.
25—Complete liberation of Paris after French Forces of the Interior had particularly liberated the town on 23rd. Rumania declares war on Germany.
30—Capture of Ploesti.
31—British capture Amiens. American reach Sadan. Russian forces in Bucharest.

September

1—Dieppe, Arras and Verdun captured.
3—Brussels liberated by the British, advance to Antwerp. Ocupation of Lyons announced.
5—Allies carry war into Germany: Aachen and Saarbrucken captured. Russia declares war on Bulgaria.
6—Russian troops reach Yugoslav Frontier.
7—"Flying-bombs offensive against Britain virtually over"—Duncan Sandys' announcement.
8—Super-Fortresses bomb Anshan in Manchuria.
9—Soviet troops cross into East Prussia.
12—Churchill-Roosevelt Conference begins at Quebec. Le Havre garrison surrenders.
14—MacArthur announces Allied landings in Halmahera and Palau Islands.
15—Allies capture Nancy.
16—Capture of Brest announced. Red Army enters Sofia.
17—Allied airborne invasion of Holland.
18—Carrier-borne air attack against Sumatra.
19—Russo-Finnish Armistice signed
22—Stalin announces capture of Tallinn, the Estonian capital.
24—Swedish decision to close ports to German shipping.

25—Britain's £650,000,000 Social Security Scheme announced.
26—Eighth Army cross Rubicon.
30—Shelling of Dover ends.

October

1—Canadian troops occupy Calais.
5—Allied landing in Greece announced.
9—Churchill in Moscow.
New Allied landings south of Scheldt.
U.S. Fleet strikes at Ryuku islands: 26 Jap ships destroyed or damaged.
10—British troops in Corinth.
13—Russians capture Riga.
14—British troops occupy Athens.
19—Capture of Tiddim by Indian troops of 14th Army announced.
20—Aachen falls to troops of American First Army:
McArthur back in Philippines—Roosevelt's announcement.
Capture of Belgrade announced.
23—"Big Three" recognise de Gaulle's administration as the provisional Government of France.
Big naval battle of Philippine begins.
24—Viceroy presents 4 V. C.'s won by men of the Indian Army.
26—British troops land on Dutch island of S. Beveland.

November

1—British Commados land on Walcheren
Britain's Home Guard "Stands down".
5—Stalin invested with the insignia of the Order of Victory.
7—Capture of Kennedy Peak by fifth Indian Division announced.
8—Dewey concedes re-election of Roosevelt.
9—Fifth Indian Division captures Fort White.
10—Churchill's announcement in House of Commons that the Germans had been using long-range rockets against Britain for the last few weeks.
Churchill and Eden arrive at Paris on the invitation of de Gaulle.
13—Sinking of *Tirpitz* announced: Patton captures first Metz Fort.
14—Yugoslav National Liberation Army liberates Skoplje capital of Macedonia.
16—East African toops occupy Kalemyo: MacArthur announces invasion of Mapia Island by American amphibious troops.
20—Chinese troops break into Bhamo.
22—Metz and Sarrebourg fall to Americans.
Mulhouse captured by troops of French First Army.
28—White Paper on Britain's war effort published:
Eisenhower-Montgomery Conference in Belgium.

December

3—Capture of Kalewa by E. African troops announced.
5—Saarlautern in Allied hands.
Ravena captured.
8—Afghan Military Mission arrives in Delhi.
10—De Gaulle in Moscow: Franco-Russian Mutual assistance Pact signed.
15—British troops in Arakan clear Buthidaung: Chinese 38th Division occupies Bhamo.
16—Americans land on Mindoro:
Allied Forces link up East of Chindwin.
17—Faenza captured by Eighth Army.
18—Battle of Ardennes—Big German attack north of Trier.
21—German drive 35 miles into Belgium.
23—Civil war breaks out in Greece.
24—Capture of Donbaik announced.
25—Churchill arrives in Athens:
MacArthur announces completion of Leyte campaign.

1945

January

3—14th Army troops enter Ye-U.
5—British and Indian troops of 15th Indian Corps land on Akyab Island.
7—Indian troops of 4th Corps enter Shwebo.
9—Huge U.S. forces land on Luzon.
11—Truce signed between British and E.L.A.S.
12—Troops of 5th Indian Corps land on Myebon Peninsula, 32 miles from Akyab.
13—Russian winter offensive launched on three fronts.
15—Chinese troops capture Namhkam:
Kielce captured by Koniev's forces.
17—Warsaw liberated by Red Army.
19—Stalin announces Capture of Cracow.
21—Allies land on Ramree Island.
22—Monywa captured:
First breach in land blockade of China—linking of Ledo and Burma Roads announced.
23—Russian break into Danzig.
29—Capture of Memel announced—Lithuania completely cleared of Germans.
30—Duke of Gloucester sworn in at Canberra as Governor-General of Australia.

February

4—Zhukov's forces 46 miles from Berlin:
Kunming greets first convoy over Ledo Road.
Americans enter Manila.
6—World Trade Union Conference opens in London.
8—Paraguay joins the Allies.
10—Capture of Ramree town by 15th Indian Corps announced.

11—Russians cross the Oder north-west of Breslau.
12—Churchill-Roosevelt-Stalin statement on Yalta Conference.
Allies capture Cleve.
13—Red Army captures Budapest.
15—1,500 planes attack Tokyo for nine hours.
18—American troops land on Corregidor.
19—American landings on Iwojima announced. Canadians break into Goch.
20—White House announcement that Churchill and Roosevelt met in Alexandria on their way back from Crimea to discuss Pacific war.
23—Capture of Poznan announced—Red Army bags 23,000 prisoners.
Turkey declares war on Germany and Japan.
24—American 9th Army troops capture fortress town of Julich.
25—Egypt declares war against Axis.
Duren captured by U.S. First Army.
26—Mac Arthur hands over civil Government of the Philippines to President Sergio Osmena.

March

2—Allies capture Trier.
3—Viceroy presents five V.C.'s at Delhi Parade.
Arab League constitution signed.
4—Allies reach the Rhine on 20-mile front.
Red Army reaches Baltic Coast.
5—14th Army captures Meiktila.
6—Cologne falls to Americans.
7—U.S. First Army troops cross the Rhine, south of Cologne.
8—19th Indian Division enters Mandalay.
11—MacArthur announces American landings on Mindanao.
12—Red Army captures Kuestrin.
13—14th Army Task Forces take Maymyo.
14—R.A.F. use 22,000-lb bombs for the first time.
16—Nimitz announces end of Iwojima battle.
17—Third Army troops enter Coblenz.
20—Mandalay falls to 14th Army.
22—Wavell leaves for London for personal consultations with H.M.G.
24—Montgomery strikes across the Rhine.
25—Churchill crosses the Rhine.
26—U.S. Third Army breaks into Frankfurt-on-Main.
Lloyd George dead.
28—Stalin announces capture of Gdynia.

April

1—Americans land on Okinawa.
2—Eighth Army lands behind Germans lines.
3—Americans take Kassel.
4—Capture of Bratislava, capital of Slovakia, announced.
5—Jap cabinet resigns.
Moscow Radio announces end of Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact.
Washington announcement that MacArthur will command all Army forces in Pacific theatre and Nimitz all Naval forces there.
7—Japan's biggest battleship, the 45,000 ton *Yamato* sunk.
10—8th Army Cross Senio river on wide front
U.S. Ninth Army captures Hanover.
11—Fall of Essen announced.
Sinking of German pocket 'battleship *Admiral Scheer* announced.
Spain breaks off relations with Japan.
12—Roosevelt dead. Harry Truman sworn in 33rd President of the United States.
13—Capture of Vienna by Red Army announced.
14—Capture of Von Papen in Ruhr pocket announced.
16—Canadian and Polish troops reach North Sea on wide front.
S.E.A.C. announces capture of Taungup last Jap coastal supply base in Arakan by 15th Indian Corps.
17—Allies 50 miles from Berlin.
19—Patton's troops enter Czechoslovakia.
21—Allies capture Bologna.
Sinking of German pocket-battleship *Lutzow* by R.A.F. announced.
22—U.S. Seventh Army reaches Danube at Dillingen.
23—Stalin announces Russian entry into Berlin.
24—S.H.A.E.F. announces capture of 1,000,000 prisoners since April 1, 1945.
25—San Francisco Conference opens.
26—German radio announces that Goering has relinquished command of the Luftwaffe.
27—Announcement of U.S. and Russian link-up at Torgua.
U.S. Third Army crosses into Austria
Fifth Army troops enter Genoa.
29—Mussolini executed by Partisans.
Allied troops enter Milan.
British cross Elbe south of Hamburg.
30—U.S. Seventh Army capture Munich.
Allied troops enter Venice.

May

1—Hitler's reported death : Deonitz becomes new Fuehrer.
List and Von Leeb captured.
2—Surrender of German armies in Italy announced.
Stalin announces capture of Berlin.
Rundstedt captured,
4—14th Army take Rangoon.
Berchtesgaden captured.
7—Unconditional German surrender,

Chronology of War in Far East

December 1941—August 1945

December, 1941

7—Japan launches air attack on U. S. bases at Pearl Harbour. Other air attacks on Manila, Shanghai, Malaya, Thailand and Hongkong.

8—U.S. and Britain declare war on Japan Japanese land in North Malaya—Indian troops in action.

9—Japanese land in Philippines.

10—The *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* sunk.

11—Italy and Germany declare war on U. S.

12—British begin withdrawal from advanced positions protecting Hongkong.

15—Siege of Hongkong begins.

17—Japanese land on Sarawak.

18—Allies land on Portuguese Timor.

19 Japanese land in Hongkong.

22—Wavell arrives in Chungking and discusses Far East strategy with Chiang Kai-shek.

23—Announcement that Churchill is in Washington to discuss full Allied coordination. First meeting of Anglo-U. S. War Council.

25—Hongkong surrenders.

26—Churchill, in an address to U. S. Congress, announces plans for Allied offensive in 1943. Manila proclaimed open city.

1942

January

1—United States, Britain, Russia, China and 22 other anti-Axis nations sign a joint declaration at Washington pledging the use of their full resources against the Axis.

2—Japanese enter Manila. Entry of Chinese troops into Burma announced. Big Chinese victory at Changsha.

3—Roosevelt and Churchill announce appointment of Wavell as the Supreme Commander of the South-West Pacific area.

February

12—Announcement that India is invited to be represented on Pacific War Council and War Cabinet.

15—Singapore falls.

17—Landing of 30,000 Jap troops in Indo-China for large-scale invasion of Burma reported.

24—India Commander-in-Chief takes up the control of Burma operations.

March

2—Wavell reassumes the appointment of Commander-in-Chief, India.

10—Japanese take Rangoon.

12—British garrison withdrawn from Andaman Islands.

17—MacArthur arrives in Australia to take over Allied Command as well as direction of Philippines operations.

April

5—A large force of Japanese aircraft attack Colombo : enemy lose 27 planes.

6—First air raids on Indian towns—Japanese naval planes bomb Vizagapatam and Cocanada.

18—American Technical Mission arrives in Delhi. Doolittle raid on Tokyo.

22—Col. Louis Johnson, Roosevelt's personal envoy in India, reveals that American troops and airmen have arrived in India.

May

1—British evacuate Mandalay.

4—8—Coral Sea Battle.

5—British forces land in Madagascar.

8—Japanese capture Akyab.

June

3—6—Battle of Midway.

5—The arrival of a huge convoy in India, consisting of up-to-date equipment, troops and armaments, is revealed.

10—A Committee of Viceroy's Executive Council, known as War Resources Committee, established to mobilize and direct the economic war effort of India.

13—Japanese raid Port Darwin.

July

21—Japanese troops land on the north coast of Papua.

30—Japanese decision to instal new puppet Government of Burma.

August

7—American forces land in the Solomons

September

12—Jap advance checked in Papua.

October

4—Australian forces in New Guinea continue unopposed advanced into Owen Stanley range.

November

2—Allies capture Kokoda.

11—Epic fight of H.M.I.S. *Bengal* with two Japanese destroyers while escorting Dutch tankers.

December

1—Jap attempt to land troops on Buna foiled.

20—Japanese planes raid Calcutta for the first time.

1943

January

4—U. S. forces on Guadalcanal capture Japanese positions near Mount Austen.

7—Roosevelt in his message to Congress warns Japan that Allies will take war to her own country.

11—Treaty signed in Chungking between Britain, U.S A. and China for the abolition of extra-territorial rights in China.

14—Churchill and Roosevelt meet at Casablanca to discuss the "offensive campaigns of 1943."

15—Allies launch fresh offensive in New Guinea. Three Japanese bombers shot down over Calcutta.

16—Iraq joins United Nations.

24—End of Jap resistance in Papua announced.

February

9—Tokyo announces Japanese evacuation of Guadalcanal. Chiang Kai-shek arrives in Delhi.

11—It is revealed that Field-Marshal Sir John Dill and General Arnold had conferences with Marshal Chiang Kai-shek in Chungking and thereafter with Field-Marshal Wavell in India.

13—Inauguration of Indian Air Training Corps Scheme at Aligarh University announced.

22—Sea-borne raid on Myebon, south of Akyab, by Allied forces from India.

25—Japanese aircraft suffer heavy losses in their attack on Allied bases in Assam.

March

2—4—Jap convoy in Bismarck Straits attacked by Allied bombers—10 enemy warships and 12 transports sunk, 102 planes put out of action.

4—In House of Lords, Lord Cranborne announces that large reserves of war supplies are being built up in India intended for China

17—Arrival in New Delhi of Vice-Admiral J. H. Godfrey, Flag Officer Commanding, Royal Indian Navy, announced.

April

1—Japanese bombers attack Feni in S.E. Bengal : five Jap planes shot down.

May

8—In the Arakan, Japanese forces reach the Maungdaw-Buthidaung Road, about four miles west of Buthidaung.

11—Churchill, accompanied by Field Marshal Wavell and Air Chief Marshal Sir Richard Peirse, Air Force Commander-in-Chief in India, arrives in Washington. American forces land on Japan's Aleutian island base of Attu.

June

5—Chinese capture Kungan and attack the great Japanese base of Ichang.

19—Auchinleck assumed charge as Commander-in-Chief of India.

August

6—End of all organised Japanese resistance at Munda announced.

21—Allied occupation of Kiska in the Aleutians announced.

24—An official statement issued by Churchill and Roosevelt at the conclusion of the Quebec Conference reveals that Allied plans for intensifying war against Japan and other Allied campaigns are complete.

October

7—Mountbatten arrives in Delhi.

12—Madras has its first air raid.

13—It is announced that the entire New Georgia group in the Solomons is in Allied hands.

16—Mountbatten arrives in Chungking for discussions.

30—Forty-five Japanese aircraft destroyed in heavy Allied raid on Rabaul.

November

1—American forces invade Bougainville Island.

22—Cairo Conference—Roosevelt, Chiang and Churchill meet.

December

5—Jap air raid on Calcutta.

19—All combat units of R.A.F. and U.S.A. A.F. in S. E. Asia theatre combined into a single Allied Air Force under command of Air Chief Marshal Sir Richard Peirse.

26—Allies make new landings in New Britain in face of heavy air attacks by the Japanese.

1944

January

10—Allies capture Maungdaw in Burma.

12—Pacific War Council meets in Washington.

24—Lt.-Gen. Slim appointed Commander of the 14th Army.

27—U. S. State Department sends protest to Japanese on treatment of war prisoners.

28—Eden's statement in House of Commons on Japanese ill-treatment of British war prisoners.

31—Allied forces carry out first land fighting with Japanese in Dutch New Guinea: Americans land at several points on Marshall Islands and establish beachheads in spite of heavy Japanese resistance.

February

4—A Japanese aircraft bombs Orissa coast and Vizagapatam.

5—Allies capture Kwajalein Island in the Marshalls..

16-17—U.S. Fleet attacks Jap base at Truk: 18 Japanese ships sunk and 201 planes destroyed.

28—Allied victory in Arakan reported—Jap plan to push into India foiled: 14th Army routs strong enemy force.

29—Allied forces land on Admiralty Islands.

March

6—First U.S. troops go into action in North Burma.

11—Allied forces capture Buthidaung.

17—Announcement that Allied glider-borne troops have been landed 200 miles behind Jap lines, in North Burma.

22—Japanese raiding columns enter Manipur State. Japanese pushed back by Allies on Chin Hills.

April

2—Japanese troops cross Imphal-Kohima Road.

13—Japanese attacks on Kohima repulsed.

16—S.E. Asia Command H.Q. shifted to Kandy.

19—Carrier-borne aircraft, escorted by powerful Allied fleet, attack Sabang.

20—Link-up of Allied troops from Dimapur with the defenders of Kohima announced.

22—Allied forces land at Hollandia in Dutch New Guinea and at Aitape.

May

2—A Japanese submarine sunk in Indian Ocean by R. A. F. bombers.

18—Allies capture Myitkyina airfield and besiege the town.

June

15—U.S. troops land on Saipan Island in the Marianas.

18—353 Japanese carrier-borne aircraft shot down while attacking U.S. Fleet at Saipan. Japanese capture Changsha capital of Hunan province.

22—Kohima-Imphal Road completely cleared of Japs.

26—Japanese capture U. S. air base at Hengyang in South-East China.

July

4—Capture of Ukhrul by 14th Army announced.

18—Tokyo announcement that Tojo has relinquished post of Chief of Army General Staff.

19—Battle of Imphal ends with victory for 14th Army.

20—Americans land on Guam.

29—U.S. Super-Fortresses bomb Anshan, Japanese steel centre in Manchuria.

August

3—Allies capture Myitkyina.

6—Allies capture Tamu.

10—End of all organised Japanese resistance on Guam announced.

17—Manipur cleared of the Japanese.

20—It is announced that the last Japanese fighting force has been driven out of India.

September

2—14th Army routs Japanese north of Tiddim.

11—Attack by U.S. aircraft on a Japanese convoy near Philippines, resulting in the sinking of 52 enemy ships, announced.

12—Churchill-Roosevelt meeting at Quebec. Allied Chiefs of staff confer to plan war against Japan.

14—Allied landings on Halmahere and Palau islands.

18—Carrier-borne attack on Sumatra.

October

9—U.S. Fleet strikes at Ryuku Islands—26 Japanese ships destroyed or damaged.

19—Indian troops of the 14th Army capture Tiddim.

23—25—Japs lose 58 ships in naval battle off Philippines.

28—C.B.I. theatre split into two commands: Lt.-Gen. Daniel Sultan appointed Commander of American forces in India-Burma theatre and Maj.-Gen. A. C. Wedemeyer as Chief of Staff to Gen. Chiang-Kai-shek.

November

4—Lt.-Gen. Sir Oliver Leese appointed to command 11th Army Group in S.E. Asia.

7—Fifth Indian Division capture Kennedy Peak.

9—Indian troops capture Japanese stronghold of Fort White.

10—Chinese troops cross the Irrawaddy.

20—Chinese forces break into Bhamo.

December

3—Allied troops capture Kalewa.

16—American troops land on Mindoro Island in the Philippines. In Burma Allied Forces link up east of Chindwin.

24—Allied capture of Donbaik announced.

25—MacArthur announces completion of Leyte campaign.

28—Indian troops occupy Foul Point at the tip of Mayu Peninsula.

1945

January

1—Indian troops occupy Rathedaung.
3—14th Army troops occupy Yeu, 70 miles from Mandalay.
5—British and Indian troops recapture Akyab Island and Akyab.
7—Indian troops entered Schwebo.
9—Allies invade Luzon.
13—Allied troops land on Myebon Peninsula.
22—Gen. Sultan announces that Ledo Road to China is clear of Japanese and open for convoys. Allies enter Monywa.
23—14th Army troops occupy Tizaung and Myimu.
26—In Burma a third landing is made by Indian troops on Cheduba Island, S. W. of Ramree.
31—Singapore floating dock sunk by U.S. air attack.

February

7—MacArthur arrives in Manila.
10—Allied troops take Ramree Island.
16—1,500 Allied planes attack Tokyo for nine hours.
18—American landing on Corregidor announced.
19—American land on Iwojima.
20—It is revealed that Roosevelt and Churchill met at Alexandria on way back from Yalta to discuss plans for carrying out the war against Japan.
23—Turkey delares war on Japan and Germany.
28—Allies capture Meiktila.

March

1—Iran declares war on Japan. Saudi Arabia declares war on Germany and Japan.
3—Last Japanese remnants in Manila wiped out by Allies.
15- U.S. flag hoisted over Iwojima.
20—Allies capture Mandalay.

April

1—Americans land on Okinawa.
3—Americans invade North Borneo.
5—Koiso Cabinet resigns. Moscow Radio announces end of Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact.
7—Japan's biggest battleship, the 45,000-ton *Yamato*, sunk.
11—Spain breaks off diplomatic relations with Japan.
14—About 400 Super-Fortresses shower thousands of tons of incendiaries on Tokyo's war industries.
16—Capture of Taungup, last Jap coastal supply base in Arakan, by 15th Indian Corps announced.
21—14th Army drive towards Rangoon.
25—The United Nations Conference opens at San Francisco.

May

1—Following earlier landing by para-troops, Allied troops land south of Rangoon.
2—8,000 Allied troops land on Tarakan Island, off Borneo.
3—Allied troops enter Rangoon. Capture of Pegu by 14th Army announced.
4—14th Army troops occupy Rangoon.
11—Chinese forces break into Foochow.

June

7—Stilwell and MacArthur hold conference in S. W. Pacific.
9—Allied landing on Labuan Island announced.
11—Australian landing on Japanese-occupied British Borneo announced.
13—Japanese resistance in Northern Okinawa ends.
26—Fifty nations sign World Security Charter.
28—Liberation of Luzon announced.

July

2—Australians land at Balik Papan in South-East Borneo.
4—Korea bombed for first time by Allies.
5—End of Philippine capaign announced.
15—Italy's decision to declare war on Japan announced.
17—Big Three meeting opens in Potsdam.
24—Jap defeat in Battle of Pegu Yomas.
25—Allies warn Japan against coming 10,000-plane raids.
26—Declaration from Potsdam calling upon Japan to "cease resistance or be destroyed."
28—30,000-ton Japanese battleship *Hyugo* sunk by Allies.

August

3—Anglo-U.S. plans, formulated during the Potsdam Conference,. to smash Japan revealed by British Foreign office.
5—S.E.A.C. announcement that Battle of Pegu Yomas resulted in loss of 10,000 Japs. Allies attack Japanese Army base of Hiroshima with atomic bomb.
6—Truman in a statement reveals destructive powers of atomic bomb.
9—Russia at war with Japan. Russians cross ino Manchuria and capture two towns. Nagasaki hit by atomic bomb.
10—Japanese Government's surrender offer. Russian troops invade Korea.
15—Japanese surrender.

Notes on Indian History

It has truly been said that a History of India that reveals the whole panorama of the vast millenia of her distinctive life and civilisation in its actual shape and colour and due proportion and perspective, still remains to be written. The materials for drawing such a vast outline and making such a comprehensive and connected sketch are not yet in hand. A fairly definite outline and connected sketch which gives the promise of being some day developed into what is called "scientific history" has, however, been steadily emerging out of the mist that veils the immensity of India's past—a mist which (thanks to the labours of the investigators) has perceptibly thinned without being as yet actually lifted as far as one can now make one's incursion into the age that saw the birth of Budhism and Jainism in India in the Sixth Century B. C. Beyond that there is still only "cosmic nebulae" relieved here and there by a few stray constellations of lucidly distinct historical facts. These "nebulæ" have probably a depth and density to be measured only in terms of millenia. But from the position where we can now make our historical prospecting, these vast remote dark spaces of Indian history recede and shrink and fold up and, at last, look like a far-away blank, black spherule beyond the galaxy of human remembrance.

Ancient Indian history is, apparently, "full" of such gaps and blanks. Beyond the time when Alexander the Great invaded the Punjab (326 B. C.), the galactical system of detailed and authentic Indian history does not far extend. There are too many unexplored blank spaces and unformed, chaotic nebulæ beyond that time still. Beginning approximately with that period we are furnished, sometimes in abundance with fairly trustworthy material in the shape of contemporary Greek testimony bearing on Indian history, and also, as time rolls on, with inscriptional and other kinds of decipherable and dependable domestic evidence. Of course, an immense mass of "documentary" evidence and evidence in the more or less fluid, volatile state of tradition, heresay and folk-lore (written or unwritten) have always lain by the side of the historian hitherto busy with his inscriptions, plates, coins, artefacts and any corroborative evidence that may be forthcoming from outside. And that mass of ancient Indian documentary evidence and tradition has, generally, lain neglected by his side. It has been, generally, of little help to him in reconstructing, "on scientific lines", the missing skeleton of ancient Indian History. It has been, however, of great use to the comparative mythologist, philologist and anthropologist.

But even the historian who seeks to reconstruct on scientific line the missing skeleton of ancient history, whether of India or of any other country, should do well to remember that the dry bones of the skeleton he may have been able to put together will not be true, living history unless they can be made instinct with the touch of life which literature, art, tradition, 'myths', folk-lore, religious and social institutions in their earlier and later forms alone can give. From coins, plates etc., we can build a possible or even probable frame-work of chronology into which we can put our little bits of tested facts according to one possible plan or other. Such a mosaic of dates and facts (mainly relating to dynastic succession, war and conquest) is of course important as necessary ground-plan of history. But it is not the completed structure of history. It is not history as organic process of evolution. So we have to distinguish between structural or morphological history and organic "physiological" history.

Now India has been so poor in comparison with some other ancient countries like Egypt, Babylonia and China in her "materials" for writing the first kind of history, and the available materials, as we saw, do not carry us much beyond the time of Budha and Mahavir in the Sixth Century B. C. Recently, however, a very old and, apparently, a high order of civilisation has been unearthed in the Indus Valley in the Punjab and in Sind, which according to current official beliefs, is of Summerian pattern. The buried cities now discovered bring to light not only very interesting features of a civilisation thriving in the western part of India in so remote a past (when the Indo-Aryans had not, according to the common view, yet migrated into India), but they even put into our hands interesting clues that may eventually help us to unravel many of the riddles of our Vedic and post-Vedic history. The Tantrik cult, for instance, may have older and deeper roots in the soil of India than have so far been granted or suspected. Nothing contemporaneous with or earlier than the Indus Valley civilisation has yet been unearthed in

other parts of the sub-continent. So the present trend of speculation is to regard the Indus Valley civilisation as short wedge driven into Western India—the whole of which was still at the low level of aboriginal darkness (with the possible exception of some parts that might have risen to the Dravidian 'light' level)—probably by the races and civilisation of Sumer.

We are still in the dusk-land of probabilities or even less than probabilities as to the date, origin, early habitats and earlier forms not only of the Indus Valley but also of the Dravidians and Indo-Aryan people. We do not know for certainty when and from where the Indo-Aryans came into India. The fact of Aryan immigration into India itself, though generally accepted, is still disputed. And if immigration be admitted, we have, probably, to admit not one but several successive streams of immigration. Such theory apparently called for to account for some of the critical turnings and "sudden mutations" in our ancient historical evolution, will lead to many unexplored avenues of enquiry as to ages and dates, origins and characteristics.

THE RIGVEDA

The Rigveda—the earliest and the most informing and instructive "documentary" evidence that we possess—appears to set the stage amidst scenes which show the Aboriginal, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan factors fighting for supremacy first in the land of "five Rivers" and in the Ganges Valley, and then gradually, beyond the Vindhya Range which with the impenetrable forest mantle, stood as barrier between Northern India (Aryyavatta) and Deccan. Gradually we find the aborigines cornered and driven to the hills and forests where their descendants, more or less Aryanised, still continue to live. In considerable parts they were also absorbed into the fold of an Aryan society and culture. And in being absorbed they did not fail to impart some little part of their own character of the Aryan complex. There was not so much of racial or even linguistic fusion as of cultural assimilation. The process of Aryanisation in language, culture, etc., has been a process admitting, naturally, of different shapes and degrees, leaving at the one end aboriginal races that have almost kept aloof from Aryan influence and having at the other others that have become part and parcel of the Aryan system. The Aryanisation of the Dravidian peoples, specially in religion, culture and civilisation, has been a much more perfected process. But on the other hand the Dravidian impress on the Aryan system is also in many places, deep and unmistakable. The Dravidian is co-ordinated or even subordinated to the Aryan but not lost in the latter. This power of assimilation of alien races and cultures without losing the individuality of its own essential Type or Pattern and without at the same time making the diverse elements assimilated lose whatever is essential in them—has been a special characteristic of the Indo-Aryan race and culture-complex. This has meant organic unity or unity in diversity of a more fundamental and abiding nature than can, perhaps, be claimed for the political or national unity with which histories are completely familiar. Historians, accordingly, commonly miss the unity which lies deep and sees only the diversity which lies on the surface. India to then is thus a veritable chaos of jarring elements of races, language, religions, castes, sects and cultures which have never known unity before the days of the unitary political rule of the British. Of course, the introduction, in later times, of the Semitic religions—Muhammedanism and Christianity—disturbed to some extent the ages-long unity and balance of the Aryo-Dravidian culture and social system in India. But even these elements were in the process of being slowly drawn into the sphere of influence of what we may call the genius of India. In other words, a slow but sure process of cultural assimilation even of these "militant" factors was going apace. Buddhism, which had risen as a "revolt" against orthodox Hinduism—but yet as a revolt from within—and which dominated the situation in India for several centuries, ended in the land of its birth by being eventually absorbed and assimilated into the parent religion. Jainism and many other old or later "revolts" have thus "squared their accounts" with the same parent religion, and have been for many centuries living peaceably side by side with one another and with the latter.

This power of assimilation and co-ordination in which all the components make their own contributions and are permitted to live side by side as members of a commonwealth of cultures, has been the secret of the wonderful resisting and staying power of the Indian culture-complex against such disintegrating forces as have smashed up many an old and glorious civilisation of the world. And it can be easily shown from facts that this staying power has been in evidence not only in the realm of cultural contacts and impacts but also in that of social and political

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ones. There have been many raids into India and invasions before and after Christ, but it is a travesty of facts to imagine that Indian resistance has always been weak and short-lived and that such invasions are typically like the raids of Mahmud of Gazni which even swept away Indian armies and kingdoms like cobweb or a house of cards. Before her final subjugation by the Mahammadan Power—and the final subjugation of the whole of India was anything like an accomplished fact only for a time during the reign of great Mogul Emperors—India had been, it should be borne in mind, a mighty Power and a Model of civilisation and culture for at least three thousand years. And it should be remembered further that when the British in India turned from trade to conquest (always with native help and alliance) they had to settle their accounts not only with Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan in the South but mainly the Maharatta and Sikh Powers which had risen on the ruins of the Mahammadan Power in India.

Unitary Indian Empire

But there were and still have been other factors which, to some extent, operate against India developing a compact and coherent political and military organisation except occasionally like, for instance, the Great Roman Empire of old or the British Empire in modern times. We possess, apparently, no connected retrospect of the remote past of which the Vedas, Epics and Puranas speak. But as far as appearances go an unitary, centralised, Indian Empire was the exception and not the rule. In later times also, an Empire like that of Asoka was not a common achievement. As we said, India has possessed deep-laid cultural and institutional unity beneath all her diversities. India has fought, and fought bravely, for the integrity of her sacred Land, her sacred religion and tradition, and for their sacred visible Symbols and Embodiment. But one has rarely fought for the "State" as such or an Empire as such. The spirit of her culture did not favour the formation and consolidation of Nationalism in the sense it is commonly understood, and her basic institutions would hardly consist with any forms of centralised State control. The all-controlling and co-ordinating Principle was Dharma (the Principle of Human Values and Conduct) rather than any State agency. Each village, for example, was a self-contained commune and autonomous unit owing permanent allegiance to the reign of Dharma and only temporary allegiance to any kingship that might function for the time being. So the village communes continued to live though kingdoms after kingdoms rose and fell. They were but little affected by the accident and exigencies of politics.

Again, the spirit of Dharma (which should not be translated as religion) has definitely and systematically favoured all human or even all-living values and tendencies and cosmopolitan outlook, and has opposed militant, aggressive, "predatory". nationalism. The old Upanishads are clear and courageous in their conception of those higher values; and the Dharmashastras (Codes laying down social and individual conduct) were bold and consistent in their execution of those ideas. Later, Budhism and Jainism and other "reforming" movements have tended only to stress such values as non-violence and fellowship with all men and all living beings. These forces operating through the ages tended to produce in the Indian classes and masses a common disposition not quite favourable to the formation and consideration of an unitary military state for purposes of offence and defence.

Of the immense back-ground of Indian History which is represented by the Vedas (Samhitas, Brahmans, Aranyakas and Upanishdas), the various Sutras (or Digests) Philosophies, Epics (the Ramayana and Mahavarata), Puranas and Tantras (our statement here is not anything like full), we possess (unless one is prepared to grant the claim of the Puranas recently put forth in their behalf that they do contain materials for reconstructing a fairly connected chronological history beginning with the very earliest times) very little precise and connected information for the purpose of writing a political history both copious and correct as to facts and their chronological order. But of the ideals and ideas, practices and institutions of the times we do possess a very full, informing and instructive presentation. And after all, what is real history but this? Scholars have been busy with their sketches and drawings of the ancient orders and specimens of ideas, beliefs, and practices that existed in India. But oftener than not their reviews and retrospects have been made from modern standpoints, with modern notions, criteria and standards of testing facts and appraising values. This has not enabled us in any just measure, to understand, much less appreciate, a civilisation (not confined to India but, possibly, reaching some of its greatest heights in this country) which was essentially of a different kind, and cannot therefore, be represented as only the first uncertain and timid step taken on the

road which has through a long long march, at last brought us to our present advanced stage. The ideology, plan and methods of that ancient civilisation we have yet not seriously studied and rightly understood. Much of that civilisation we still regard, without understanding, as consisting of "savage" magic, meaningless ritualism, "theological twaddle" and crude superstition. Side by side with all this we find, however, the highest philosophy, deepest mysticism and pure ethics. There is also much that is of original and genuine value from the point of view of human material and mundane progress. This seems to us a curious medley of what is nearly the highest and what is about the lowest. But let us pass on.

Coming to "historical" times we find that the invasion by Alexander the Great of India proved in the result to be little more than a brilliant raid. His victorious armies could only cut off a small slice of North-Western India and this little slice the Macedonian would ingest, but could not digest. His steam-roller of conquest speedily developed "war-weariness" on the plains of the Punjab, and he had to go back only adding a bit of India to his vast Empire. He had won some of his battles in India, but it had not been an "easy walk-over" with him.

CHANDRAGUPTA AND ASOKA

After his death shortly afterwards, the vast Macedonian Empire practically went to pieces. Chandragupta, who became the king of Magadha, proved himself too powerful for the Greak invaders who had violated the sanctity and integrity of the sacred Land of the Five Rivers. As the result of the formidable opposition by the armies of Chandragupta, a treaty was concluded between him and the Greek which made him the supreme, undisputed lord and sovereign of the Indian Empire. Megasthenes, who was sent by Seleucus as an ambassador to the court of Chandragupta, left a very valuable record of the times of the customs and morals of the people, and of the administration, which though unfortunately fragmentary, bears an eloquent, and admiring testimony to the high order of material and moral civilization attained by the Hindus centuries before the Christian era. And this high civilisation was evolved in India not in isolation but in commerce with other civilisations that flourished in ancient times such as the Babylonian, Greek, Persian and Chinese. Chandragupta's son was Bindusara who was succeeded by Asoka (269-231 B. C.), who was undoubtedly, one of the greatest rulers of men holding their sway for the material and spiritual good of mankind. Numerous edicts and inscriptions record the noble and glorious achievements of his reign which, in its later stages, left the bloody path of war and conquest and devoted itself to the much more noble and fruitful task and the moral and spiritual conquest and redemption of ourselves and our fellow beings. With commendable catholicity and tolerance, not seeking to impose it upon others by his great imperial authority and power, he exercised that authority and power for the purpose of transforming Budhism, which had been more or less a local sect in the Ganges Valley, into one of the greatest and most potent living world religions. Asoka's reign is therefore rightly held to be an epoch in the history of the world. His edicts also show the man, his ideals and his methods. But all this had not allowed or favoured the cement of the great Maurya Empire setting into the requisits hardness. Independent kingdoms like Bacteria and Parthia took their rise in the border land, and the Greeks renewed their incursions. New races (the Yuen-chi) came in a surge of migration which swept all before them, and in the first century A. D. a considerable portion of the North-west India came under their influence.

GUPTA DYNASTY

Kaniska, who made Peshawar his capital, proved great as a ruler and as a patron and missionary of the Budhistic religion. Under him the Kushan Branch of the Yuen-chi reached the zenith of his power. But this power fell as another power in middle India rose—the Andhra dynasty. A peak like Amaravati or Ujjain would, some time, rise and shine in the midst of moving vastness of Indian waters. In the beginning of the fourth century the centre of political influence in India was again shifted to Pataliputra in Magadha as the Gupta dynasty emerged into power. Samudragupta, who ruled for fifty years, and his son Chandragupta, greatly distinguished themselves not only in war but in the sphere of peaceful and fruitful administration, promoting general prosperity and giving liberal encouragement to art and literature, a glorious tribute to which was paid by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hein. According to his testimony, their Empires were vast and their administration just, enlightened. Towards the end of the Fifth Century—when the White Huns from Central Asia began to pour themselves into India—the sun of the Gupta dynasty set (during whose regime, it should be noted, there had been a revival and

reconstruction of ancient Brahmanism and Brahmanical culture as evidenced especially by the literature of the Purans: but this reviving process was very largely, a process of quiet adaptation and peaceful assimilation.) More than a century had elapsed after the fall of the Gupta dynasty before there rose another great and enlightened monarch who could emulate with no mean success the greatest of the Indian rulers in historical time—Asoka. Emperor Harsha, who consolidated his authority practically over the whole of Northern India in the beginning of the seventh century, was famous equally for his great prowess, his high intellectual attainments and for the broad catholicity of his religious outlook.) An account of his times has been left by a Chinese, Huen Tsiang by name. In that, India is still painted in generally bright and even glowing colours.

MEDIAEVAL INDIA

After the death of Harsha, and gradually with the emergence of India into what may be called the mediaeval period, the conditions which had made the political unification of India sometimes possible in the past, nearly disappeared, and India was thrown into a state of political confusion and chaos in which petty kingdoms rose like mushrooms and constant internecine strife prevailed. Some outstanding figures like Vikramaditya would occasionally appear on the stage; but such events were few and far between. In the south of India was being enacted a very interesting but involved drama in which the Andhras, Ballavas, Chalukyas and Cholas were the principal actors. Kashmere in the North, Kanauj in the Doab and Bengal in the east were also alive with many vivid and vital scenes and events of political, cultural and social interests. But we shall not try to make a review of them here. One outstanding event in the confusion and complexity of the general Indian situation which deserves notice even passing was the rise of the Rajput power upon which the mantle of the old caste Kshatrias (the warrior and ruling caste) fell and which was the chief opposition that the waves of Mahammedan invasion coming one after another ever since the second quarter of the 7th century, had to encounter and ultimately bear down. Guzrat, Malwa, Ajmer, Kanauj and Delhi were the principal scenes of the new drama of Rajput ascendancy—a drama so full of episodes of superhuman bravery, noble heroism and sacrifice for the sacred cause of religion and liberty that they have ever since lived in human memory as models which future generations of patriots in any country might well try to emulate. Though Rajput opposition was borne down in Northern India by the end of the twelfth century, Rajput bravery and the spirit that animated it survived the crash of the Hindu Empire of Delhi and Ajmere over which Prithvi Raj, the hero, the last of the Hindu emperors, though not the last of the Hindu rulers had held sway. Rajput bravery and Rajput love of independence were still factors to reckon with in the days of the great Moghuls—Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzab. Col. Todd and some others have narrated the story, and it constitutes one of his proudest annals in the vast archives of the Hindu glory in India. As to the conquest of Northern India by the Mahammedans, it should be noted, the great prize was not very easily or quickly won; that the first Mahammedan impact was in the seventh century shortly after the passing away of the Prophet, and a Mahammedan kingdom in Northern India came into being towards the end of the 12th. century. Even this did not mean either a complete or final subjugation of India, and there is another thing to be noted. Hindu power fell not because its resistance was weak and its bravery and heroism in the field was not backed by adequate tact, strategy and discipline in diplomacy, planning and preparation.

The centuries of the mediaeval age in India were marked by a conspicuous lack of political unity and solidarity. But they were by no means unimportant and barren. It was not a "dark" Age. In the Gupta period and in the centuries before and after, a marvellous process of social, cultural and religious reconstruction was going apace. The old Vedic scheme of social economy (involving as it did the four Varnas of "caste" and the four Ashrams or "stages" of life) was being transformed through a process of adaptation, assimilation and multiplication which made society more comprehensive and at the same time more complex. The influence of Budhism, Helenism and that of Mongoloid races also led to adaptations and assimilations, in many important directions in the older order of Indian customs and institutions. The gradual assimilation of Budhism itself was a phenomenon of the greatest importance. The Vedic religion survived but it was transformed. The Puranas and Tantras renewed and gave a new expression to the Sanatana Dharma. In the domain of literature, art (both useful and fine), science and mathematics, philosophy and metaphysics these centuries were also productive of fruits that were and still are of

the greatest interest and value. Great poets like Kalidas and Bhavabhuti, and great Philosophers like Shankaracharya and Ramanuja and also other pioneers and masters in other fields formed a galaxy of men of genius and talents which showed that an age of political dis-equilibrium and confusion in India was yet not necessarily an age of cultural depression and darkness and social disruption. The soul of India could, apparently, function to its best advantage inspite of her troubled politics.

But whilst this was true for some time it could not be true for all time. Her politics at last began to tell on her constitution. We do not, however, propose to continue the story through the Mahammedan and British periods. The history of these periods is more settled and definite in features, and these are, generally, well-known. One special feature, which is not always clearly recognised and to which we should like to draw attention is this. From the twelfth century right up to the eighteenth, or even for some time later, the Hindu power of revival and regeneration, of initiation and execution was never like dead or even dying. Independent and often powerful kingdoms like Vijayanagar in the South, those of Pratap, Shivaji and the Peshwas in the west (we do not mention some others e. g. those in Bengal) would now and then proudly lift their heads and challenge the authority of the great Moslem emperors. Under that authority, too, there flourished many great Hindu administrators, ministers, governors, generals and financiers. In short, during the Mahammedan era, the Hindu genius was not at its best but it was not quite decadent.

THE MAHAMMEDAN RULE

The Mahammedan conquerors, again, from Mohamed Ghori who wrested the sceptre of the kingdom of Delhi from Prithviraj after a first unsuccessful attempt, came to India as foreigners but they did not remain here as foreigners. India was the land of their adoption. Raids like those by Chengis Khan or Nadir Shah were rare and they did not represent the normal course of events. India suffered, and sometimes badly, no doubt, from the effects of the conquering ardour and proselytising zeal of some of the Mahammedan rulers. But the great Moghuls were as much "children of the soil" as the humblest of the Hindu "heathen". And this sharing together by the Hindus and Mussalmans of a common "hearth and home" naturally tended to breed a consciousness of community of interests in both as India's offspring. There was a steady assimilation of the semitic and Indo-Aryan cultures also and even a growing understanding and appreciation of one religion by the other. The religions touched and even blended with each other at their highest points—e. g., in Sufism and Vedantic mysticism. They also met and evolved a broad common "shrine" to which folk beliefs, practices and institutions would bring their united homage. Even a common dialect (Urdu or Hindusthani) was evolved between the two in Northern India which gradually blossomed into a fine literature. The patronage extended by the Mohammedan emperors to Music, Architecture etc. was also fruitful of very fine result. India's wealth attracted the trade and commerce of the whole civilised world. In fact, America or the West Indies was discovered in an attempt to discover an western route to the Indian market. British, French, Dutch and Portuguese traders all came and scrambled for market, and eventually, for political power in India. It is also worthy of note that even under the sway of such masterful monarchs as Sher Shah, Akbar or Aurangzeb, the government of the country was in the main decentralised, allowing provincial and local autonomy —down to the autonomy of the village units—to adequately function. Even petty local chiefs—like the feudal lords of the mediaeval West—never unlearnt the art of fighting and governing. So it was always possible for a man of ambition and ability, like Shivaji for example, to evolve sanctions whereby he could implement his high political aspirations. It was the very large measure of local autonomy and local initiative that existed that rendered possible the rise of the Mahratta and Sikh Powers and also of the kingdoms of Hyder Ali and the Nizam in the south. And British Power in India in its rise to paramounty found its most formidable rivals or powerful allies in them.

THE BRITISH RULE

In 1599, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, some merchants of London formed an association for the purpose of trade with India, and this association was granted a royal charter of incorporation. At first this Company was purely a trading concern establishing factories in the east and west coasts of India and in Bengal and administering its affairs in the three "presidencies" which were at first independent of one another but subordinate to the Board of Directors at home. In course of time,

however, chiefly with a view to preserving and consolidating its growing and extensive trade in India, in the face of the French rivalry and intrigue and the prevailing political anarchy and unrest in the land, it established military garrisons of defence which soon became involved in hostilities that saddled it with territorial responsibilities. It fought some decisive battles in Madras and in Bengal, which raised a trading company to the status of a political Power in India. French intrigue failed and French rivalry practically died down in India. One of the most decisive battles fought was the battle of Plassey in 1757. The battle was won with the aid of faithful native battalions, and with the active or passive support of the generals and noblemen of the unfortunate young Nawab of Bengal. It is worthy of note that the path of British supremacy in India, and often, its influence and prestige abroad has been paved, amongst other things, with the consent, alliance and willing co-operation of the Natives of India. It was so even during the critical period of the Sepoy Mutiny one hundred years after the battle of Plassey. It was again so during the "ordeal" of the last great war. The machinery of administration by the East India Company was form time to time modified by Acts of Parliament (1773, 1784, and the Charter Acts of 1793 and 1833). By these a Governor-General-in-Council was made the supreme administrative authority in India subject to a Board of Control at home. By the last Act, the Company ceased to be a commercial concern and became a political and administrative body only. After the Sepoy Mutiny another Act was passed by which the Government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown, and thenceforth the Governor-General was also the Viceroy of India. The functions of the Government of India are wide and its responsibilities heavy. But its responsibilities are to the Crown and the Parliament. It has not rested on an elective popular basis. There have been legislative bodies, but its motions, resolutions and votes have not, except as regards certain matters of secondary importance under the Act of 1919, a binding effect on the Government.

India's contributions and sacrifices in the Great War were great, but the "reward" that came in the shape of the Parliamentary Declaration promising her a "progressive realisation of responsible government," the stages and times of which were to be determined by the Parliament alone was not comforting to her nationalist aspirations. And the Government of India Act of 1919, which is still in actual function though it has been, apparently, broadened and amplified in some directions by a recent Parliamentary Statute, did not meet the wishes or expectations of India. By that Act dyarchy or a kind of dual responsibility was established in the provinces, where the "nation-building" subjects were "transferred" to Ministers (not responsible however to the legislature), whilst the more important subjects were "reserved." In practice the transference of certain subjects to Ministers (who were appointed by, held office under the pleasure of, and were responsible to the Governor) meant little more than a complication of the administrative machinery which became in consequence, more cumbrous and expensive. The Central Government continued to remain unitary under the scheme. The legislative bodies, both provincial and central, were expanded with non-official majorities, but this placed little power, for construction or even for obstruction, in the hands of the popular parties. Whilst the liberals proceeded to work the scheme, the main body of nationalist forces, as represented by the Indian National Congress, would not first even look at it. But some time later, under the guidance of Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Matilal Nehru, a Swaraj Party, analogous to the present Congress Parliamentary Party, was formed which entered the legislatures, both provincial and central, in telling numbers and by its obstructionist tactics caused not a little embarrassment to those entrusted with the work of day to day administration. In some provinces it was even able to "wreck" dyarchy for a time. Generally, however, the system has worked, though not satisfactorily even according to official appreciation. We need not in particular refer to the unwelcome labours of the All-White Statutory Simon Commission, to which even the habitually co-operating liberals refused to lend their co-operation. Meanwhile the Congress ideology was becoming bolder day by day, and the Lahore session adopted a resolution setting as the goal of India complete Independence or *Purna Swaraj*. A campaign of civil disobedience followed to create "sanctions" under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi who has been really at the helm of Congress affairs since the early twenties. The Round Table idea was broached rather too late: but Mahatma Gandhi after concluding, what is known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, joined the Conference subsequently. The result of the deliberations of that body fell short of the Congress demand. And the Congress again withdrew its offer of co-operation. This was forced on the Congress by the way in which the British ruling classes used, during the Round Table Conference discussions, India's internal

differences as an excuse for the frustration of her political ambitions. The "Communal Award" of the British Premier Ramsay MacDonald that imparted a "vote value" to religious differences and social inferiorities revealed the tactics of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. It was modified by the epic fast of Mahatma Gandhi so far as the Hindus were concerned. But in its wider ramifications, it has stimulated separatist conceits and ambitions that in course of the last ten years have created a "civil war" mentality in the country where almost every creed and class has been organizing themselves to capture political power in the name of their particularistic interests. It is well-known that Mahatma Gandhi wanted to avoid a fight so soon after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. This attitude was evidenced by the wording of his telegram to Lord Willingdon sent on the 29th. December, 1931—"whether you expect me to see you and receive guidance from you as to the course I am to pursue in advising the Congress." Lord Willingdon rejected this opportunity of cementing co-operation between Indian Nationalism and the enlightened self-interest of British Imperialism. The second Civil Disobedience Movement was the natural result which continuing for about two years—1932-'34—prepared by repression the mind of India to receive the constitutional changes made by the Act of 1935. The genesis and the long-drawn processes of shaping this machinery were informed by a spirit of arrogant imperialism, ignoring at every step Indian self-respect. The imperial Government could not accept any of the suggestions made in the Joint Memorandum of the Indian delegates nominated by itself. The arrival of "provincial autonomy" changed in no way "a relationship that rests on conquest," whose "sanction" was the physical might of Britain, to quote the words of the well-known British publicist, Mr. Brailsford.

With the passage of this Act the ruling authorities hoped that they had been able to so provide things that the men and women of India would remain satisfied with their enlarged electorates, from 70 lakhs to about 4 crores, and with the Ministries charged with the solution of "things that matter"—the problems of health, education and economic well-being with which are intimately bound up the life of the majority of the people. These problems of dirt; disease and ignorance could not be neglected any more without doing permanent injury to the body politic. The increasing recognition of this sorry state of affairs joined to the increasing resentment with the pretensions of "external authority", felt by increasing numbers of Indians, created a conflict in the mind of India that was reflected in the discussion of public affairs—a contradiction between the spoken word and the practice that sought to give it shape and form. The organization of the election campaign on behalf of the Congress was characterized by this contradiction. The purpose of sending Congress representatives to the Legislatures was declared to be to "combat" and to "end" the Act of which these were the products, the incorporation of the "Fundamental Rights" resolution (passed at the Karachi Congress, 1931) and of the "Agrarian Programme" (accepted at the Lucknow Congress 1936) in the Congress Election Manifesto (22 August, 1936) held the promise of relief through these Legislatures of the many ills—political and economic and social—from which the people suffered. Facing the Congress Party in this battle for votes, stood the up-holders of varied interests, communal and class, that under various disguises and with radical programmes on their lips tried to canalize the rising temper and the organized feeling of the country. In the election contest the Congress secured absolute majorities in five provinces—Madras, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Berar, Behar, and Orissa; it was the single largest party in four—Bombay, Bengal, Assam and the North West Frontier Province; in the Punjab and Sind Congress members were in a minority—a negligible minority.

When their leaders were called upon by the Governors in the provinces to help him in forming the Ministries, they demanded of the Governors' assurance that use would not be made of their veto and emergency powers, and that the advice of the Ministries would not be "set side in regard to their constitutional activities." The Governors expressed inability to divest themselves of "certain obligations" which the Parliament had imposed on them. Ensued a constitutional deadlock; the Assemblies were not called in seven provinces; "interim ministries" were appointed to "conceal" this "breakdown" of the constitutional device, said Prof Berriedale Keith. For four months the controversy waxed and waned. As the statutory period for the convening of the Assemblies drew nearer, the Government, "ultra-sensitive over questions of prestige", yielded. Congress Ministries were formed in seven provinces; in Bengal and Assam, in the Punjab and Sind coalition ministries were functioning from April, 1937; the Congress Ministries from the last week of July, 1937. The refusal of the Congress

to entertain the idea of allowing its members to enter into coalition even as the predominant partner, as it was possible in Bengal and Assam, enabled Muslim communalist Ministries to be set up in these two provinces whose activities helped to work havoc with the decencies of civilised life, to inflame the bitterness of communal feeling and waft its poison all over the country. The lowest depth of this degradation was reached when outbursts of arson and loot in the city of Dacca and the country side within the district occurred during 1941. The device of the "Communal Award" has been working towards its logical end.

The India Act of 1935 had a federal scheme to introduce. A sort of Diarchy was contemplated, and vast areas of power in the administration were withheld from the people's representatives; the nominees of the rulers of the Indian States were given a disproportionately big representation in both the upper and lower houses of the Central Legislature. The Reserve Bank and the Federal Railway Authority were instances of the former; and the so-called States' representatives were so many "pocket-boroughs" under the command of the external authority represented by the Governor-General. These and the industrial and commercial and political "safeguards" with which the Federal Scheme bristled repelled public opinion in India. The majority of Muslim politicians were afraid of a central Government where their communalist politics will keep them in a perpetual minority and where they were not prepared to play their part in politics free from narrow appeals to credal and class conceits and ambitions. The rulers of the Indian States were reported to be trying to press hard bargains in their negotiations over the "Instruments of Accession" both in their relation with the "Paramount Power" and in their apprehensions of the rising tide of democracy in their own States. For two years Lord Linlithgow was kept busy smoothing all this opposition with his utmost diplomacy when in September, 1939, the World War II of the 20th century burst upon the world.

India was declared a belligerent by the Governor-General without even the pretence of consultation with the Central Legislature. This was regarded as an insult to Indian self-respect; it exposed before all the world the unnatural relation that subsisted between India with her 40 crores of people and Britain with her 5; it exposed the hollowness of the slogan raised by Britain that she was being forced into the present war for the defence of democracy. The declaration was no panic measure; the ground had been prepared for it six months earlier by a new Section—Section 126A—in the Act of 1935 securing to the Central Government of India "essential powers of direction and control" over the Provincial Governments when an emergency due to war was proclaimed by the Governor-General under Section 102 of the Act. The emergency power granted by this latter Section had been given to the Central Legislature elected on a wide popular franchise, whereas the new Section empowered an irresponsible Executive with power to "give direction to a Province as to the manner in which the executive thereof is to be exercised." The majority of the Provincial Ministries raised objections to this "invasion by the Centre on the sphere of authority conferred by the Act on the Provinces." Technically the British Government might have been right. But in relations like those that subsist between India and Britain legal and constitutional correctitude does not play a helpful hand.

The actual outbreak of the war did not ease the tension between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism. The Indian National Congress voiced almost universal Indian feeling when in a statement issued on the 14 September, 1939 it called upon the British Government to declare their "war aims in regard to Democracy and Imperialism and the New Order that it envisaged; in particular, how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present." Such a declaration, said Pandit Jawharlal Nehru in a message to the London *Daily Chronicle*, will be able to "make the people of India enthusiastic for a war which was not theirs." The Congress invitation to the British Government was international in its import. Dissatisfaction with the vague generalities of British politicians that found expression even in the statements of British leaders of thought was a proof that these "war aims" needed clear statement. Other organisations of vocal Indian opinion—the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind*—the organisation of Muslim divines of India for instance—were in their statements as insistent on the clarification of Britain's war aims and their application to the peculiar conditions of India. Up to now, (1942) the British Government has not been able to satisfy any party in India to set up a Central Government at Delhi-Simla that would enlist the self-respect and self-interest of the country on the side of this

war of continents and oceans. This failure had lead to the resignation of eight of the eleven Provincial Ministers of the country—Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces & Berar, Orissa, Bihar, Assam, the United Provinces, and the North-West Frontier Province. Two of these have since been revived—Orissa and Assam—carrying on a pale imitation of "Provincial autonomy"—under the rule of the military bureaucracy in India whom this "world war" has placed in this dominant position.

Apart from this argument between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism, the various elements in Indian composite life have not shown that unity for ends and means that would have wrested political power from unwilling hands. The "Pakistan" claim of the Muslim League demands that areas where the Muslims happen to be in a majority should be constituted into sovereign "Independent States." This claim has been recognised by opinion in India and in the wide world outside as a threat to the unity and integrity of India. Confronted by such a situation the British Government stands in anxious helplessness. Priding itself on its concern for minorities it finds itself coercing the majority at every step. Since the 8th August (1940) proposals of Lord Linlithgow for the enlargement of the Executive Council, there have been two enlargements thereof till to-day it consists of eleven Indians and four Europeans inclusive of His Excellency. This increasing "Indianization" and the "Draft Declaration" brought by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the British Cabinet in March, 1942, have not for divergent reasons appealed to any responsible party in India. Japans's startling success in Burma, in Malaya, in the Phillippines. in the Dutch East Indies, the failure of Britain, the U. S. A. and Holland to stand up to the far-flung Japanese aggression have brought down their prestige in the market place of world affairs. And the people of these along with those of India have reasons to be apprehensive of their future. A sense of frustration appears to be oppressing the minds of the men and women of India. It is not fear of Japanese invasion alone that is responsible for this state of things. The evacuation orders on people living in the coastal areas of the country has disturbed and disrupted their habits of life; practically no arrangements have been made on behalf of the State for life in newer places and surroundings for hundreds of thousands of men, women and children; the orgy of profiteering in the necessaries of life; the incompetence of officialdom in face of these anti-social activities—all these, the later two specially, have spread a feeling of helplessness in the country. This mentality has been affecting, however indirectly, the "war work" that was to repel the enemy and wrest victory from his grasp. Since the "Mutiny" days eighty-five years back the certainties of existence for the people of this continental country have not been so rudely shaken as during the first six months of 1942. The break-down of the machinery of civil administration in Malaya and Burma have sent more than five lakhs of refugees to India—men and women of India who had made their living in those countries. This has also added to the confusion of the times. These betokened changes for which the minds of the people had not been prepared. This unpreparedness has created difficulties both for the rulers and the ruled. The Japanese occupation of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the heart of the Bay of Bengal, the advance of Japan's hosts towards India's north-eastern borders, the hurried defence arrangements set up in the eastern districts of India—all these signs and portents confront us.

But it is not all dark. In our neighbourhood China has been showing how disappointments are to be faced. She alone has been showing for five years an unbeaten front against Japan. And the visit to India of Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek and Madam Ching Kai-Shek in February, 1942, has been interpreted by all as bringing a message of hope to an India divided against itself and preparing herself to fight against imperialism within and aggression from without. This visit will remain a land-mark in India's recent history. The United States of America has sent to India her armed forces across ten thosand miles of the waters of three oceans to sustain the cause of United Nations. India, kept unorganised in the modern arts of war and peace, unequal to meeting the challenge of international anarchy, is thankful for such friendliness. But she is not quite happy with this arrangement. For, she remains a debtor both materially and spiritually.

As we send this volume to the Press, we have been passing through an experience of administrative incompetence and greedy exploitation by manufacturers and merchants creating conditions of famine in the country. Millions have died of hunger, of diseases that accompany and follow malnutrition. The year 1943 will be remembered for long years for this catastrophe.

India in Home Polity

By the end of the first six months of 1945 which form the subject of study in this volume of the *Indian Annual Register* the second world war of the 20th century was rolling towards the defeat of the Axis Powers both in Europe and east Asia. Germany encircled from the west and south by Anglo-American forces, from the north-east and east by the forces of the Soviet Union, was down and out. The Fuehrer, the supreme leader of the German people, was either dead under the debris of the Chancellory of Berlin or a fugitive. Mussolini died at the hands of an Italian mob who killed him as they do a mad dog. As we witness these two events, we may not realise their significance as part of a great historic tragedy, so near are we to it. The majority of us have grown callous, deadened in body and mind by the overthrow of empires in Germany, in Austro-Hungary, in Turkey, in Russia, in Japan happening in course of thirty years. The unconditional surrender of Japan did not take place before the first week of August, 1945, but the signs and portents were unmistakable that the end of the dreams and ambitions of ruling classes of Great Nippon (Japan) was not distant. American forces had broken through the island rings that Japan had established round her; they had returned to the Phillipines and taken down the Rising Sun flag of the Mikado from its forts; the siege of Okinawa was won. Japanese forces were pulling out of Malaya, Burma and Siam. Those strategists proved to be wrong who had talked that the Japanese would fight the battle of desperation on the soil of China where they had dug themselves in for eight years. But the atom bomb on Nagasaki and Hiroshima put her out of the war. Japan accepted the decree of science.

Defeat of Axis Powers

The defeat of the high endeavour represented by Mussolini, Hitler and Tojo is easy of comprehension by the Indian observer who can recall the stories described in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, in the *Puranas* of their historic past. And recalling these we can easily accept the present happenings as conditioned by a mysterious fate that eludes the scrutiny even of modern science. For ten years and more Italy, Germany and Japan had kept the world guessing with regard to what they wanted. Their opposite numbers in different parts of earth had tried to appease them, to satisfy them. But nothing appeared to restore sanity and peace to the world. The three of them appeared to be moved by the same impulse to carve out their spheres of influences, monopolized by Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. Of these Britain appeared to have been the most prominent target, having been the pioneer of modern imperialism, the exploitation of subject countries for her own benefit. She had so spread herself over the far spaces of the earth that no new-comer could walk over them except by colliding with her. This set a pattern of controversy between her and other aspirants to the position of great Powers entitled to share in its glory and profit. This in the crudest sense is the core of the problem that since the beginning of the present

Anglo-Saxon Powers united

century had been attempted to be solved by the two wars of oceans and continents. The world is no longer in doubt that the problem has yet to find its solution, that Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, Lloyd George and Winston Churchill have laboured and schemed, fought and won, without solving it. Why their countries got entangled in these two wars are well known to-day. That knowledge should have enabled them to find the way out of the present deadlock in international affairs. It is true that American and British propagandists have striven hard to put across the thesis that their involvement in the two wars was caused by their concern for democratic freedom, that both Kaiser Wilhelm and Adolf Hitler have by their ambitions threatened this freedom, and the Anglo-Saxon world had been forced into both these world wars much against their inclinations and interests.

Material ties bind them

The world has, however, refused to accept this interpretation of the causes, personal and impersonal, that have driven two generations into two wars in course of twenty-five years. It does not explain why the Kaiser Wilhelm and Adolf Hitler should have disturbed the world peace, also why the ruling classes of the United States should have come to realize that Britain constituted their first line of defence, why they should have regarded the British Empire as supplying the markets and materials that could keep "the Western Hemishpere a going concern." We know that there is racial and cultural kinship between Britain and the United States. We know that there is no competition between the industries and trade of the two countries. But the dilemma created by the economic and financial activities of Totalitarianism as conducted by Germany found a new link between the material interests of these two countries. In the first volume of the *Annual Register* (January-June) of 1941, we discussed this matter in some detail. The question was thus presented to the leaders of American industry and trade—in a world dominated over by totalitarian economic theory and practice, the "free economy" of capitalist competition that guided British and United States life would have very little chance of survival if Germany came out of the war victorious.

"The question was answered and the problem was solved for the average American citizen by what the U. S. A. Department of Commerce made public in the second week of May, 1941. It was a summary of a technical analysis of the German programme of post-war economy. The post-war life was indicated in words that could not but shock American leaders of industry and trade, American bankers who dominate world trade to-day......The words of the report that made clear this position were the following:

"Confronted by a political combination on the continent of Europe under the domination of Germany, the individual American *entrepreneur* would hardly be strong enough to find a market for his products or services except on terms laid down by the National Socialist State."

Their dominance over world economy

Herein is indicated the strongest link that binds Britain and the United States. Books are written by the keenest of American brain trusters, official and non-officials, that Anglo-American collaboration was the only instrument left to maintain the standard of life in the great republic. Official publications that have a habit of under-statement of deeply-felt social needs are frank in the United States. One of the

latest of these published by the U. S. A. Commerce Department spoke of a "key nations" theory, of the U. S. A. and the United Kingdom constituting the two most powerful "congregations of economic power in the world." Mr. George Soule in his book *America's Stake in Britain's Future*—gives expression to the dominant feeling in the two countries that

"The United States and the United Kingdom are so far ahead of the others in exporting and importing capacity that what they will do will determine the course of world economy for years to come."

Soviet Union outside this charmed circle

It was against this predominance that Germany, Italy and Japan, specially the first and the third hurled themselves during the last two decades. The root cause of World War II of the 20th century was to be found in this jealousy and resentment of these three "have-not" Powers against the two "have" Powers—Britain and the United States. Britain represented most blatantly this monopoly; she had been holding it for about two hundred years, becoming an eyesore to other aspiring nations; her possessions became objects of desire to them. For her own reasons the United States have been under-writing British undertakings, publicly or on the sly; the great republic found it more profitable to support her than Germany and Japan. This was the reason why even after the bitter experience of the first World War, her ruling classes could not resist themselves when during 1939-'41 danger threatened their "old country". Sentiment played but a small part in this alliance; their common economic interests helped to forge it. Rather, this feeling and the recognition in America that Britain and her far-flung possessions could best serve America's material interests—these two influences ranged her by Britain's side in the greatest crisis in the latter's life. The end of this war has re-emphasised this inter-dependence. And the student of affairs must not lose sight of this fact if he desired to have a real grip on the movement of international forces in the near future. The end of the war in Europe, in east Asia, has not changed this alignment of forces with the Soviet Union standing outside of the charmed circle. During the time we have been discussing, this picture was not quite so clear as it since become. The spheres of occupation of Germany by certain of the victorious powers—the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France—the evangelical zeal of almost all of them in trying to inject their ideologies into the different parts of the defeated nations under their control has a disturbing influence on their war-time collaboration. Writing in the early part of 1946, this unfortunate development has become so glaringly plain that a show-down between Democracy and Totalitarianism is within the bounds of possibility.

Soviet Union and her neighbours

Apart from this "Big Three" conflict and competition, the Soviet Union by its handling of affairs in connection with her small neighbours in its immediate west—Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria—has not recommended its methods to the disinterested observer. It has been claimed on behalf of the Soviet Union that she was forced into this brusqueness by the needs of

her own safety which excuse analysed to its ultimate factor would mean that the freedom and integrity of the neighbours of the Soviet Union are always to remain dependent on the ideas of Russia's safety varying as these would from time to time, and differ as these may with individual changes in the leadership of the Soviet Union. To take but one instance, that of Poland, Russo-Polish relations since 1770 have been bitter what with Tsarist attempts to Russianize the Polish people, themselves belonging to the Slav race. The revival of the Polish State after the first world war (1914-'18) and the establishment of some sort of stable relations between it and the Soviet Union after the latter's defeat in front of Warsaw in 1920-'21 has proved to be an episode of little value. The Russo-German Pact of August, 1939 that hastened the outbreak of the second world war wiped the Polish State off the map of Europe for about six years. Germany's defeat in it has helped to make a new start in Polish life with a new State from which unmistakable Polish areas have been snatched away and included in the Soviet Union. This loss has been sought to be made up to the Polish State by attaching German areas in what was known as East Prussia, driving from it a few millions of Germans who had been there for more than two to three hundred years. In the second volume of the *Annual Register* of 1939 (July—December), we have traced the history of German-Polish relations, as bitter as Russo-Polish. The revival of a new Polish State under the superintendence of the Soviet Union makes no difference to the Polish people dispersed into two States ; their memory of the bitterness of the many partitions in their country's life will not make sweet and stable the relations between the racial groups German, Russian, Polish—huddled in this part of the continent of Europe. Today the Soviet Union may flaunt its victory in the name of the exploited masses of this area. But racial memories of wrongs, racial conceits and ambitions, have a habit of lying low for decades and centuries and erupting either into revolt or their assertion for a place in the sun of international life. Polish and German resentment with the Soviet Union may sink into the unconscious today. But it will watch and wait for the day of vengeance, for the day of deliverance of their self-respect.

Anglo-Soviet relations

Unless human nature changes and the United Nations Organization becomes a reality in the world's life these danger spots in Eastern Europe will remain to be centres of outbreaks, big or small. They are illustrative of conditions in Europe ; they do not exhaust the accumulated hatreds that late or soon will disturb the continent's life and of the whole world just as Danzig set the train to an outburst of international and global warfare. During the period we have been dealing with, events in Greece became the focus of a great controversy between Britain and the Soviet Union manouevring for position in the eastern Mediterranean. For about one hundred and fifty years the former had been dictator of policy in this area : she had taken advantage of the decay of the Turkish Empire, of the demoralization of the ruling classes of this Empire, to establish her control, direct or indirect, over the conduct of the different States that bordered on this central sea. The Napoleonic wars showed her hands plainly to the world.

The opening of the Suez Canal had converted it into a British lake. The island of Cyprus and Egypt had to pass under the guidance of Britain so that the life line to Britain's Empire in Asia and Oceania, to Australia and New Zealand and Tasmania, may be protected against the claims of new-comers to the field of imperialist competition. Tsarist Russia had tried to break into Britain's preserves by breaking up Turkey. But she failed because Britain stood behind Turkey. On the eve of the first world war Britain and Russia came into an understanding about a partition of the "inheritance of the Turk" who was known to European diplomats as the "sick man of Europe" lying on his death bed. This accommodation between the two countries became necessary because Germany had started her Berlin-Bagdad railway scheme which carried to completion would have rendered ineffective all the defence measures organized by Britain in this part of the Mediterranean area by by-passing them. Russia's ambitions also were threatened by it. For, if Germany became strong in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, Russia would be encircled and her historic gravitation towards the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf would be halted for many a day. Thus did German ambitions bring the two rival empires of Britain and Russia on a common platform both during the first world war (1914-'18) and during a part of the second (1941-'45). But with the defeat of Germany in 1945, with her elimination as a threat to their common interests, has been revived the old rivalry between them. And Greece became a not too willing pawn in their game. Though the names of "Ellas" and "Royalist" were used to feature the struggle in Greece as an internal conflict between democrats and conservatives of the country, the strings that moved their forces could be traced to Moscow and London with no great search. The use of Indian troops by Britain to keep the peace in Greece, to give Greek citizens opportunity to have free and fair elections was such a transparent pretence that not even the tyro could be misled by it.

This was the pattern of the "Big Three' collaboration that we witnessed in the middle of 1945. In Germany, many things have been happening that are dark for the prospects of international amity. Owing to rigid Press censorship the world is being kept ignorant of the ways in which the "Big Four"—the United States, the Soviet Union Britain and France—had been competing with one another for snatching the souls and bodies of German men and women to one another's parlour. The Germans were helpless, it is true. But none need be surprised if the conflicting interests of the Anglo-Saxon Powers and of the Union of Soviet Republics are driven to take steps to encourage one or the other of the German classes, democrats or socialists or communists, and thus enable them to stand on their legs to act as pawns for their patrons. This happened after first world war when Britain and France became entangled in a rivalry for political hegemony over the continent of Europe, over the area between France and Russia. The Germans exploited the difference to their own advantage, and it would not be far wrong to suggest that it was this rivalry that enabled the Nazi party under Adolf Hitler to wrest the power of the State from their rival politicians. On the present occasion also, with the victorious Powers in possession of different areas of the Reich, there is already a competition between them as to who will inject into the Germans more

Germany & "Big Four"

successfully and quickly their different ideologies and practices, as also to buy their support through economic and financial help. This technique of persuasion, this re-education of the German people, have nothing secret about it : it is on the programme of the long range re-construction of the life of the European peoples. But its real difficulty will come when the democracy beloved of Anglo-saxon countries will try to educate the Germans in one way : and the new evangel of communism of which the Soviet Union is the standard bearer and crusader will put in claims to train the Germans in their own ways. These two claims can be understood when they are placed in the wider background of the differences between capitalist democracy and totalitarian communism.

This basic difference is so full of seeds of conflict that from unimagined quarters come reports of a line-up of Anglo-Saxon Powers against the Soviet Power. For an instance we may refer to the notice served by the Soviet Foreign Office on the Government of the Turkish Republic that they proposed to terminate the Pact of Friendship that had been existing between the two countries since 1920 and which was due for renewal in November, 1945. The notice was issued on March 19, 1945. Almost at the same time Russia put in a plea for the revision of the Montreaux Convention that had been signed on July 20, 1936, after hard bargaining of about a month between Britain, France, the Soviet Union and Turkey. Kemal Ata Turk's country gained the most from this intrument of revision of the Lausanne Treaty that had snatched from her hands control of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles and put these water-ways into the Black Sea from the Mediterranean and from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea under the superintendence of an International Commission. The Montreaux Convention returned to her this control and authorized her to militarize the coastal defences that had been demolished after the first world war as a punishment for Turkey's defeat in this war. The Soviet Union also gained all her points. Her interests in the Black Sea Straits defined in the Montreaux Convention as including the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorous were both economic and strategic. The corn of the Black Earth region, the coal of the Donetz, the oil of Baku and the Rumanian oil fields, the agricultural produce of the lower Danube Valley, all have their natural outlet through the Straits. The question as to who was to control the Straits had, therefore, always been of vital concern to the riverain Powers of the Black Sea and the Danube, the more so since the invention of artillery and floating mines had rendered the Straits all but impassable for a hostile Power as the Gallipoli campaign of 1915 had demonstrated. The only Russian ports that are free from ice throughout the year are those on the Black Sea.

Demand for revision of Montreaux Convention

"It, therefore, became Russia's aim, first to build a Black Sea fleet which should have freedom of passage through the Straits ; and secondly, to obtain effective domination over Constantinople itself, thus re-establishing under her own rule the unitary control of the hinterland and its economic outlet..........."

(*Survey of International Affairs, 1936, P. 589*).

This background of the hopes and needs of the many peoples in European Russia can explain why the Moscow rulers should require Turkey to make concession to them. During six years of the present war Turkey elected to remain neutral except during the last four or five months when she declared war against Germany. It was a 'token' declaration of

Russia's strength and expansion

war that had no effect on its fortunes in Europe. For, by the time Turkey landed on the side of the Allied Powers, Germany had been as good as beaten down to her knees. We do not know how during the war years Turkey had guarded the Straits with impartiality, how she had held the balance even between the Axis and the Allied nations. We have seen it suggested that by remaining neutral Turkey had served the Allies better, that if she had come down from her neutral position and joined the Allied Powers, she would have been over-run by Germany, and German hosts would have rode to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. The British forces stationed in Iraq and Palestine being no match for them, the defeat of Turkey would have brought the Germans almost to the Caspian Sea, near the new industrial plants that the leaders of the Soviet Union had built east of the Volga. This line of reasoning on the possibilities of the various fronts in south-east Europe and north-west Asia takes us practically nowhere. We know this for a fact that Germany did not choose to attack Turkey when she had over-run Greece, and Italy was yet a dependable ally. She must have had her own reasons to advise prudence. But this is a side issue, however. The reason or reasons for the Soviet Union's dissatisfation with Turkey are not connected with Turkey's leanings towards Germany. The notice for the termination of the Russo-Turkish Treaty of Friendship was inspired by the new feeling that Britain could not protect Turkey from falling into the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union which had emerged out of the war stronger, whose strength had been demonstrated in the crucible of the greatest war in recent history. The consciousness of such strength is a great temptation and a great urge to activities in the international field. As historians have said that by the Montreaux Convention the Soviet Union had gained all that she could desire except the expulsion of Turkish rule from Europe, except her exclusive ownership of these Straits that opened and closed the door to the eastern Mediterranean through which Russia can come out to the outer seas of the world, to play her part in shaping the destiny of modern humanity. This is the only interpretation that satisfies the requirements of the situation created by Russia's victory in the war, by her feeling that she should have a say in matters that concerned the Black Sea and its outlet to the Mediterranean of which Turkey is the guardian now. Her notice claiming revision of the Montreaux Convention is, however, in the ultimate analysis a trial of strength between her and Britain who for about two hundred years has been ruling the waves of almost all the seas and oceans of the world. Her claim for a seat in the body that is in charge of the international regime in Tangier, almost opposite Gibraltar, in Morocco—both these ports guarding the outlet to the Atlantic—was a reminder that a new power has arisen that must have its adequate seat in the chariot of international leadership.

U. S. A.'s contribution to German defeat

The episodes discussed above took us into the intricacies of the world situation as it has emerged out of World War II. of the 20th. century. We do not know anything positive of what have been happening in Germany, the centre of the storm; we have attempted above a psychological reading of German reaction to her defeat and the

devastation that has been wrought in their country. We have more than once in previous volumes of the *Annual Register* referred to the distinctive contribution that the industrial potential of the United States would be making to the defeat of Germany. A detailed description of it is not necessary to realize its significance. Two quotations from an article in the New York quarterly, the *Foreign Affairs*, would suffice to drive home the point. These are taken from the series of articles appearing under the title—*America at War*, naturally confined to explaining the part played by the United States in it.

American air power alone could not defeat Germany, but without it victory either would have been impossible or far more costly. Air power crippled the strategic mobility of the German Army. In decisive stages of the ground campaign—notably the Rhine crossings—it tremendously hampered German tactical mobility, greatly curtailed the enemy's supply of oil, cut down the supply of ball bearings, reduced the supply of munitions, forced the shift of the bulk of the German Air Force from Russia to the West (thus relieving Russia, and later eliminated the German Air Force as a major factor in the war. Air-power prevented the German V-weapons from achieving definite success, wrecked German communications so that distribution of anything at all became a problem, forced the Germans to earmark perhaps 20,00,000 men for defence against air attack, and clamped an 'internal blockade' upon the Reich which added tremendously to man-power shortage and to the unbearable strain of "attrition war".

"......The comments of Field Marshal von Rundstedt and other captured German generals as to the primary importance of air power in the Allied victory testify to the skill of the brave men who won the European skies. The statistics of the war against Germany are staggering. For every ton of explosive hurled on Britain—by plane or V.-weapon—the German received 315 tons in return. From the beginning of the war to May 1, 1945, American and British planes combined dropped 24,53,595 tons of explosives on Germany and German-occupied targets in other European countries. American planes operating from Britain, Mediterranean bases and the Continent dropped 14,53,595 tons. Some 8,001, about half the total Allied (British and American) bombers sent into action, were lost, as were 7,165 U. S. fighters. The German Air Force lost an estimated 20,574 planes in the air and 12,337 more on the ground to the American Air Force. Nearly 5,000 of these were destroyed in the clean-up month of April."

Treatment of Germany

What the Soviet Union had done and suffered to make the defeat of Germany inevitable is but insufficiently known to the world. It is natural for her to desire that never again should Germany have a chance to renew her fight for domination over European affairs. When the war officially ended in Europe on May 9, 1945, the four Powers most interested in the settlement of European unsettlement—Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the United States of America—were charged with a responsibility that could be adequately shouldered if there were complete accord with one another in what they desired to do and how they proposed to do it. "The treatment of Germany" became to them and to all other European peoples a sign and symbol of what the future held for them. The Potsdam Conference of the heads of the Administration of the "Big Three"—the United States, the Soviet Union, and Britain—President Truman, Marshal Stalin and Mr. Churchill—made an attempt to iron out any differences and disagreements that were implicit in the differing ideologies and practices of these three Powers. During the time with which we have been dealing with, the world came to know that the plan of dividing Germany into four "Zones" to be administered by the four Powers mentioned above held the field. The danger of this arrangement, a sort of con-dominia, has already been hinted above. That it has not

proved worse than what has appeared on the surface, in the world's Press, is due to the fact that none of the Powers has been prepared to push matters to the extreme in the pursuit of their individual interests and ideas. The Soviet Union has been biding her time to persuade the Germans to understand and appreciate her values of life; the United States appears to be holding the ring so that no one of the three European Powers broke the bounds of prudence; Britain has been following suit in seeing that the provisional arrangements did not get prematurely disturbed; France has not been able to bite away the Rurh region, the greatest industrialized area in the European continent. This is a picture of uncertain balance. For, as Prof. Jacob Viner of the Chicago University has suggested, this zonal division of Germany cannot endure, as it has "no relationship to any *German* regional pattern of political or economic interest." It may happen that the United States which is the least interested of the four Powers may retire from her policing duty in Europe, and leave Britain, France and the Soviet Union to face up to their responsibility as keepers of the peace in that continent. Or, it may happen that the United Nations Organization that was being given shape and form at the Pacific city of San Francisco in the United States will be able to attain a position of strength and responsibility to take up the duty of "treating" Germany. This latter is a hope that may prove to be a liar. But mankind is so constituted that in face of demonstrated failures. and betrayals it continues to believe that peace and justice will bless this earth of ours.

The end of the war in Europe has raised this hope again. We who have lived through two world wars do, however, notice a change.

Hope & fear on the eve of San Francisco Conference

The modern man and woman are not as enthusiastic in May, 1945, as their predecessors were in October, 1940 in giving expression to their feelings of joy in seeing the end of black-outs, in looking up at the spring sky from which the bomber and fighter appear to have faded. There was hope, no doubt, but there was more of fear that the leaders of the victorious Powers would make as bad a peace instrument as Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd George and Georges Clemanceau had fashioned during 1918-'20. The reason for hope was that the San Francisco Conference would have no direct relation with the Peace Treaties between the victors and the vanquished. These peace treaties occasion the outburst of national resentments on the part of the defeated nations, and occasion the outburst of ambitions on the part of the victors each one of them trying to make a profit out of the war in the winning of which so much blood and tears have been shed, and so much human wealth has been burnt in powder and shot. The element of fear came from the conviction that leaders of the victorious Powers could not be free from the conceits and ambitions that had characterized their predecessors five and twenty years ago, that their economic and political imperialism would twist the purposes of the United Nations Organization out of recognition. The overwhelming power of military superiority that they possessed might enable them to keep the peace. But unless there be justice between man and man, between nation and nation, between race and race, the impulses in the heart of creation that rebel against arrogance,

will late or soon break this peace. Feelings like these assailed thoughtful people all the world over as they watched the proceedings of the San Francisco Conference.

The Conference met on April 25, 1945. It worked out a blueprint of the moral and idealistic, the realistic and practical functions of the United Nations Organization that had been indicated in many of the speeches of the late President Roosevelt and in the "Atlantic Charter". In a letter dated 20th. June, 1945 addressed to President Truman of the United States, his Secretary of State (for foreign affairs), Mr. Stettinus (Junior) sent a report of the Organization as it had been hammered out at the Conference. The letter described the "Machinery" to be set up, the "effective measures of the prevention and removal of threats to the peace" of the world. The Charter of the Organization established certain "Organs"—a General Assembly, a Security Council, an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of Justice, and a Secretariat. The first five constitute the "over-all instruments of international action" through which it is proposed to "translate the world's hope for peace and security into the beginning of a world practice of peace and security". Under it we have thus a forum for discussion and debate (the General Assembly), an enforcement agency (the Security Council), a Social and Economic Institute through which the learning and knowledge of the world may be brought to bear upon its common problems (the Economic and Social Council), an international Court in which justiciable cases may be heard (the International Court of Justice), and a body charged with the heavy responsibility of attaining in non-strategic areas the objectives of the Trusteeship System one of which is the promotion of the "political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government and independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstance of each territory and its people and the freely-expressed wishes of the people concerned". Mr. Stettinus tries to relate four of these functions to the practices of the modern world—the four fundamental instruments to which "free men" are accustomed—the public meeting, the enforcement officer, the Court, and the centre of science and knowledge. He is not unaware of the limitations, but expresses a hope that has yet to be realized.

United Nations Organization

"To transplant social organisms for the world of individual and group relations to the world of international relations, is necessarily also to limit and cut them back. Nevertheless, instruments of proven social value taken over from the domestic to the international world carry with them qualities of vigour and of fruitfulness which the limitations placed upon them by their new conditions cannot kill. They have behind them an historical momentum and a demonstrated usefulness which means far more, in terms of ultimate usefulness, than the precise legal terms by which they are established in their new environment."

Failure of the League of Nations

Those who have had some experience of the working of the League of Nations cannot but recall that the "purposes and principles" of the new international Organization of 51 nations or States and the "organs" and instruments of its usefulness do not differ much from those of the League that had its headquarters at Geneva. Mr. Stettinus did hardly refer by name

except once to the organization that owed its birth to the inspired leadership of one of the Presidents of his country. He only contented himself with the remark that the League did not "gain the wide support it needed to succeed." The story of this un-success is one for which his own country was responsible more than any other by giving the lead to sabotaging the League. The refusal of the United States to share responsibility with the other Allied Powers for the up-keep of world peace at the end of the first world war was the most potent factor in weakening the League organization, and leaving its life hanging on the conflict and competition between Britain and France. We have been told that the U.S.A. Senate followed the directive of the first President of the United States, George Washington, warning his people against entangling alliances with European Powers, getting entangled in European power politics. But that was an advice when the world was bigger than what it is today and distances between countries were longer. Even during the period between the two world wars, the United States, its financiers and capitalists for instance, could not keep off from Europe, in financing the recovery of Germany even under Adolf Hitler. And when the second world war broke out Franklin Roosevelt transformed his country into the "arsenal of democracy" against Totalitarianism which by accident, if there be any such element in historic developments, had its supreme protagonist in Adolf Hitler. And it is another example of the intractibility of human nature that the United States had to learn the lesson of world fellowship by sending her sons and daughters beyond seas and occeans to bleed and die so that a world organization may emerge to take charge of peace and order, of justice between race and race, between nation and nation. It is too early to say that the United Nations Organization will prove a better success than the League of Nations. We can only hope and pray.

Revival in Arab Lands

The United Nations Organization has not, thus, received the wishful welcome that greeted the League of Nations. Men and woman are more critical, more sceptical than those of the generation of the twenties of the present century. Specially is this true of our people whose political subjection appears to have given them a particularly sensitive apprehension of the play of power politics of which they have been victims along with other coloured peoples of the world. The politically-minded people of India, the classes which supply leadership to the modern movements in our country, have grown aware that the system of rule under which they suffer draw its strength not only from India but from countries in her neighbourhood, east and west. During the period under discussion, thirty-five millions in Arab lands have been demonstrating that the political, economic and social problems precipitated by the world war cannot be allowed to remain unsolved for the sake of Britain's empire needs, and of their ruling classes. During this period the organization of the Arab League, representative of the Arab States, appeared to be building up a common front against the aggression, political and economic, of the Euro-American interests. To an Indian student of affairs, the pattern is so familiar. The history of Arab awakening has a history that is contemporary with ours. As in our country, so in the Arab countries a socio-religious and literary revival had marked the reaction of Arab peoples to the methods of administration, exploitation and enlightenment introduced by the aggressive West into their life. The majority of the Arab countries

were and are Muslims. But curiously for all concerned the morning star of this revival movement shone on and from Lebanon whose people were and are Christians by religious persuasion. Even in the political movements the Christian Arabs had been the pioneers ; they supplied the leaven of modernism that leaventh the whole mass in the Arab countries. The spiritual revolt of these countries has been nurtured by the literary revival that started in Lebanon in the middle of the 19th century. And the Arab youth of today is thrilled by the story of the glory and grandeur that Damascas, Baghdad and Cordova represented and from which emanated the culture without which Europe might have slumbered for a longer period in the Dark Ages of her history.

Dynastic ambitions in Arab lands

The Arab League may be recognized as an instrument for giving shape to the dreams and aspirations of the Arab peoples, for regaining their political self-respect and rebuilding their material life on modern foundations. In this process of renovation, the dynastic ambitions of the ruling houses of Egypt and Saudi Arabia constitute more a hindrance than a help to the evolution of democratic freedom in these countries. The ruling classes of these two countries appear to hold the keys of the whole situation, because they may think that they are less dependent on Britain for the defence of their external security. Iraq and Trans-Jordan are British protegees ; their administrations are under the direction of British advisers, civil and military. Their ruling families belong to the Sheriff family of Mecca, a rival to the Saudi family of Riyadah whose head—King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud—is the master of the two holy places of Islam, Mecca and Medina which confers on him some sort of a distinction as head of the Islamic fraternity of 27 crores of Muslims spread over Asia, Europe and Africa. For about seventy years British policy has been trying to utilize the rivalry between these two families as a prop to her imperial system in this region of the earth. Today the Saudi family may appear to have benefited the most from transactions with Britain. And though in Iraq a boy king is enthroned, a grandson of King Faisal, the founder of the family, there is Emir Abdulla of Trans-Jordan who could not have forgotten the hopes and ambitions of his father, Sheriff Hossain of Mecca whom British promises during the first world war had drawn away from his allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey, the Khalifa of Islam. The old man had hoped that he would inherit this position. Instead he died an exile—another victim to the deserved fate of a dupe to alien promises. The same ambitions are said to be entertained by the ruling house of Egypt. But their realization appears to be distant, because the Muslim who aspires to be the Khalifa of Islam must be the master of Mecca and Medina ; he must be the ruler of an independent kingdom capable of holding his own against the conflicts and competitions of political life, internal and external. None of these two indispensable conditions are satisfied by any of the rulers in Muslim countries except of Turkey. And Turkey under the inspiration of Kemal Ata-Turk has foresworne such religious pretensions. And though King Farouq of Egypt has been trying to throw off the shackles of British dominance and protection, the trends and tendency of modern developments in Arab lands and in their neighbourhood do not sustain the hope that the Muslims of the world would agree to accept the revival of Khalifate as a step that is in consonance with their modern needs. The Arab League, though predomi-

nantly Muslim, has members that are Christian States, Syria and Lebanon. The organization cannot be utilized for the purposes of dynastic ambitions.

Other forces at work

There are other forces at work that would cry halt to the dreams of King Farouq and his supporters in the Al Azhar University, the oldest of the existing institutions of Islamic culture and knowledge. These forces draw their inspiration and sustenance from the developments that have been released over the world by modern industrialism, by the philosophy and life of which the Soviet Union is the visible symbol and potent weapon. The "fellahinn" in Egypt, the Beduin in the deserts of Arabia and Africa, have seen their values of life sinking into insignificance before the triumphant advance of the West. This has hit them in their self-esteem. But in their material life also have they been hit by the same forces coming to them in the shape of manufactured goods of every day use, destroying the simple self-sufficient economy of their lives. A substantial portion of the good arable land of the Arab lands is owned by feudal lords ; the majority of peasants are day-labourers and share-croppers who toil like serfs with no prospects better than eking out a bare existence. This is the pattern that still exists in north Africa and straight from there to the shores of the Pacific in China. This broad mass of humanity has seldom rebelled against this dispensation which they have been taught to accept as a decree of Providence, good for their souls if not for their bodies. Perhaps, this social philosophy that had inculcated resignation has had its value compared to the pushing, bustling life of today. But modern industrialism by breaking down all the norms and forms of antique life in Europe pioneered a development that with all its initial injustices and cruelties had something of a forward-looking destiny implicit in its destructiveness—the destiny that would flower into new and richer forms of individual and group life. The "unchanging East", the unchanging Arab lands, have been caught by the same cruel hands ; they are being broken and refashioned for newer forms of social well-being, endowed with newer instruments and institutions of social life. The two world wars have helped to quicken this process of transformation, the second more effectively than the first. We in India have been witnesses to this process of destruction and construction—a world process against which there appears to be no appeal. A writer in the June, 1945 issue of the New York monthly—*Asia and the Americas*—has traced it as it has evolved in Arab lands under the influence of the World War II of the 20th century. Reading it, an Indian would find a picture that is familiar to him, which he has seen taking shape before his eyes in cruel lines of a social disruption that appears to have had no hint of goodness and hope in it. The break-down had occurred almost three quarters of a century back in our own country. But its full effects were never so virulently visualized as during the recent war years. This we have discussed in the recent volumes of the *Annual Register* (two volumes of 1943 and the first volume of 1944). The same catastrophe overtook the Arab lands. We propose to quote here a description of it from the New York monthly referred to above.

"Of the two and one-half billion dollars spent by the Allies in the Middle East since the beginning of the war, a good part went to the Arab countries. In certain regions where for strategic purposes great troop concentrations were stationed, locusts could not have devoured local food stuffs with the same rapidity. Locusts, however, devour without compensation, whereas the armies of the United Nations devoured and paid handsomely for the goods they consumed. Thousands upon thousands of local labourers engaged in behalf of the war effort received unprecedented wages. Hundred of enterprising business men made colossal profits from war contracts. Overnight many a millionaire was born.........The purchasing power of the people increased tremendously, but there was a dire scarcity of civil supplies. The index of prices has risen from four to ten times their peace-time levels, and in some commodities much more.

"............No wonder that influential business men, apart from the millions they made from war contracts, have turned to monopolising whatever consumer goods they can lay their hands on, and by disposing of these goods at exorbitant prices have multiplied their fortunes. The rift between the poor and the rich has been widening and the poor or those of modest means have begun to link the war profiteers with the Allies."

Soviet Union's interests

Hit by this economic *blitz*, the Arab peoples, the disinherited and dispossessed amongst them, have been looking towards the example of the Soviet Union as the only way out of the *malaise* that have overtaken them. And there are signs that the missionaries of the Soviet gospel are already abroad, bringing to all the glad tidings of "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear" that were blazoned forth on the flag of the United Nations under the inspiration of the late President Roosevelt. To Americans and Britons these were hopes and ideals. The Soviet Union is being represented to be the only country whose ruling classes have realized these in every day life or where bold attempts are being made to do so. Apart from this material appeal to the commonalty of the world, the victory of Soviet arms against the mightiest of military machines in the modern world has raised the organisers of this victory in the estimation of the world. It was apprehended in June, 1941, that the Soviet Union would not be able to stand up to Germany, that her constituent units would fall apart under the impact of the German attack ; that the men and women of many creeds and cultures, of many racial groups, that have been united under the flag of the Hammer and the Sickle would seek every one its own safety and refuse to go through the process of blood and iron for upholding the unity imposed by a small but militant party sitting at Moscow. These fears have been belied, and the Soviet experiment of uniting so many diversities has stood a test of inconceivable ferocity and destructive power. This occular demonstration of Soviet success has been having its influence all over the world. And the Arab countries are not immune to its appeal. Therefore do we find in Syria and Lebanon educated Arabs forming societies under the name of the "Friends of the Soviet Union", and many sections even among the broad masses of the Arab peoples consciously and unconscionsly imbibing the lessons of the Soviet experiment in economic and political life. The representatives of the Soviet Union to these countries have not also been inactive. They have recommended their country to them by ostentatiously recording their disapproval of the Zionist Movement trying to build up a Jewish State in Palestine, a State to be carved out of this small country. It is not ideological considerations alone that have been inspiring the activities of the Soviet representatives. The

article from which we have already quoted has indicated why they have been angling for the favour of the Arab world.

"The Soviet Union does not relish the idea of any strong Power becoming militarily entrenched in the Arab East, because that area may yet become her front door to warm winter ports and a site of land and air communications essential to her future trade and security."

Britain's interest in Arab lands

But Britain which has been in possession for more than sixty years of a dominant position in the eastern Mediterranean area cannot be persuaded to so easily yield place to the new-comer. During the post-San Francisco days and months, the world has been a witness to a controversy between the Soviet Union on the one side and Britain on the other, the United States trying to maintain an attitude of aloofness from the wranglings of two European Powers. The British arguments though not so explicitly told have been that as the Soviet Union has been allowed to establish some sort of an exclusive sphere of influence in territories to her immediate west extending from the Baltic to the Black Seas, as the United States has been accepted as the leader of the Pan-American union, so should Britain be left undisturbed in her position in the Arab countries; as one of the "Big Three" she would be right in re-emphasising the needs of "similar primacy between the Euphrates and the Nile." A recent article in the London Quarterly, the *Round Table*, which is the organ of the British Commonwealth movement, appeared to be giving expression to doubts about the competence of the new British Parliament wherein the majority belonged to the Labour Party recruited from the classes who have never had any opportunity to understand and realize the importance and value of the British empire as a going concern earning handsome dividends for the British people. From certain points of view the article may be interpreted as supplying kindergarten education in international affairs to the novices of the British Labour Party, of the Labour Ministry. The writer takes no pains to hide his attitude to the new rulers of Britain. Frankly he wrote :—

"It is, however, doubtful whether our new Parliament realizes how vital to us is our standing in the Middle East in the strategy of peace no less than war. The method changes. Persuasion, diplomacy and character take the place of force. But the makers of policy must never forget that while we do not ourselves wish or need to dominate the Middle East, we cannot afford to let it be dominated by any other power, because its freedom and security are necessary to our freedom, security and peace."

"Good Neighbour" policy

The two quotations in the two paragraphs above indicate in language as clear as possible the causes of the conflict of policies and ambitions that divide the Soviet Union and Britain with special reference to this area. The only hope of avoiding it, a head-on collision between them, is for the Arab League to develop into a Federation of States with power to defend themselves from all intruders. This is the long-range ambition. But in the immediate future it is to the interest of the "Big Four" —the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France—to so arrange matters that the United Nations Organization may be enabled to take charge of these "danger spots" in the world's map and to nurse them into strength. The ineffectiveness of the Saadabad Pact (1937) between Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan has demonstrated that regional understandings between weak neighbours do not infuse strength

into them, that bigger Powers have to impose on themselves special self-denial to enable their neighbours to grow into health. Britain has not shown by her conduct that she is prepared to do so, neither has the Soviet Union since the end of the present war. The United States is reported to have made experiments in this line through her "Good Neighbour" policy, allowing her neighbours in the Western Hemisphere to go their own way in every concern of her State life, extending to them advice and financial help when necessary. The only exception to this non-intervention and non-interference policy is with regard to any outbreak of serious disorder imperilling the life of the particular State or States and interfering with their economic activities. There have been instances when United States forces have been sent to countries in South America to restore law and order not alone in the selfish interests of American finance. This "Big Brother" attitude is the nearest thing we have had in the modern world to the self-restraint of Great Powers in their relation with their weaker neighbours. We in India from so great a distance, from almost the other side of the globe, cannot judge whether this method of international collaboration does not rankle in the hearts of the States of the Americas. "Dollar imperialism" are words that betoken that the United States is not above suspicion, that human nature does not feel easy with the least interference with its individuality or conceit. This pattern of conduct is in contrast to what we have had under the British regime over the far spaces of the earth. The Soviet Union has evolved a new policy—neither the Colonialism of the British type or the Good Neighbour Policy of the United States. A British writer in his introduction to Owen Lattimore's book—*Solution in Asia*—has described it and said that "in the sphere of psychology the Russians have achieved a success" beyond the power of the British and U. S. A. practice. Mr. C. P. Fitzgerald is unable to pass a final judgment. But what he has said about the experiment is worth quotation.

"The Autonomous Soviet Republic is not a Russian colony with some sort of self-government; nor is it a weak independent State on its best behaviour to its powerful neighbour. In these territories of the U. S. S. R. the people rule themselves. They preserve their own culture, and their language is the official one; they make their own laws; and to some extent control their own economy. Yet the power of the U. S. S. R. protects them against foreign aggression. There is an implied limitation on their autonomy..... It is true that it can be argued that these limitations on autonomy are in fact present under Dominion Status and good Neighbour Policy......"

"..The Autonomous Area—a unit less than a State—provides full cultural independence for primitive or fragmentary peoples, as well as for compact minorities. . ."

Burma's experience during 1942-'45

This intractable problem has become all-important today when the second World War of the 20th century has been hastening to its end. It has stirred feelings all the world over in the hearts of the dispossessed and disinherited peoples of the earth, dispossessed of the greatest attribute of human dignity, that is, freedom and autonomy in their State life. The United Nations Organization has prepared a blue-print of the various schemes and methods through which men and women can realize this aspiration of their hearts in social, economic and political life. In our own country and in our neighbouring countries the end of the war in Europe have burst asunder the flood gates built by war-time repressive measures. Before we go into the happenings in our own country, we

propose to deal with developments in our eastern neighbour of Burma that have made and marred the life of a million Indians and that in the immediate future will require of us a certain revision of our habitual attitudes. Burma may have one-thirtieth of the population of India. But under the stress of Japan's conquest of their land, and Japan's declaration of her political independence integrated into her own scheme of "co-prosperity" of easten Asia, Burma has attained a maturity in political experience that we will do well to study and understand. We in India are apt to interpret Burma in the terms of our own experience, the experience of Indians whom the pursuit of a livelihood took to the country east of the Bay of Bengal. The stay-at-home Indian has heard from friends and relatives of the wide opportunities for material gain that the country once offered ; that these were being restricted by the nationalism of the Burman who did not like the idea that foreigners should thrive in his own country to his detriment ; that the Burman often used violence to wrest from them the advantages enjoyed under the protection of the British administrator and as the agent of British capitalist interests. The anti-Indian riots and emeutes that characterized the twenties and thirties of the present century have thus a place in the evolution of Burman nationalism. For, there can be no mistake about it that the Indian who had once beneficently influenced historic developments in Burma both during times beyond memory and during the period of Buddhist renaissance has had neither the time nor the opportunity to do so during the British period. This failure was, perhaps, due to the fact that the Indian came to Burma during this period not in his independent capacity as an Indian but as an instrument of British policy, as a camp follower of the British conqueror. Thereby he became an object of hatred. If the Indian could have gone to Burma as the citizen of an independent country, he could not have gone there in such numbers. When the Japanese started war against Britain the number of Indians in Burma was well over a million persons. The way in which more than half of them evacuated from Burma proved that they had been rootless in the country ; that their primary loyalty was not to Burma. The demonstration of this attitude could not have recommended them to the Burmans. It was, therefore, almost inevitable that during the anarchy of British retirement from Burma and the establishment of some sort of order under Japanese control or under Dr. Ba Maw's administration of an "independent" Burma, the Indians were victims of Burmese gangs bent on plunder and loot. It was quite possible that the gangsters made no distinction between the defenceless Burman and the defenceless Indian. But if the Indian and the Chinese were specially discriminated against, there was nothing to be surprised at. They were aliens, and the laws of modern war did not make a special case of the civilian population. It was only when the Azad Hind Government had been established in October, 1943, and had secured recognition of the Axis Powers in Europe and Asia and of their allies that the Indians in East Asia could feel secure and the Burmans came to recognize and accept them as friends and allies whose honour and interests were entitled to protection. Indians who had lived in Burma throughout this period have begun to hope that this new appreciation of the position of Indians in the composite life of Burma will open out a new chapter in the history of Indo-Burman relations, that the Burmans having shed their inferiority complex through a taste of the short-lived independence of their country will learn to look upon the Indians

as fellow pilgrims vowed to a common fight for the freedom of Asia. But it is a hope that will not be easy of realization, if the Burman and the Indian cannot work out the many antagonisms that have separated them since the British conquest of Burma.

Causes of anti-Indian feelings

These antagonisms centre round the material interests that Indians have built up in Burma as a subordinate agency of the British administrator and exploiter. It is also true that certain social habits and attitudes of Indians have stood in the way of their merging themselves into Burman society and being accepted into Burman society as citizens of the country. These have irritated relations, the Indian standing aloof with a hint of superiority in their pose, and the Burman resentful. What the latter had been forced to tolerate in the ruling race, they were not prepared to concede to the 'Kala', the foreigner from India. These were the basic elements of the conflicts and competitions that disfigured Indo-Burman relations during the last two decades. The anti-Indian riots were symptoms of a disease that lay in the unnatural relation subsisting between the two peoples. A book written by a Burman I. C. S., Mr. U. Kyaw Min, entitled—*The Burma We Love*—indicated certain of the material causes of the Indo-Burman conflict. The book was published by a Calcutta Publishing House; the Foreward was written on May 1, 1945 at Simla. It was intended to remove the "confusion of thought" that afflicted the Burman in his appreciation of the world situation in the heart of which he has been living. When the Indian first erupted into Burma in the wake of the British conqueror, (1824), the self-sufficient economy of the simple life of the country was all but intact. The industrial exploitation by Britain had not yet begun to touch and disrupt this economy. The Burman did not understand the evil propensity of this dual exploitation—political and economic. Neither did the Indian. Both were unconscious instruments of an aggressive civilization. Perhaps, even the Britisher was as unconscious and as ignorant. But by the end of the 19th century when Burma had been dyed completely 'red', the norms and forms of Burman life had been broken up, and increasing numbers of Burmans had been driven to seek employment in the avenues the new ruling race had built up. They found, however, that Indian labourers were already in possession of these avenues. The country had been opened up with their help ; the forests were cleared and the illimitable timber wealth of the country thrown on the market-places of the earth ; the ports of Burma were being worked ; her oil mines were attracting prospectors, mainly British. But in the hum of these activities the voice of the Burman could with difficulty be traced, and that of the Indian was significantly loud. Here was the seat of the conflict between the Indian and the Burman, between the Burman and the British. The Indian being the weaker of the two hated competitors, he became the first point of attack. This in a nut-shell was the history of the evolution of Burman nationalism. From Mr. Kyaw Min's book we can piece out the factors of this transformation. Taking the agrarian problem for an illustration we can quote from the book words that evidenced the feelings of his people. Mr. Kyaw Mfn was not unaware of the invaluable services that the South Indian Chetty had rendered to Burma by financing her agricultural operations. Every year they advanced Rs. 25 crores for the purpose. But the profit that they picked up was not inconsiderable.

"By 1937 half the lands of Lower Burma had been transferred to the Chettiyars

while a high percentage of the lands not yet transferred was well within their clutches. And all this despite the fact that in the course of years the sums originally lent by the Chettiyars had been repaid many times over by the Burmese farmers."

As Burma emerges out of Japanese occupation

This predominance of what is regarded as alien elements in Burma's life, whether British or Indian, was the exciting cause of the nationalism of Burma. The separation from India was regarded as the first mile-stone in the journey of Burma towards *Swaraj*. Japan's adventure in the country was just an episode that from certain points of view has strengthened the morale of the Burman people and enabled them to throw off the inferiority complex that characterizes every subject people. The experiences gathered during the period—1942 to May, 1945—have made new men and women of them, and all the ingenuity of British imperialism cannot persuade them to retrace their steps and accept political tutelage again. During the period of which we have been writing in this section of our study the organizations and personalities that had led the resistance movement in Burma both against British and Japanese imperialism had not come into the lime-light of extended knowledge. The names of the Burma Independence Army and of *Boh* Aung San have become familiar. We do not know yet through what tortuous routes they had to move during the anarchy of these years to preserve the strength of their people's determination, to maintain the position that they had attained under Japanese auspices. In August (1st August) 1943, Dr. Ba Maw as head of the free Burma Government declared war against the Anglo-American Powers. From that date to the 1st. February, 1945 he can be said to have exercised some sort of a modified sovereign power—the date on which Japan is said to have set up again a Military Government over Burma with a view to halt the advance of the Anglo-American forces which by that time had defeated the Japanese and Azad Hind Fauz in the Manipur and Arakan areas. But the exaltation of these years cannot but leave a permanent impress on the character of the Burman people. And we in India cannot have any other feeling than that of admiration of our neighbours to the immediate east who should regain their national self-respect and give concrete shape to it in the constitution of a free Burman State.

Dutch, U. S. and British Capitalism linked up in Indonesia

The same sympathetic appreciation goes to the freedom struggle in Indonesia, the people whereof, about 6 crores of them, have been waging a war against Dutch imperialism. Circumstanced as India is we cannot extend to Burma and Indonesia any help but sympathy. But our opposition to the use of Indian troops as instruments of British policy has had some effect. In directing our sympathy to the struggling nationalism of the Indonesian peoples we should do well to remember that Dutch opposition to the fulfilment of their national aspirations draws its strength from the imperialist power that holds us down. Rubber, sugar and oil make the wealth of these islands of the Dutch East, and for generations British capitalist interests have been linked up with their opposite numbers in Holland to jointly exploit the resources and labour power of this country. The result has been, as Owen Lattimore has said in his book—*Solution in Asia*—

"The Dutch Empire need not be treated separately because it is essentially a satellite empire. It could not exist without the British Empire, and developments within it after the war will move parallel to the movements within the British Empire, whether the movement be toward emancipation or toward an attempted permanent stabilization of the institution of empire."

World capitalism & its power

The months we have been dealing with threw into relief this link-up of the nationalist movement in India with that in Indonesia. As in our country, the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Gandhiji have stood forth as the instrument of Indian Nationalism, so in Indonesia we find Dr. Muhammed Soekarno becoming the centre of a revolt against Dutch imperialism. And the best help that we can render to Indonesian nationalism is to weaken the forces of British imperialism in our country. But the forces ranged against the consummation of the hopes of hundred of millions in this part of Asia are not limited to Britain and Holland alone. American observers have said that the Dutch have made a clever job of this affair. They have had not only British capital to support their regime, but powerful financial and industrial groups in America have been tempted to invest in these resources, and working through them the Dutch have been maintaining "a nominal Dutch colonial policy which is actually in large part the foreign policy of exported American and British capital". This disclosure throws new light on the happenings in Indonesia. British and Dutch military formations have been trying to beat down the nationalist forces in the islands; the United States forces are absent from the scene; the American Government appears to be studiously witholding military help to the imperialist forces of Britain and Holland. But the whole picture of anarchy in East Asia is so blurred, the Japanese retiring and the victorious United Nations coming in and pursuing them, that it is not easy to say or deny that the British and the Dutch would have dared go forward in an imperialist rampage without the tacit connivance of the United States Administration. The war years have shown that though Britain and Holland have been dependent on the help of America for their very existence, threatened as they were by Nazi and Japanese power, the President of the United States could not or did not assert his will with sufficient force to compel his imperialist allies to let go their hold on their so-called colonial possessions. For, by no definition of the word could India or Indonesia, for example, be regarded as colonies of Britain and Holland. The population of these two countries were and are not descendants of British or Dutch ancestors. The small number of people of British or Dutch birth who are to be found in India and Indonesia are part of an occupying force whether they be engaged in administration, in trade or in the military forces. The purpose of modern imperialism, of conquest of foreign countries, is more economic than political, more for extracting profits from the conquered countries than for remaining satisfied with demonstrating the martial power and glory of the imperial race. Lord Curzon let our people understand the significance of this change of ideas as between a conquering people and the conquered during modern times, when he told us that "administration and exploitation are parts of the same duty in the government of India". This policy placed the trader and the banker, the planter and the mine-owner,

the missionary and the educationist belonging to the ruling race, in the same category, all contributing in their different ways to the strength of the empire. This differentiation of functions did not weaken the central purpose of the whole arrangement. It rather helped the process of exploitation by keeping the attention of conquered peoples engaged in activities associated with the development of modern habits of life, with building up patterns of modern civilization and culture. The fascination and lure of these kept the subject peoples acquiescent in the superiority of the alien rulers, accepting their teachings as inspired by a civilising mission, and acknowledging the marks and notes of modern life, introduced by them, as superior to their own. This phase of conquest has nothing peculiar in it ; in every age and clime through the known history of the human race, the subject populations have been attempted to be transformed beyond recognition by the conquering peoples. Those amongst the former that had virility in their native values of life, and faith in these, could recapture the spirit of their free life and revolt against the alien values and standards. This has been the testimony of history. In India and Indonesia we are today witnesses to this phenomenon. But modern imperialism has some distinctive features that should be noted. Under the present dispensation it is the moneyed interests that dominate the scene, that dictate the policy of the ruling race. The late President Wilson of the United States who had led his country to the help of Britain and France in their war of survival against the Germany of Kaiser Wilhelm, indicated this distinctiveness in course of a speech delivered very soon after the termination of World War I. of the 20th century.

"The plans of the modern world are made in the counting house. Men who do the business of the world now shape the destinies of the world......The country is dominated by the capital invested in it. It is a fundamental idea that in proportion as foreign capital comes in and takes hold, foreign influence comes in and takes hold. Therefore, processes of capital are in a sense processes of conquest."

American capital in east Asia

This exposition of the moving force of modern life, of the power behind the throne, so to say, of the democratic world, in language so crystal clear, has a value of its own in interpreting and understanding the forces against which nationalist forces in Asia, east and west, have had to contend. In India, in Burma and in Indonesia, the imperialistf forces are being directed by leaders of armies at the dictation of world capitalism. The soldiers, the marines, the air-men may belong to countries under the control of Britain and Holland. But they are mere instruments in the hands of capitalism that owes allegiance to no particular country, that is international in the true sense of the term. We have seen how American capital has been invited by their opposite numbers among the Dutch to have an interest in the industries of Indonesia with a view to secure its powerful help in defence of their own particular interests in this particular area of the earth. The world may not detect the hands of American capital in the happenings in east Asia, in the opposition of Britain and Holland to the ambitions of Indian, Burman and Indonesian nationalists ; the State Department at Washington may be observing an aloof attitude towards this contest between Nationalism and Imperialism ;

American marines may not be found embarking on the shores of Java, as they did in South and Central America, to defend law and order. But it would be unrealistic to think that the American Government and the classes that uphold its authority and back up its adventures in world politics, are uninterested and disinterested observers of the fortunes of the epic fight that has been going on in India, in Burma, in Indonesia. In more than one volume of the *Indian Annual Register* of recent years we have made attempts to understand and explain the many influences, personal and impersonal, material and idealistic, that have been forcing the United States to place her resources at the service of British imperialism. Even in the present volume, in previous pages of this study, we have quoted keen students of affairs in support of our interpretation that there exists a link-up between British and American capitalist interests, forced thereto by what they feel to be a threat to their common interests. From a distant it may appear that American capital and British capital are competitive and antogonistic. Evidence of such competition is not difficult to find It is well-known that since American capitalism gained in strength after the Civil War in the sixties of the last century to have a surplus for export, it has been facing in all parts of the world the unexpressed antagonism of the dominant capitalism of world which was British. This capitalism had monopolised almost all the avenues of profit in all parts of the world, specially in Asia and Africa, and even in the Americas. It stood as a dead wall in front of other capitalisms. It took more than a quarter of a century for American capitalism to make a dent in it. German capitalism after its phenomenal rise at the end of the 1870 war between France and Germany with the help of the five milliards of reparations and exactions from defeated France found the same opposition. The end of the 19th century witnessed the recognition on the part of British capitalist interests that the days of their monopoly were nearing their end, that if they hoped to save a part of their monopoly from the competition of these two aspiring capitalisms, they must be prepared to share out with one of them. But this recognition could not be spontaneous ; it was grudging. It could not be expected that human nature would rise to such heights of disinterestedness. Even after vast blocks of Britain's capitalist interests had been liquidated to finance the first World War, it was found that in China British capital assets, used in the industrial and transport activities of this vast country, had a value of over Rs 400 crores, while the value of U. S A. assets rose hardly to Rs. 100 crores. These figures gave an indication of the comparative position of the strength of British and American capitalism in China, one of the most undeveloped countries in the world in the field of modern industrialism. But it was unmistakable that British capitalism was on the retreat, that U. S. A. capitalism was on the march forward in the land of China. The signs and symbols of this growing power could be seen in the number of young Chinese, men and women, who were crossing over to the United States for education in American Universities, preferring these new educational centres to the storied ones of Britain. It can be said with a certain assurance that most of the leaders of new China, the builders of her

new life and the fighters for her new freedom, have had their training in American institutions. We do not know how far this preference of America on the part of China's rising generation was conditioned by the ways of American democracy, how far it was the bitter fruit of a hundred years of British exploitation of China's weakness. But there cannot be any manner of doubt that the leaders of new China have built a new bridge of spiritual kinship between their country and the United States, that this would have profound influence on forging new material relations between the two countries separated by about ten thousand miles of the Pacific waters, that they will be the natural agents of American capitalist interests in opening out the untapped resources of their country to exploitation by modern science and technology. The war years have forged more intimate links between China and the United States. And the material and idealistic needs of both the countries would seek and find new expressions of their collaboration. We have shown in a previous volume of the *Annual Register* how the forward-looking organizers of American life have been building up the hopes of a fuller and richer material life for their own people by relating these to creating as progressive instruments for better life on the soil of China. They have been emphasising that the high standards of their own native life cannot be maintained if the purchasing power of the millions in China be not increased; that it is American finance, American science, American skill and technique that can help put up a bridge between better life in China with a far more better life in the United States. These hopes have a selfish as well an idealistic background to inspire conduct, to guide the leaders of the State in the U. S A. and of the leaders of the financial and industrial world in the great republic. The selfishness is all too apparent; the idealism has to be proved by concrete conduct in the future. For the ruling classes of America, and for the matter of that of every country, specially of the two countries that have emerged out of the recent war of continents and oceans as the most powerful of the States in the "atom bomb" age, the United States of America and the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics, the leaders of these two countries have to prove that they can control and transform the intoxication of power into an instrument of good not only for their own peoples but for the peoples of the world. For, as destiny has been driving the United States into entanglements in the concerns of East Asia, her leadership both in State and commerce will be brought into closer relation with their opposite numbers in the Soviet Union. And it will require all their combined wisdom that they do not collide. There is an element of fear in this development. For human nature has not shown itself capable of this self-restraint. Human nature in the United States and in the Soviet Union will have to pioneer a new path before humanity if it is not to crash again into a greater war of ideologies and practices, driven there into by racial, national and economic grievances of the silent peoples of the world who have been suffering mutely during the last two centuries, and whom the British predominance over world affairs during this period has not given any chance to assert their self-respect, to co-operate in the great work of human redemption from the squalor and indignity of a life which modern science could have done if its votaries have had not to prostitute their knowledge for the service of arrogant racialism.

The end of the war in Europe and the near end of it in East Asia

have naturally generated these hopes and fears in Europe, in Asia, in Africa and the Americas. Because the development of political and economic equality has been unequal in most countries of the world. In Asia and Africa specially, European nations, big and small, have established a system of rule that has kept depressed their political and economic conditions. The United States has not joined in this game ; neither has it refused to have a share of its profits. Peace and order have been the objectives of its policy in Asia and Africa as in South America—peace and order that will stabilize the iniquitous system of exploitation by native or foreign agencies of the weaker peoples of the world. The United States did not protest against it as she did against the policy that might threaten to exclude her from a share of the loot. Owen Lattimore in his book to which we have already referred has reminded his country that "the rise of Japan was on the whole favoured both by the American Government and by American public opinion."

Seat of U. S. A. policy

"In this Anglo-American doctrine of 'me too' (implict in the Open Door policy) lay hidden the flaw that fatally weakened our opposition to Japan's encroachments in China. *In the whole record of our protests to Japan, Britain and America never once contested Japan's right to make demands on China.* We only protested that privileges acquired by Japan should not exclude us. (*The italics are ours*).

This selfishness of Anglo-American policy enabled Japan to point the finger of scorn to the record of the Western Powers in their dealings with Asiatic peoples, to pose as the natural protector of Asia's self-respect and Asia's interests against the pretensions and encroachments of Western nations. Anglo-American policy since the victory of Japan over Russia in the 1904-'5 war appeared to have been moved by the idea that the former could now be trusted to act as the defender of all the politico-economic interests of Western peoples acquired at the cost of eastern Asiatic peoples at the point of the bayonet and the gun. Benjamin Kidd in his well-known book—*Principles of Western Civilization*—has said : "the competitive exploitation of Chinese resources proceeds in an environment of international intrigue, of social squalor and moral outrage and degradation almost without equal in history." American entrepreneurs did have a share in this dirty business and were not averse from sharing the profits thereof. By the time of this war the leading countries of the Western World came to accept Japan as "a good watch dog against Russia", and for this service were prepared to overlook her adventures directed against her neighbours, specially against China. The Anglo-Japanese treaty (1902-03) renewed about ten years later is an illustration of western recognition of this new status of the Mikado's Kingdom. A paragraph in the Lansing-Ishii exchange of notes (1917) read :

Japan as a subordinate partner

"The Governments of the United States and Japan recognize that territorial propinquity creates special relations between countries, and consequently, the Government of the United States recognises that Japan has special interests in China, particularly in that part to which her possessions are contiguous."

Heartened by this recognition Japan had gone ahead with advancing her "special interests in China", and the United States and Britain had to look on in helplessness as Japan started building up her "co-prosperity sphere" in eastern Asia. We do not know when and why the former (the United States) began to get troubled about the tendency of Japanese

Japan's expansive forces

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ambitions, as also why and when Japan decided to remain no longer satisfied with the subordinate position that the Anglo-American ruling classes had decreed for her. We are sure that it was the expansive forces developing inside Japan, her expansive trade and extending mercantile navy, her increasing population, for instance—it was these forces of social dynamics that forced her to seek and find outlets for these. And as these collided with the same forces in the Western World, a collision became inevitable. The Pearl Harbour adventure was an accident in this sense that late or soon such an adventure would have taken place The tense relations between the capitalist democracies that were - satisfied with the order of things in East Asia and the aspiring people of Japan whose one chance of realising their ambitions lay in disturbing the *status quo* and in course of this disturbance snatching at the holdings of the European nations in East Asia, opened out the possibility of such a development. France's surrender in Europe, the conquest of Holland by Germany, Japan's ally, left their eastern possessions the play-things of fate, waiting for new masters. Japan being near at hand, quite naturally stepped forward to act as their guardian and protector. This was a scheme to which the United States appeared to have had the greatest objection. The proximate cause of the war in East Asia could be traced to this opposition. Now that with the impending defeat of Japan, the pre-war status of these possessions were on the point of being restored, the responsibility of the United States becomes inescapable in tracing their political and economic destiny. Specially when it is remembered that it was her resources that defeated Japan's plan for a "co-prosperity sphere" in this region of the earth, that without her help, more indirect than direct, without her connivance the "ancient regime" cannot return to them.

Resistance movement in Burma and Indonesia

During the period under discussion, January to June, 1945, the problem posed above did not take the forms of tension that they have assumed since then. The 'resistance movement" in Burma had at first solidified itself under Japanese auspices directed against the established imperialism ; later it turned against the new usurper and helped in driving Japanese forces from Burma. A remarkable leader had been thrown out by it in Major-General Aung San whom the British military authorities had to give some sort of a recognition. In Indonesia, almost the same development took place. Dr. Muhammed Soekarno is reported to have co-operated with the Japanese conquerors. But when they were being pushed out, he took the lead in transforming the resistance movement into one for the assertion of the national rights of the Indonesians against the pretensions and usurpations of the Dutch rulers. Combined with India's resistance to British rule, these may be said to constitute the anti-imperialist front in East Asia, India holding a central position influencing and being influenced by what has been happening in Arab lands and in East Asiatic countries. But for a fuller picture of the whole movement in Asia, developments in China and in Soviet Asia have to be placed in the canvas.

Soviet Union declares war against Japan

The people of China and of the Soviet Asia do not directly come into the picture we have traced in this paragraph, though the manner in which they will be reacting to the post-war Asiatic up-surge will powerfully influence world history in the making. By June, 1945, it was apparent that China's day of

deliverance from Japanese invasion was drawing near, that the Soviet Union relieved of the German threat will be turning its attention to the Pacific region. The question came to be canvassed that the leaders of this country may not care to take part in delivering the last blows that would shatter Japanese resistance ; it was also urged that they could not afford to neglect this opportunity of having their say in deciding the fate of Japan when the victorious Powers sat down to do this job. Marshal Stalin and his advisers chose the latter course ; declared war against Japan by the end of July, 1945. This act of theirs, judged from the angle of private morality, would be characterized as mean, a thing that is not done in decent society. But international morality, the relation between States and States, is regulated by other standards. Specially when the partisanship of the leaders of the United Nations is in the ascendant today, the Soviet Union need fear no adverse judgment to be expressed widely against her for what appears to be a betrayal of the elementary decencies of associated life. The enormity of the offence will be realized when it is remembered that for a little over four years there had been a Neutrality Pact between the Soviet Union and Japan ; that both the signatories had observed it during these years, each for his own particular interest ; that Japan could have endangered the very existence of the Soviet Union when the latter was reeling under the terrible blows of the Nazi war machine. But for her own reasons Japan restrained herself when she could have helped her Axis ally, Germany, in shattering Russian resistance, and perhaps, in winning the war. Why did Japan do this, the future historian will tell us. Further, when the leaders of the Kremlin declared war against Japan, she was as good as defeated ; the Manchurian campaign of the Soviet forces did not affect the fortunes of war in any way ; it did not hasten the day of Japan's surrender. The Soviet Union would have heightened her prestige by observing the Neutrality Pact and by restraining the temptations offered her by the Anglo-Saxon Powers at Yalta and Potsdam. This episode has not attracted attention because in the delirium of the victory, the voice of moral judgment has been silenced. We are afraid that this is a bad beginning for the new world order, and is calculated to make men and women into cynics.

Sino-Russian relations

Russia's entry into the war against Japan has assured her a place at the peace table that will decide the latter's fate. Whether this step will minimize complications in eastern Asia affairs is more than one can say. It has to be said to the credit of Russia that she did not take advantage of China's difficulties as an opportunity to advance her own particular interests at China's expense. What she has done in Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang is a little too complicated for general understanding. Owen Lattimore has stressed the point that during pre-Pearl Harbour days, when China was playing a lone hand against Japanese aggression, the Soviet Union had been sending arms and equipments to the Central Government authorities of China and not to the communists in the country who were ideologically bound to them. This fact should be a centre of hope for the eventual reorganization of China's life battered by eight years of war. It may be that the ruling classes of the United States will be willing and anxious to extend help to China in this work and link up the prosperity of China with their own. But the Soviet East being the nearer neighbour

will influence developments in China in ways that are not predictable today. The patterns of better life that the Soviet Union's leaders have built up in their east of the Baikal areas cannot but exert that 'politics of attraction' which is a natural process of enlightenment and education. The better life of the common people in the Soviet Asia will attract the attention and lead to its imitation by their neighbours in China across the border lines. Against such inter-communication there cannot be any quarantine. It may quite happen that the leaders of the Soviet Union may not long tolerate the dominance of American thought and life over the evolution of a free and better China. Then will come the real test of the triangular statesmanship of the United States, of the Soviet Union and of China. There may be conflict, there may be co-operation. Points of conflict are there, enough and to spare, between the three peoples ; for instance, Korea may well be as good a starting-point of it as Serbia was in 1914 and Danzig in 1939. The world can only hope that the lesson of these two world wars will have been learnt.

The prospect, bright or dark, sought to be sketched above, has to be understood. And above all it has to be recognized that China has become one of the great Powers of the world. She may not be so in fact, but San Francisco has indicated her path of destiny, the destiny that the founder of her modern greatness, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, laid down for her. He had envisaged three stages in his country's political evolution—military unification, political tutelage and constitutional democracy. Military unification is usually regarded as having started from the establishment of the Nanking Government (1928). Political tutelage, the training of the people in the democratic forms of government suitable to modern times, has been prolonged owing to Japanese aggresion, a National Assembly being difficult to convene owing to enemy occupation of vast areas of the country. President Chiang Kai-shek has announced that arrangements are being made to convene the National Assembly on November 12, 1945, the 80th anniversary of the birth of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The draft constitution of the State was based on *San Min Chu I.—Three Principles of the People*—laid down by Dr. Sun. His son Dr. Sun Fo and President of the Legislative Yuan (Council), has described these for us :

China's destiny—indicated by Sun Yat-sen

"To understand why we should provide in our Constitution that our Republic is a *San Min Chu I.* Republic, we must first grasp what *San Min Chu I.* really means. It consists of three principal parts......The purpose of *Min Tsu Chu I.* (nationalism) is to make China an entirely independent State free from the control of any other country or nation. The purpose of *Min Chuan Chu I.* (democracy) is to make China a really democratic State in which its sovereignty will be vested in the body of its citizens. The purpose of *Min Sheng Chu I.* (people's livelihood) is to improve our social and economic system so that all the people will be able to find means of satisfying their livelihood and their rights of existence. Although this is the simplest and most rudimentary interpretation of *Sun Min Chu I*, yet it is precisely what this great doctrine means and it is precisely what we want China to be.

China may be said to have freed herself from foreign political control. This should strike the world's attention first of all. Never having had to acknowledge foreign sovereignty, as India has been doing for the last 185 years and more, she has had to struggle for about 100 years to throw off the shackles of foreign control, economic and indirectly

"The Principles of the People"

political. Her gallant struggle against European aggression, against Japanese aggression, has restored her position in the comity of modern nations as one of its leaders. The First Principle of Chinese Nationalism has justified its assertion. The other two—democracy and people's livelihood—have yet to come by their own. The draft constitution of the democratic government of China has been produced by a committee of eminent jurists under the chairmanship of Dr. Sun Fo, appointed in December, 1932 by the Central Executive of the Kuomintang, after a labour of about three years. There have been seven revisions of it since then. Under it there will be a People's Congress of 1,800 to 2,000 delegates elected for a term of six years by citizens of 20 years of age through the method of universal, equal and direct suffrage, and secret ballot. The powers and functions of the Congress include the election of the Head of the State, the President, and of the Vice-President. The President will be the Commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Republic of China. The power of the government will be vested in five organs—(1) the Executive *Yuan* whose President, Vice-President and members will be appointed by the President of the Republic and removable by him ; (2) the Legislative *Yuan* whose President, Vice-President and members (about 270 in number) will be elected by the People's Congress every three years ; (3) the Judicial *Yuan* whose President and Vice-President will be appointed to office for a term of three years by the President of the Republic but who wfll be responsible to and may be recalled by the People's Congress ; (4) the Examination *Yuan* will determine the qualifications of and select candidates for public service whose President and Vice-President will be appointed by the President of the Republic, will hold offiice for three years and be responsible to the People's Congress ; (5) the Control *Yuan* in which are vested the power of impeachment and audit ; its President, Vice-President and members will be elected by the People's Congress and be responsible to it. Thus it happens that the ultimate power of the people of China is the bed-rock of the China Republic ; the People's Congress is its forum : only its members can initiate and hold referanda on laws and can amend the Constitution. The President will convene it once every three years, its session continuing for a month only. The infrequency of its sittings and the short session detract from the usefulness of the Congress as the repository of the people's power.

Kuomintang and Communists

This democratic constitution has yet to come and to function. Apart from the difficulties caused by the long war against Japan, internal differences in China constitute the greatest obstacle to China's peaceful evolution to the constitutional democracy planned by Dr. Sun Fo's Committee. The Central Government at Chungking and the Communist regime in Yenan represent two forces, Nationalism and Communism, that have yet to come on a common platform in China. For about a year and more the Chiang Kai-shek Administration has been subjected to criticism even in the Press of the United States that it has not been pulling its full weight in the war against Japan. Major-General Hurley, U. S. A. ambassador to the Central Government of China, made strenuous efforts to reconcile the view-points of the Nationalist and Communist leaders but without success, President Chiang Kai-shek insisting that no political agreement was possible so long as the Communists maintained their own

armed forces. From the admirers and the supporters of the Yenan regime came the reply that the perfection of the guerilla technique of fighting has been the special contribution of Chinese Communists to the total resistance against Japanese aggression, that their agrarian policy and educational activities have initiated a reform movement among ten crores of Chinese people that must be the pattern for any Government in China that would hope to convert their people into a strong-hold of the new world order that would emerge out of the war in which China is expected to play the role of one of the "Big Five"—the five leaders of the United Nations Organization. Whether or not China will peacefully evolve towards such a consummation will depend upon the developments—unity in China, the policy of the Soviet leaders, and how far the United States will be prepared to go in upholding the Nationalist regime. The first has not yet come. And it will not come till the Soviet Union and the United States between them can arrange to unify their divergent interests and policies.

Russia & United States must unify their policy

And in this business the fact must be early recognized that the former holds the trump card owing to her physical propinquity to China, and that there are other peoples in Asia stretching from the Pacific to the Black Sea, to the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea with whom the Soviet peoples are linked up in various ways. We have indicated in previous pages certain of the lines of this inter-relation that have yet to be made straight. Britain and the Soviet Union are more concerned with developments in and about the north-west Asiatic countries on these central seas. But in China, the United States has established a particular position; she appears to be holding the key to the solution of many of China's problems, internal and external. But even internally China cannot sit down to initiate reforms and reconstruction if the Soviet Union and the United States do not come to an understanding. If the Soviet Union is fully and sincerely satisfied in East Asia, the communists in China will have no reason to be always against the Central Government of their country. Owen Lattimore indicates the elements of Soviet strength in this area, and how his own country should behave under the given circumstances.

"Russia holds the key position at the top of the Pacific, looking down on Japan and touching both China's North-eastern Provinces and Korea. Either by agreement, or if we do not make that possible, by unilateral action, Russia will develop the strongest land-based air-power in North Pacific and a navy and a merchant marine in the Pacific. We cannot isolate or encircle Russia. The Soviet-Chinese land-frontier is as immune to interference from us as the Canadian-American frontier is immune to Russian interference. Russia's political leverage in Korea, and in the long run in Japan, can be made much greater than ours......"

India fights for democracy without its privileges

Here should end our interpretation of events in the outer world as it faces the situation created by the end of the war in Europe and its near-end in Asia. This back-ground of contemporary history may not appear to have had any bearing on the developments in India. In a vicarious way we may feel immediately affected by what have been happening in Arab lands, in Iran, in China. The accident of a million Indians seeking their fortunes in Burma will confront us with a complex situation where the fight will be concerned with the defence of the material interests

built up by Indians in Burma during the last six or seven decades. The political developments in the Arab lands may excite our Muslim neighbours. and may as a long-range affair influence our internal and external affiliations in the near future. So may the Soviet Union's policies in Iran and Afghanistan, in the Autonomous Mountain Badakhstan Region of Soviet Tajikistan, hitherto known as the Pamirs, the Roof of the World, separated from Kashmir by a ten-mile strip of Afghanistan, play their part in Indo-Russian affairs when India will have a foreign policy of her own. But the developments in India during the first six months of 1945 were not conditioned by any of these extra-Indian considerations. The British bureaucracy with the support of the Churchill Government had helped to maintain a deadlock in India. They had declared that they could do nothing to ease the political tension in India during the war years, engaged as their country was in a war of survival. Thus was developed in India "the paradoxical situation by which India as part of the British Empire is being forced to fight for democracy, while being informed that she is not yet ready to enjoy its privileges" (*New York Times*). This policy has continued through the war years, and even after the end of the war in Europe which almost coincided with the time discussed in this volume of the *Annual Register*, the situation has not changed. And the political deadlock in India was stabilized by the use of an excuse that is part of all imperialistic arguments. Through Lord Linlithgow's statement made on the 7th. August, 1940, it was given out to the world. In the context of developments in India in June, 1945, on which we propose to make comments later on, extracts from that statement should be recalled today. It will be a rather long quotation.

"It is clear that the earlier differences which had prevented the achievement of national unity remain unbridged. Deeply as his Majesty's Government regret this, they do feel that they should not any longer, because of these differences, postpone the expansion of the Governor-General's Council............They have authorized me accordingly to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join my Executive Council......

"The conversations which have taken place and the resolutions of the bodies which I have just mentioned (Congress Working Committee, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha) make it clear, however, that there is still in certain quarters doubt as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government for the constitutional future of India, and there is doubt, too, as to whether the position of minorities, whether political or religious, is sufficiently safeguarded in relation to any constitutional change by the assurance already given. There are two main points that have emerged......

"The first is as to the position of minorities in relation to any future constitutional scheme. It has already been made clear that my declaration of last October does not exclude an examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or on the policy and plans on which it is based.

"His Majesty's Government's concern that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in any revision has also been brought out. It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a government.

"The second point of general interest is the machinery for building, within the British Commonwealth of Nations, a new constitutional scheme when the time comes. There has been very strong insistence that the framing of that scheme should be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life.

"His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with that desire and wish to see

it given the fullest practical expression subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed upon her and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility.

"It is clear that the moment when the Commonwealth is engaged in a struggle for existence is not one in which fundamental constitutional issues can be decisively resolved. But His Majesty's Government authorise me to declare that they will most readily assent to the setting up after the conclusion of the war, with the least possible delay, of a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life in order to devise the frame-work of the new constitution, and they will lend every aid in their power to hasten decisions on all relevant matters to the utmost degree."

Policy of divide & rule

The implications of this declaration impinging both on the political and constitutional problems of India have been disastrous so far as her majority and minority question is concerned. For too long has it been known that the representatives of British power in India have been used to making the minority question an instrument in their hands for delaying and halting the arrival of democratic freedom in India. The literature on the subject with regard to this policy and its reactions on human relations as between communities and communities in India, as between sects and sects, as between castes and castes, as between classes and classes has grown into a library, and to many a publicist in India the subject has become quite nauseating to handle. For more years than we care to remember, this game has been going on with a certain similarity in its various moves and counter-moves that the Indian publicist could predict without looking at any British proposal for the resolution of the political deadlock in India and without analysing its various implications that human relations in India will be further poisoned, that all the implicit conceits and ambitions, all the dissatisfactions and memories of wrongs, will be revived, and the British authorities will be driven to announce the failure of their well-meant devices to persuade the various elements in India's national life to co-operate in building up the freer and better India of their dreams and aspirations. This story of attempts and their failures has become a part of the controversy between British Imperialism and Indian Nationalism. Not to go further back than the war years—1939 to 1945—no observer of developments in India can help being struck by the repetition of the same formula and its rejection for one reason or other by all the major parties in India. This happens because the British bureaucracy have made promises to nationalists and communalists in India that cannot from the very nature of the case be reconciled with one another. Their practice in this behalf speaks more than any words that they may utter in course of formal declarations of their policy. To illustrate this double-dealing, Lord Zeatland, the then Secretary of State for India, can be quoted. Speaking in the House of Lords on the 14th April (1940), his lordship made much of the fact that there was no disposition on the part of the British Parliament and the British Government to dictate the constitution-making procedure for India; "admittedly a substantial measure of agreement amongst the communities in India is essential........." and British anxiety in this behalf was given expression to by saying

"I cannot believe that any Government or Parliament in this country would attempt to impose by force upon, for example, 80 Muslim subjects of His Majesty in India, a form of constitution under which they would not live peacefully and contentedly."

Without impugning the sincerity of Lord Zetland's anxiety for the Muslims of India, the Indian is likely to look upon this plea as a charter of intransigence granted to the Muslims of India.

Spoilt children of Indian politics

Lord Zetland forgot that the Ramsay Macdonald "Communal Award" was imposed on the majority population by "force", that the British Government knowing all the facts of the case had turned the blind eye on the problem of minorities in India other than the Muslims ; that the fears and anxieties of these minorities in areas where the Muslims are a majority, as they are in North-West India and in certain parts of Bengal and Assam, had not weighed with them while deciding their policy with regard to inter-communal relations in India. If they felt that they owed responsibilities for the minorities in India, for their better life, they should have showed equal concern for all of them. Instead, what they have been doing has made the Muslims of India the spoilt children of Indian politics, petted and pampered by British bureaucracts. There is an element of ludicrous tragedy as one watched Mr. Jinnah and his followers enjoying the transaction of being sought after both by British Imperialism and Indian Nationalism, driving the hardest bargains out of it. The permanent President of the All-India Muslim League illustrates in his own life this game. The weak-kneed policy of the Indian National Congress in the matter of the "Communal Award", neither accepting it nor rejecting it, emboldened the policy-makers of the Muslim League to claim that the less than 25 per cent of the Indian population that the Muslim League happens to represent are equal to the more than 60 per cent whom the Indian National Congress stands for. The League leaders make a parade of their contempt for "arithmetical democracy", while they base their demands made in the Lahore (1940) resolution on "the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority" to constitute 'independent States', autonomous and sovereign. The British bureaucracy has in the pursuit of its particular interests felt unable to discourage these pretensions ; the Indian National Congress has simply ignored these from its superior arrogance. It is this attitude both on the part of the upholders of British interests in India and of the leadership of Indian Nationalism that has inflated the conceit and greed of the Muslim League. During the period we have been dealing with, Lord Wavell, the Governor-General of India, made with the sanction of the London Government an announcement of certain formulas of constitutional reconstruction in India. One of these was that in the proposed formation of a new Executive Council by His Excellency, there would be an equal proportion of Muslim representatives with those of "Hindus other than members of the Scheduled Castes." Lord Wavell did not care to explain why he and the London Government did feel that this would be an equitable arrangement, and when did this policy dawn up on their minds. He appeared to convey the impression to the world at large that this had been for long an arrangement known to and accepted by all the elements in India's life, specially by the majority population, the Hindus of India. We know and the world should know that the British Government and Lord Wavell had simply traded on the world's ignorance and on the weaknesses of Indian society when they launched this "parity" contrivance of theirs. We also know that the Muslim League leaders have since

1940 been throwing out tentative suggestions and claims to familiarize the Indian people with this idea of "parity". In a letter addressed to the Private Secretary of the then Governor-General, dated Simla, 1st of July, 1940, Mr. Jinnah enclosed "a rough note of the points" he had discussed with Lord Linlithgow in course of an interview held on June 27, 1940. "The "note" was sent at the desire of His Excellency. In this "note" was found the claim made by the League leader in support of "parity" between the Congress and the League. We quote from it.

"Provisionally and during the period of the war, the following steps should be taken to comply with the formula, namely, co-operation with the Government with equal share in the authority of the Government.

(a) That the Executive Council of the Viceroy should be enlarged within the frame-work of the present constitutional existing law, the additional number to be settled by further discussion, but it being understood *that the Muslim representation must be equal to that of the Hindus if the Congress comes in*, otherwise they should have the majority of the additional members, as it is obvious that the main burden and the responsibility will be borne by the Mussulmans in that case." (*Italics ours*).

Lord Linlithgow argues with Mr. Jinnah

To this "tentative proposal" made by Mr. Jinnah in course of a personal talk with the Governor-General, we do not know what reply was given; neither do we know if Lord Linlithgow kept a record of his conversations with Indian public men and how these had struck him. On the 6th of July (1940) we have, however, a reply to it in which appear words that described the Linlithgow reactions to Mr. Jinnah's demand.

"It is not a case of striking a balance between the different interests or of preserving the proportion between the important parties. As you yourself indicated in the course of our conversation, there are parties other than either the Congress or the Muslim League who may fairly claim to be considered for inclusion, and there is a very definite limit of numbers to any possible expansion.........

"There is, however, as you will see from my explanation, no question of responsibility falling in greater or less degree on any particular section. Responsibility will be that of the Governor-General-in-Council as a whole.......

Desai-Liaqat Ali Pact

This soft reply from Lord Linlithgow did not turn Mr. Jinnah from the purpose he had set before himself to grasp. He must have had an assurance that British policy would help him to do it. He also counted on the eagerness of the leadership of the Indian National Congress for an "united front" against British imperialism to extract his pound of flesh. The endorsement by Gandhiji of the Rajagopalachari formula encouraged him to hope that his "tentative proposal" of 1940 was near finding a place in the constitutional arrangement that must be made sooner or later as soon as the war ended. He was strengthened in this belief by the initiative taken by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party in the Central Assembly and leader of the Opposition in it, to come to some sort of an understanding with the League through Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan with a view to present Lord Wavell with a joint demand. It came out later that Mr. Desai had secured Gandhiji's approval of these negotiations. The Indian Press began speculating on these during the early months of 1945, during the months when the Central Legislature had been sitting. But the participants in these, and their principals, Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah, tried to discourage public curiosity either by silence or by *suggestio falsi*. The most sinister part of these negotiations was that Mr. Desai was

persistent in his silence and Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, the deputy leader of the League Parliamentary Party, was sleek in his denials and evasions. Even now it cannot be proved by documentary evidence that there was any such negotiation or any such Pact. But New Delhi speculations were as persistent and as elaborate that there had been negotiations, that there was a Pact which conceded the demand of Mr. Jinnah that the Muslim League must have equal representation with the Indian National Congress in any Central and Provincial Executive that might be formed. And it was suggested at the time that with this "Pact" in his pocket, Lord Wavell went to London about the middle of April, 1945, with a view to seek the advice of the Churchill Government for taking steps to end the political dead-lock in India. An episode, and a tragic episode, should be recalled in this connection to emphasise once again that politics is a cruel game to which the most well-intentioned of men are often offered as sacrifice. In the present instance, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai had Gandhiji's blessings in his negotiations with Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan. In course of a statement made on Lord Wavell's broadcast made on June 14, 1945 Gandhiji said: "I am not ashamed of the part I played in advising Shri Bhulabhai Desai when he consulted me about his proposal. Shri Bhulabhai Desai's proposal, as I understood it, attracted me as one interested in solving the communal tangle, and I assured him that I would use my influence with the members of the Working Committee and give reasons for acceptance of his proposal......" At the time when negotiations were afoot for the "Desai-Liaqat Ali understanding" (Gandhiji's own words), criticism of the stipulations of the "Pact" was vehement and the brunt of it fell on Mr. Desai, and even Gandhiji did not lift his little finger to save him from this denunciation or to moderate its cruelty and vehemence. And when the members of the Congress Working Committee, after their release, were called upon to face the commitments made in the Desai-Liaqat Ali Pact, and they refused to endorse it, Gandhiji could not protect him from the raw deal at their hands. Evidence of this came out when Mr. Desai's name was omitted from the list of names submitted during the Simla Conference to Lord Wavell to be included in his interim Executive Council. It was talked of at the time that the Governor-General was anxious to have him, but the interdict of the Congress Working Committee stood in the way. It has been suggested that this blow to his self-esteem became too much for the frail body of Mr. Desai, and in dignified silence he pined away to death. His defence of the three officers of the Indian National Army at their trial at the Red Fort of Delhi, his masterly presentation of the defence case, was the autumnal glow of a great Indian life hastening towards departure from the field of its mundane activities. That its last hours should have been embittered by a sense of injustice received at the hands of his fellow-workers is one of the tragedies that are a part of human existence. Neither is he the first nor the last of Indian public men and publicists whom the ungratefulness of their generation has sent to their death with memories tarnished by indiscretions or well-meant actions that in politics are sometimes worse than crimes, stigmatized very often as the betrayal of a national cause. Bhulabhai Desai's misfortune consisted in this that he could not realise what he was risking when he

agreed to accept the position that the Indian National Congress, a national organization if there was one in India, was equal to the All-India Muslim League, a communal organization. Perhaps, he thought that Gandhiji would share the risk and would be able to shield him from the displeasure of the dominant members of the Working Committee of the Congress. Perhaps, he would have outlived the unpopularity as Gopal Krishna Gokhale had done and as Mr. Rajagopalachari appears to be doing. But fate has ordained otherwise, and Bhulabhai Desai has been called to eternal rest before this healing process has had opportunity to regain him his due place of honour in the estimation of his people.

Simla Conference personnel

This personal tragedy apart, the commitments made in the Desai-Liaqat Ali Pact will be pursuing us for many a day, injuring the permanent interests of India. The sinister use made by the British Government of this demand by Mr. Jinnah became manifest in the statement of Lord Wavell which was issued on June 14, 1945, foreshadowing the new attempt on the part of the bureaucracy to solve the political problem of India. He invited certain leaders of public life in the country to a Conference to be held at Simla on the 25th of June (1945) to "advise" him in setting up a new Executive Council with members "more representative of organized political opinion" in the country. To this Conference were invited the following persons :

"Those now holding office as Premier in a Provincial Government ; or, for Provinces under section 93 Government, those who last held the office of Premier. The leader of the Congress party and the deputy leader of the Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly ; the leaders of the Congress Party and of the Muslim League Party in the Council of State ; also the leaders of the Nationalist Party and the European group in the Assembly.

"Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah as the recognized leaders of the two main political parties.

"Rao Bahadur N. Shiva Raj to represent the scheduled classes.

'Mr. Tara Singh to represent the Sikhs."

Constitution and functions of the Council

The Conference was considered by Lord Wavell and the London Government to be "the best means of forming such a Council", the Council that was to represent "the main communities" ; it would, if and when formed, work "under the existing constitution" ; it would be "an entirely Indian Council, except for the Viceroy and the Commander-in-chief who would retain his position as War Member" ; it was also proposed that "the portfolio of External Affairs which had hitherto been held by the Viceroy, would be placed in charge of an Indian member of Council, so far as the interests of British India are concerned ; it was re-asserted that "there can be no question of the Governor-General agreeing not to exercise his constitutional power of control ; but it will, of course, not be exercised unreasonably". The "main tasks" set before the Council would be : "First, to prosecute the war with Japan with the utmost energy till Japan is utterly defeated ; secondly, to carry on the Government of British India with all the manifold tasks of post-war development in front of it until a new permanent constitution can be agreed upon and come into force ; thirdly, to consider, when the members of the Government think it possible, the means by which such agreement can be achieved." Lord Wavell assured the world that they regarded the "third task" as "most

important", that they "have not lost sight of the need for a long term solution," and that "the present proposals are intended" to lead to that cherished goal.

"Stereo-typing religious division

This in summary was the Plan with which Lord Wavell returned from Britain after staying there for about ten weeks, discussing with the Secretary of State, Mr. Leopold Amery, and his advisers the various aspects of the Indian situation. As the war in Europe had ended, it was thought necessary that the 1940 promise of making an attempt to solve the political deadlock in India should be implemented, the promise to re-examine the constitutional position to follow the end of the war. His Excellency with the approval of the British Government thought it necessary to re-iterate that the Plan he was putting forward was not "an attempt to impose a constitutional settlement", that it was for "the leaders of the Indian parties" to remove the "main stumbling-block" to constitutional progress by a "settlement of the communal issue". This was a pose of British non-interference that would be hard to justify. The British Government twisted the whole problem by laying it down that "the proposed new Council.........would include equal proportions of caste Hindus and Muslims." This fatal clause was an imposition by the British Government, if not of British make. It is true that Mr. Bhulabhai Desai had with the approval of Gandhiji entered into some sort of an arrangement with the Muslim League General Secretary, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, accepting Congress "parity", with the League ; it is true that the Committee of Non-Party experts headed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had been thinking on the lines of Caste Hindu-Muslim parity conditional on the abolition of "separate electorates" for Muslims. It would be a travesty of truth to say that any section of Congress members or any significant section of Caste Hindus had agreed to abide by either of these two proposals. It has yet to be explained why the British Government rejected the Bhulabhai Desai-Liaqat Ali "understanding" and why did they choose the Sapru recommendation minus the condition which gave it any value—the condition that Hindus and Muslims would seek one another's votes, killing at the root the temptation to appeal to religious frenzy and fanaticism, the temptation to slang one another's habits of life and thought which "separate electorates" have encouraged. In selecting a device for India's constitutional advance, why did the British Government choose the one that antagonized and harmed the Hindus and pampered the Muslims ? Why could not they draw out from the body politic of India the poison which they themselves had introduced on the occasion of the Minto-Morley constitutional changes ? That would have proved their *bonafide*, their spirit of goodwill that recognized, a wrong and tried to eliminate it. Instead, what the Wavell Plan did was a fresh attempt to "stereotype religious division on the eve of independence", to quote Gandhiji's words exposing the dishonesty of the whole thing. By no stretch of deft handling of English words could the Wavell Plan of Caste Hindu-Muslim "parity" be recognized as an attempt to avoid imposing a constitutional settlement by the British Government. This "parity" business, this attempt to make about 60 per cent of the population of India equal to less than 25 per cent of its population, as the Caste Hindu and Muslim ratio stands today, is a British device being sought to be forced on the former at the point of the bayonet. Lord Wavell, the soldier that he is, ought to

have been equal to the unpleasant job of declaring that the device of "parity" between the Caste Hindus and Muslims of India was a British necessity which could not afford to do justice or to follow democratic principle and practice. That would not have weakened opposition to his Plan, it is true. But it would enhance respect for his honesty. Soldier or politician, there is nothing to choose between them when material interests need defence.

Sinister move behind this "parity" arrangement

And the subterfuges that the British bureaucracy and its propagandists have been using to create the impression that this Caste Hindu-Muslim "parity" was implicit in the very nature of the socio-political situation in India has not been exposed in all their ugliness. By a fiat of the British Government this "parity" was imposed. Having divided the country's political representation into communal grooves and compartments, it was not quite honest to speak of representation of "political opinion", as Lord Wavell did. The Secretary of State for India Mr. Leopold Amery, speaking on the same date (June 14, 1945) as Lord Wavell, spoke of the appointment to the Governor-General's Executive Council from amongst "leaders of Indian political life.........in proportions which would give a balanced representation of the main communities, including equal proportions of Muslims and Caste Hindus." And as there was no organization in India representative of the "Caste Hindus," as the Nationalists among Hindus had never felt the need for organizing themselves on such a narrow platform, and the British Government was in need of such an organization to carry out their policy of balance, they fell on the Indian National Congress and tried to fit it into their nefarious scheme, thus reducing the national organization to an organization of a section of the Hindus of India. This has been the demand of the Muslim League, and on the occasion of the Simla Conference the British bureaucracy showed its hands crudely that it was prepared to concede the Jinnah thesis. When Gandhiji in his telegram to Lord Wavell dated June 15 (1945) caught the British bureaucracy red-handed in this crime against Indian Nationalism and all that it has been standing for during the last one hundred years, Lord Wavell could only mumble forth the assurance (June 16) that "the term 'Caste Hindu' was not used with offensive intention" ; this stylist in the English language asked the Indian world to believe that his proposals had the "meaning" that "there should be equality between Muslims and Hindus other than members of the Scheduled Castes." The reply to the question—why should there be such an iniquitous inequality ?—was avoided. And the arrangement was sought to be finalized that in any future constitutional structure of India this "parity" would be a permanent fixture. Early in these transactions, on the 15th of June (1945), before the members of the Congress Working Committee had been released, Gandhiji had recorded his protest against it. In course of his telegram he had said :

> "........May I then say that there are no caste and casteless Hindus who are at all politically-minded. Therefore the word rings untrue and offensive. Who represent them at your table ? Not the Congress which seeks to represent without distinction all Indians who desire and work for independence. Hence the existence of Hindu Mahasabha claiming to represent Hindus as such. I apprehend that even that body will disclaim representing Caste Hindus."

The malice of British imperialism was, however, immune to all

rational appeal. It was not blind to the mischief that it was consciously working in India. It willed it that the pretentious claims of the Muslim League should be given a place in India's constitutional frame-work, so that Indian Nationalism may be maimed and halted for as long a time as it was humanly possible. This malice erupted into view prominently on the occasion we have been discussing, in matters big or small. The logic of British policy required that the growth of parties in India on the basis of communal differences should be encouraged. But the life and work of the Indian National repudiate this policy. And it become a tug of war between the forces of Indian Nationalism and those of British Imperialism —the one trying to establish its claims as the organ voice of India, the other trying to stifle it or to reduce it to a minor key in a communal crescendo. The malice of British imperialism would not, however, accept defeat: it was ever on the watch for allies who would help it to win success. It found in the Muslim League an instrument of disruption, a handle to reduce the importance of the Indian National Congress. During the preliminary discussions of the Simla Conference, as we have said above, the crudity and the naivette of these attempts became so distinct that at the first touch of interrogation, Lord Wavell stood embarassed and could only plead that no offence was meant. His failure to invite the President of the Indian National Congress, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, to take part in the Simla Conference was due to the same malice. When it was pointed out to him by Gandhiji, and when it was made plain to him that Gandhiji had no *locus standi* to attend the Conference as a representative of the Congress, Lord Wavell seemed to treat the plea as "technical", and he accepted the rebuff with whatever grace he could command, and issued the invitation to the President of the Congress through the Government of Bengal. The unconscious mind of the British bureaucracy, stood revealed in this episode ; it better reflected bureaucratic malice than any overt act of theirs could. The seeds of the failure of the Simla Conference are to be traced to this back-ground history of British policy in India. Gandhiji has generously tried to acquit Lord Wavell of 'knowingly' taking part in the clever game of creating the new principle of "parity" between "Caste Hindus" and Muslims. But the generality of us who are not so generous have other ideas about the personal responsibility of the present Governor-General of India in introducing the vicious device on the occasion of the Simla Conference. The utmost that we can concede is that Lord Wavell was helpless in face of the immutable British policy ; he could not change it ; he played the part required of him, even if he looked foolish in trying to extricate himself from the coils of Anglo-Indian hypocrisy. We know that individual honesty or individual goodness played but a little minor part in the play of power politics. History is full of such instances. The cases of Gladstone and 'honest' John Morley leap to the mind as we recall what they did in helping British imperialism to establish itself in Egypt. They broke all the commandments of the faith of their country and continent so that the British life-line through the eastern Mediterranean and the newly-cut Suez Canal could be protected from competitive imperialisms. They were by any standard bigger than any of the present generation of the standard-bearers of British imperialism. John Morley's thesis on Hindu-Muslim differences in India, elaborated during his laborious search for arguments in favour of

Malice of British imperialism

separate electorates in India, is the quintessence of the "Divide and Rule" policy. Lord Wavell was at best building on such brilliant examplars.

Frustration & a miracle of recovery

This was the main factor that was responsible for the failure of the Simla drama. Mr. Jinnah was a marionette in it, not quite unconscious or unwilling. He had simply to stand fast on his demand, and the British bureaucracy was there to do the needful. As long as British rule will be there, so long will there be failures like these and frustration. But the Simla failure was followed by a miracle of recovery that has few parallels in India's recent history. Since the August (1942) revolt had been trampled under by "methods of barbarism", our people, Nationalist India, had been hearing nothing but words of condemnation of the foolishness of those months of high audacity, the outburst of the mass anger, of mass dissatisfaction with the ways of the British bureaucracy. Gandhiji since his release in May, 1944, had been pouring out the anguish of his heart that his life's quest, his life's teachings, had been so irretrievably frustrated and betrayed by men and women who claimed to be his followers. And Nationalist India was persuaded to believe that a great wrong had been done by the leaderless people during those months of August to October, 1942, the hey-day of the resistance movement in India. But with the release of the members of the Congress Working Committee, there crept almost imperceptibly a change in the spirit of this spell of self-depreciation that had sat on the bosom of the country. To two members of this Committee must go the credit and the glory of brushing aside the miasma of this defeatist mentality. They were Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel. Their voice rang loud and rang true that the mass upsurge of 1942, the setting up of independent State organizations in Balia (United Provinces), in Midnapore (Bengal), in Satara (Bombay), for instance, were spiritually linked up with the Resistance Movements that had grown up in Europe, in China, in Burma, in Indonesia, in other east Asiatic countries to disable the German and Japanese war machine, that our people had nothing to be ashamed of in their activities of 1942, even if these fell from the high ideals of Gandhiji. The speeches of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru specially acted as cathartic to the accumulated despairs of more than thirty-five months. And the mass mind of India jerked itself out of the mood of defeatism to one of abundant hope, of abounding recklessness. In June, 1945, this miracle of recovery started. During the following months it reached its apogee.—(*Specially contributed by Sri Suresh Chandra Deb.*)

The Central Legislative Assembly

Budget Session—New Delhi—8th February to 12th April 1945

The Sixth War Budget session of the Central Assembly met in **New Delhi on the 8th February 1945**, all parties in the House attending nearly in full strength. Some 100 members were present, of whom 15 belonged to the Congress and 13 to the League, nine were Independents, seven belonged to the European Group and twelve unattached, the rest being made up of nominated and Government members.

Economic Sanctions Against S. Africa

9th. FEBRUARY—The House took up consideration of the adjournment motion on South Africa to-day. Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai* said that his object in moving the resolution was to censure the Government for not having applied economic sanctions against the Union of South Africa. If the House did not stand up to condemn the Government for not doing its duty, then, members of the House would be considered not fit to live. When the question was debated in the House last time, Dr. Khare made many assertions, and gave hopes of many things that Government would do, but nothing had been done. The feeling in the country was very strong and he hoped Dr. Khare was not occupying his post merely for a job.

Mr. *G. Deshmukh* said that the Government of India had assured the House that they would enforce the provisions of the Reciprocity Act, but it appeared they were afraid to strike. It looked as though Government were even afraid to show to the Union Government that they were in a fighting mood. On the other hand, it was a supplicating mood. The Union Government cared a rap for the India Government's representations. Mr. Deshmukh thought that the Government of India were shirking a fight. Referring to the argument that war efforts would suffer if economic sanctions were imposed, Mr. Deshmukh said that the prosecution of the war was the concern of all the members of the Commonwealth. "I ask the Government", he said, "to put on the gloves and enter the arena. If the Government has any guts, it should show fight for behind them is the whole country." He urged the recall of the Indian High Commissioner.

Sir Syed Raza Ali said that the position of Indians was so grave that the Government could not postpone any longer the imposition of trade sanctions and should stop their High Commissioner from proceeding to South Africa. After briefly reviewing the position of Indians in the Union, Sir Raza Ali said that the Cape Town Agreement laid down that it was the duty of every civilized Government to devise ways and means for the uplift of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunity. The Indian High Commissioner was appointed in South Africa to see that Indians had that opportunity to advance. Now that the Cape Town Agreement had been given the go by, was there any point in keeping our diplomatic representative in the Union? Sir Raza Ali said that the death knell of the Cape Town Agreement was sounded by Field Marshal Smuts when the Pegging Act was passed. What action, he asked, had the Government of India taken, so far, to impose economic sanction? The Union depended on India for 99 per cent of her jute imports and he had seen a report that it had already placed an order for five millions pounds of jute from India, representing South Africa's consumption for four pre-war years. India, he demanded, should stop the import of diamonds, liquor, gold and other articles from South Africa.

Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum*, who spoke before Dr. Khare, declared that the Government deserved censure because they were afraid to do things which it could and which public opinion in the country demanded. The mere issue of a Gazette of India Extraordinary enforcing the Reciprocity Act would not frighten South African Whites. The appointment of a Commissioner now was an instance of flouting public opinion. The Government of India did not even have to recall the High Commissioner. The present High Commissioner's term was drawing to a close, and the Government of India could refuse to fill up the post. Mr. Qaiyum hoped that the Member-in-charge would at least now bow before public opinion (Sir Raza Ali: the High Commissioner is already on the high seas). Mere enforcement of rules would not do, Mr. Qaiyum continued. The country expected and demanded that trade sanctions would be applied. The question of Indians in the Commonwealth was likely to loom large in the near future, and it was clear that there was absolutely no place for the Indian people in the Commonwealth. If they were to progress as a free nation, they must at the earliest possible moment, sever their connection

with "this great fraud". He asked why the Member-in-charge was hesitating to apply trade sanctions ? The Viceroy had claimed that this Government was a National Government. If that claim was correct, the Government should apply trade sanctions immediately and recall the High Commissioner.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir pointed out that all shades and schools of thought had declared that the High Commissioner should not be sent out. It was not a question of recalling, but not sending him out. Sir Cowasji was surprised to hear that the new High Commissioner had left India. He reminded Dr. Khare that the present High Commissioner made a fairly strong speech, and it was stated that the Union Government were going to protest against that speech. If, therefore, the new High Commissioner was going to express his opinion as the old High Commissioner had done, then, he was courting a rebuff. If, on the other hand, he had been asked to keep his lips closed, then, the Government deserved censure for that. The suggestion that the High Commissioner should not be sent out was a sound one, Sir Cowasji asserted. He contended that the Member-in-charge should make an announcement that the High Commissioner would not take up the post. Sir Cowasji wanted to know whether the decision to send the High Commissioner was Dr. Khare's or that of the Government's as a whole.

Dr. Khare's Reply

Dr. *Khare*, Commonwealth Relations Member, said that he always welcomed a debate on this question. He was not afraid of it, and he would not shrink it. He had been charged with failure to take stern measures to show fight and accused of being in supplicating mood even though the Government of India's representations were ignored. "I repudiate all these allegations. We are not in a supplicating mood. We have shown sufficient fight (cries of "No, no" and other interruptions). Definitely for the first time in the history of this Government of India, they have retaliated against a fellow member of the Commonwealth." (Voices: What retaliation ? What are the results ? What have you done except making speeches ?)

Maulana Zafar Ali: Can't you bring South Africa to its senses by invading it ? (Laugher.)

Dr. *Khare* declared that within 48 hours of the passing of the Ordinances in South Africa, the Government of India applied the Reciprocity Act. (A voice: With what effect ?) The enforcement of economic sanctions required careful consideration, and he had hoped that the House would give the Government of India some discretion in the matter of carrying out further measures. Dr. Khare went out to refer to the assurances given by General Smuts to the Indian Deputation from Natal in November last year and contended that there had, on the whole, been no serious immediate deterioration in the position. He did not say that the developments, so far, had met our demands or justified any relaxation of vigilance or reorientation of our policy with regard to the withdrawal of the Pegging Act. The action taken by the Government of India had brought home to the Union Government the intensity of Indian feeling and had borne some fruit. Before the House discussed the matter last, the Union Government took the stand that the Ordinance was not contrary to the spirit of the Pretoria Agreement. They now admitted it was contrary to that spirit, and were willing to explore other ways of setting the issue. Dr. Khare referred to the speech of Mr. Hofmeyer and to the warning uttered by another South African that the countervailing sanctions adopted by India might be a pin-prick, but it might grow rapidly, as India had 400 millions within its borders.

There was no reason to think, Dr. Khare asserted, that the Cape Town Agreement had been given the go by. They could not afford to give up that agreement, but must make every effort to see that it was carried out. A High Commissioner was, therefore, necessary for this purpose. (A voice: You do not represent the country, and, therefore, don't care for public opinion). The Government of India had decided to send him but as the sailing of ships was a military secret, he did not know whether he had already left. If, however, it was later decided to recall him, he could be called back in no time. As regards the imposition of restriction on residence, the number of South Africans in India was too small for us to apply those restrictions against them. (Sardar Sant Singh: Why not shut them up in the Lahore Fort or Delhi Fort ?) As regards restriction on travel, reservation of carriages for them would be a privilege and not a disability. The Government were still scrutinising the question of other disabilities. Referring, once again, to economic sanctions, Dr. Khare said that it was a matter to be examined by the Supply and Commerce departments. That process was not yet complete. The

implications were many. In fact, the position of the High Commissioner was related to the question of economic sanctions. If they decided to apply these sanctions, then, the High Commissioner would be recalled immediately (Sir Cowasji Jehangir: Where is the connection). Dr. Khare declared that he did not go back in the least on any statement he had made. As a doctor he believed not only in a major operation, but in medicines, and in watching the reactions to the first medicine before administering others. In spite of the ridicule poured upon him, he claimed that there had not been any failure on his part. There had been delay which he contended was not unconscionable in the circumstances. He fully shared the strong feeling on the question in the House and in the country. "The fact on which you are basing this motion of censure are the results of history, for which all of us are responsible" he concluded. "This censure will mean censure not only on myself, but censure on you all." (League and cheers.)

The motion was passed without a division, and the House adjourned.

Use of Force in Savings Drive

10th. FEB UARY :—The Assembly passed by 47 votes to 40 Mr. *M. A. Ghani's* (Muslim League) adjournment motion to discuss the use of force and illegal and unfair means on the public of Bihar by the agents of the Government for the purchase of National Savings Certificates. Mr. Abdul Ghani, moving the adjournment motion, told the House that in Bihar, parents were compelled to pay for national savings certificates at Rs. 10 per child, otherwise the children would not be allowed to remain in school. Holders of gun licences had to pay anything from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 a year. By beat of drums, the authorities in the rural areas demanded that everyone who paid a tax of one rupee should buy savings certificates for Rs. 20. Those who refused to comply with the official demands were harassed in all possible ways. He gave an instance of two merchants of Rajmahal (Santal Parganas District), who were forced to purchase bonds for Rs. 10,000 but who said they could buy bonds only for Rs. 1,000. The S. D. O. of the place served a notice on the merchants wanting to exami e their accounts. The matter went up to the High Court, where the Judge took a serious view of the case and observed that it was the duty of the Court to protect citizens from arbitrary and illegal action on the part of the Executive authority. There were many other similar cases.

Central Govt.'s Responsibility

Mr. *K. C. Neogy* dealt with the unconstitutional position and pointed out that the raising of war loans and the sale of savings certificates had nothing to do with Provincial Governments under the Act, except in the case of provincial loans. In so far as loans were authorised by the Central Government, every agent engaged in collecting these loans should be considered to be the agent of the Government of India and directly responsible to the Central Government (hear, hear). The Finance Member himself had stated in November, 1943 that a uniform procedure prescribed by the Centre was the best way of getting results. If, therefore, we found a particular procedure followed in Bihar, we were entitled to call the Finance Member to account for it. It was not merely that the Central Government could not disown responsibility but the Finance Member had not done anything to discourage the use of these methods by the Provinces. Further, the Finance Member in November 1943 had admitted that there was a certain amount of room for allegations of excessive use of authority. Mr. Neogy expected the Finance Member to give a warning to Provincial Governments, but, if anything, he had given encouragement to them to go on with their methods, because he was anxious to get results. Mr. Neogy mentioned instances of what he described as the "Mudie touch" in the methods adopted in U. P. and Behar. In the U. P., a poor man was made to sit in a posture described as "Murghi Banana" (to imitate the posture of the fowl by sitting with the head touching the ground.) Mr. Neogy invited the Home Member to give a demonstration of the posture on the floor of the House, because he did not buy savings certificates (Loud Laughter). Mr. Neogy went on to say that the man was released when he agreed to pay Rs. 15. There was a striking similarity in the methods adopted in the Provinces under Section 93. People were buying certificates by borrowing from banks. The money thus came not out of savings but out of borrowings. The manager of a sugar factory in Ghaziabad had been called upon to submit for inspection his pay roll to see whether compulsory reductions had been made from the wages of labourers.

Pressure Used by Petty Officials

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan complained that it was the petty official in the Provinces who brought pressure. He had known of an instance where petty milk-

men were asked to subscribe Rs. 3,000 for the savings certificates. For obtaining ration cards for establishments or when paying land assessment, people were forced to invest in the certificates. People were not even properly told as to why the money was collected, whether it was a loan or a gift. Sir Yamin Khan said that during the last war, he was able to collect within a short period Rs. 1,67,000 by mere persuasion. Government should not force anyone to subscribe to the loan if he was not able to pay it. He knew that zamindars in the U. P. were compelled to subscribe to the loan, though their income had not appreciably increased while their expenditure had gone up five times. Government should ask for the co-operation of the people and explain to them properly the scheme. If that was done, there would be no complaints.

Sardar Sant Singh said that it appeared the Government of India took the credit for whatever good there was in Provincial Autonomy, and if there were any complaints, they were passed on to the Provincial Governments. He asked why the Central Government should not give up the agents of the Provincial Governments and appoint their own agents for the collection. He was not against the sale of savings certificates, for something must be done to check inflation. But he would condemn the methods adopted by the Government. Government were terrorising the people. In the Punjab, subscriptions formed part of revenue assessment. Complaints had become common, and instead of winning the love of the people, Government were playing into the hands of those who want them to quit India. It was not the cause which was disputed but the methods that were adopted to serve that cause.

HOME MEMBER ON PROCEDURE IN BIHAR

Sir Francis Mudie, Home Member, (who was Governor of Bihar last year), said he would like to disabuse the minds of members of any wrong ideas about officials. Explaining how loans were collected in Bihar, he said a committee was formed in police thana, consisting of local zamindars and "raises". They fixed t e amount that each person could subscribe and on a fixed day, these persons visited the thana and paid their subscriptions direct, so as to ensure that the money collected went to the savings fund. That method was extremely successful and the Bihar Government wrote to all collectors to follow this method and stressed that the people should be clearly informed that they were subscribing to a loan and not a gift. Sir Francis went on to refer to the Finance Department's scheme to send their own agents to the Provinces to do the collection direct. Most Provinces, he said, objected. They said it would not be successful. They preferred to have it done by people under their own authority and did not want any Finance Department agents monkeying with the business.

LIAQAT ALI KHAN'S WARNING TO GOVT.

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan (Deputy Leader, Muslim League party), declared that the allegations made in the motion were true throughout the country. The Home Member had given reasons why the scheme put forward by the Finance Department was not acceptable to the Provinces. Sir Francis had said that it would have been difficult for Provincial Governments to exercise supervision over the Central Government agents if the latter started monkeying with the business. But, in fact, Provincial officers had been monkeying and donkeying more than anybody else and the concern of these provincial officers was that any perquisites that might be there should go into their pockets and not the pockets of Central officers. That was the reason for rejecting the Central scheme.

The Nawabzada asserted that 75 per cent of inflated money was with contractors, bribe-takers and black marketeers working under the protection of the Government of India. These were the three sources which should have been tapped for getting money; only then could a large portion of inflated money have been got at. The Nawabzada gave an instance that he said had occurred in Delhi, where an Orphanage applied for ration cards for its inmates and the manager was told that he must invest in national savings certificates before he could get ration cards. The manager went to the highest authority to get the cards.

The *Finance Member* asked if the speaker could give details.

The *Nawabzada* undertook to do so. He asserted that everyone on the Government benches knew what was happening in the country. He concluded with the warning to them : "All that I would like to say is that the manner in which the drive for small savings is being conducted is driving the poor man, and drives so many nails in your coffin. Take care before it is too late."

MR. BHULABHAI DESAI'S CRITICISM

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, Leader of the Opposition, declared that there was not the

slightest doubt, that the substance of the charge on which the motion was based was practically admitted in this House. There appeared to be a great deal of honest intention but that made no difference to the situation in which the poor found themselves by reason of the epidemic of the sales drive. The only satisfaction that his side of the House sought was by ventilation of the grievances to bring some real relief to the sufferers. The Government did not go to the man who got a share of improperly made money; to get at that money was the only cure for inflation, to go to the poor might be a way of getting results, but a drive which tried to rope in the poor man was itself a crime, because it could bring results only by pressure. In Bombay, when assessment was paid, five rupees out of every twenty was taken as paid towards national savings certificates, and the tax-payer was called upon to pay five rupees more to make up the amount of assessment. Till it was paid receipts were withheld. Mr. Desai added: "Let us remember the poor man once in a way. He is not the source from which you are going to get money. It was no use trying to fight inflation by bringing pressure on the poor man and the middle class man whose expenses of living had gone high by reason of that very inflation. It did not matter what agent was employed. The source sought to be tapped was wrong." He deprecated the demand made by the Finance Member for instances. The evil had gone so deep, the suffering was so real and the exactions so severe that there was no need to give instances. Mr. Bhulabhai asked that the cause should be separated from the manner in which it was sought to be served. The good cause was being ill-served, even dangerously served. The people had begun to realise not only that war was an evil in the larger sense, but that war effort too was evil because it brought suffering with it.

FINANCE MEMBER'S REPLY

The Finance Member, *Sir Jeremy Raisman*, replying to the debate, referred to the suggestion made by one of the speakers that there was no difference of opinion in the House as to the goodness of the cause in which the alleged happenings had taken place. Sir Jeremy was not sure whether that was correct; he was not sure whether there was common ground; if there were, his task would be a good deal easier. The speakers for the motion, the Finance Member went on, based their attitude on the assumption that unless a man was rich any attempt to persuade him to embark on savings was wrong and that 99 per cent or more of the population in the country could not afford to contribute on the war loan at all. The Finance Member was not sure whether he could accept that position. He would like to put it in another way. Having regard to the well-known economic effects of continued and uncontrolled inflation, could the population of this or any other country afford not to contribute to the loans, which were designed to prevent or mitigate inflation? It must be realised that there had been a large increase in monetary income in areas and among classes who could not at present utilise their income either to their own benefit or to the country's benefit. That was a fundamental point. It applied not only to India, but elsewhere. He referred to the United Kingdom where he said people who had never been bond-holders or lenders had in large numbers become small investors. It was not the case that those people were in real terms better off than before; they had submitted to conditions of semi-starvation, at any rate, underfeeding which had enabled them to carry on. (Mr. Ananthasayanam Iyengar: How many died of starvation there?)

The Finance Member proceeded to say that he doubted if there was agreement on the question whether it was salutary to endeavour to promote small savings which affected the middle and poorer classes of the population. It was particularly in these classes that the importance of small savings lay. It was easy to demonstrate that large amounts of money had been going to the countryside during the last two or three years. That followed simply from the fact that the prices of food grains had risen. The expenditure of the cultivator had also risen, but the fact remained that there was a condition of scarcity of things and a plethora of money. A man might be poor and have a low standard, but even classes in that position might still be benefited by putting their money aside at this time. That was the first principle from which we began.

The Finance Member was heard to point out that if continually rising prices were envisaged, then there would never be surplus money for saving at all. It was a vicious circle and the attempt was to stop rise in prices by drawing off surplus. He honestly believed it was good for the country; it was a matter on which all political parties should be one and should endeavour to maximise small savings. His opinion had always been that it was necessary to go out and use a high degree of persuasion. (A voice: Third degree). The danger was that the line might be

overstepped. He could not say anything which would discourage the movement of small savings. He could not agree that the drive itself was a crime.

Sir Jeremy went on to refer to the difficulties in arriving at an arrangement with Provincial Governments as to the best way in which the small savings drive might be pursued. The Centre had tried very hard to get Provincial Governments to accept the principle that this work should be done by authorised non-official agents who should be remunerated on the results of their work. In many parts of the country it was done by non-officials. The Finance Member read passages from the memorandum issued by the Central Government giving instructions on the methods to be followed in carrying on the savings drive, and claimed that the whole point of these instructions was undoubtedly persuasion. The agent was not in a position to use anything but persuasion ; he would only spoil his own efforts if he resorted to force. In one part of the instructions, for instance, the agent was asked to find out whether the person who was to be approached for making contributions was extravagant, or he was like the man whom Mr. Morgenthau questioned in the course of a savings drive in America. Answering Mr. Morgenthau's question the man said he had bought no bonds and explained : "You see, Sir, one-third of my money I spend on drink, one-third I spend on women and the rest I just waste". (Loud laughter).

"So far as the Government of India is concerned," Sir Jeremy declared, "we have never given any encouragement to the idea of the use of force in connection with these matters or undue exercise of official authority."

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan: The hon. Member's speech is enough to encourage them. Another member asked if the Finance Member would condemn the instances brought to his notice during the debate.

The *Finance Member* said he wished he could feel that the House was clear that it had no desire to discourage war savings, just as he was clear that Government had no desire to encourage illegitimate and improper practice.

The motion was pressed to a division and passed by 47 votes to 40.

Bill Legalising "Sagotra" Marriages

14th. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly resumed debate to-day on Mr. *Govind V. Deshmukh's* motion for reference to the Select Committee of his Bill to remove legal disabilities under Hindu Law in respect of marriages between Hindus, particularly to legalise "Sagotra" marriages. Dr. Deshmukh, who spoke on the motion during the last session of the Assembly, continuing his speech, declared that the Hindu Law Committee was dealing with the question in a blind and superstitious way. According to the Draft Code, the legal luminaries in the Committee had merely explained the obvious and expatiated on what was common. "Gotra," Dr. Deshmukh defined, originally meant the common grazing fields for cows, but to-day, it had come to connote something quite different. Ancient scriptures and the Puranas had numerous examples of "Sagotra" marriages, such as between Vasudev and Devaki, Rama and Sita, Arjuna and Subhadra, and so on. The "Pravaras" had nothing to do with religion. In regard to 'Sapindas' the modern Sanatanists accepted the interpretations of an English Jurist which did not conform to the spirit of the original text. Many of the prevalent ideas among Hindus, Dr. Deshmukh went on, were based on superstition and they should be eliminated. They could not wait till the codification of the Hindu Law was achieved. He believed that the objections to the proposed reforms came from three quarters, namely, the old Sanatanists, who genuinely did not want any change, the pseudo-Sanatanists, who accepted the interpretation of the Smrithis by modern courts and were against a change in the existing usage because it was against their own interest and thirdly, the intellectuals, who belittled the proposed reforms on the ground that they did not go far enough. He hoped the Law Member would not oppose the motion because the whole Code was expected to be placed before the House.

Pandit Nilkanta Das urged the Deshmukh brothers—the mover of the motion, Mr. Govind Deshmukh and its supporter, Dr. Deshmukh—to withdraw the Bill. The 'gotras' and 'pravaras' were essentially Brahminical institutions and a very small minority of the population were affected by it and would oppose the Bill because it interfered with religious usage and customs. He disagreed with the definition of 'gotra' given by Dr. Deshmukh and said that the term really meant "father" or head of the family and did not refer to pastoral grounds. His instances from the Puranas could not be accepted in modern times because there were cases of polyandry in those days which were not definitely countenanced by the law-giver, Manu. Even now, Pandit Nilkanath Das said, there was no difficulty for "sagotra" marriages, because such unions could be made under the Civil Marriages Act. Referring to the personnel of the proposed Select Committee, in which there were

members from the European and Muslim communities, the speaker said that the author of the Bill apparently wanted the help of other communities to effect a change in the Hindu religion which the Hindus themselves did not want.

Sir Ratanji Dalal (nominated) pointed out that the objection which had been taken to Mr. Deshmukh's Bill from the eugenic point of view was untenable, because it had prohibited marriages within seven degree of consanguinity. Marriage between cousins differed from all other marriages only because both partners carried the same hereditary factors, scientifically known as the 'gene'. If two persons having the same undesirable 'gene' married, their children were most likely to inherit the same undesirable 'gene'. It was to prevent this that marriage between blood relations was prohibited. But he would be a bold physician, indeed, who would object to a marriage between cousins simply because it was a cousins' marriage. The possibility of undesirable 'gene' being transmitted to the offspring was inescapable in any marriage, but the possibility of it in marriages between two persons carrying different defects was much less than in marriage between cousins, who have the same 'gene' or the same defects.

Mrs. *Radhabhai Subbaroyan* said that the uncertainty of the Government implementing their promise of a codified Hindu Law was so great that they could not wait any longer, but must press for the acceptance of the present Bill. She was doubtful if the codified Draft Hindu Law would ever be placed before the House. A number of Bills in the past dealing with reforms had mysteriously disappeared. The Hindu Intestate Succession Bill had been referred to a Select Committee two years ago and nothing had been heard of it since then. The Indian National Congress and the women's organisations in the country had been pressing for social reforms. Why, she asked, should the Government embark on the lengthy procedure of collecting evidence all over the country while the members of the Legislature present represented wide constituencies and knew the position well? The opposition to the suggested reforms was only from the old and passing generations. The origin of many of the social customs, she said, was obscure, and it was wrong to insist on adherence to them. The system of "sagotra" and "pravaras" restricted the field of selection of bridegrooms and brides. Added to that, the system of dowry was causing real hardship to the people.

Mrs. *Renuka Ray* said that since 1932 women's organisations in the country had demanded comprehensive codification and revisions of the Hindu Law. Marriage laws were primarily for the purpose of safeguarding children and inheritance and marriage laws were inter-related. So far as the measure before the House went, it had the fullest support of women. It was useless for the Hindus to talk of national unity or even Hindu unity if they could not realise the defects in their society and eradicate them. The Bill, however, was restricted to "sagotra" marriages, and it did not include within its scope inter-caste marriages. The time had come when they should do away with the caste system and her grievance was that the Bill did not go far enough. The pseudo-Sanatanists, Mrs. Renuka Ray continued, did not seem to realise that the times had changed and there must be re-adjustment of the Hindu Law. The arguments that were advanced against the reforms were the same as were advanced at the time of the abolition of 'sati', or when the Widow Re-marriage Act was passed. The danger to Hindu society, she said, was not reform but stagnation. The questions of marriages, inheritance and successions were all inter-related and it would be much better to have a comprehensive Code than piecemeal legislation.

Dr. *J. C. Chatterjee* said that the House consisted of old people who could not properly appreciate the question of marriages. What was the use, he asked, of gentlemen of uncertain age making law for young people? Dr. Chatterjee added that marriage was not merely sacramental, but was also a civil contract. The suggested reform was long overdue. He urged the speedy passage of the Bill. He was not for waiting till the Hindu Law Committee concluded its labours. Dr. Chatterjee regretted that Lala Shamlal, a Congress member, should have opposed the Bill and threatened to fight it to the last ditch.

Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai* supported the motion and suggested that the Select Committee should concentrate on discovering the meaning of the terms "gotra" and "pravaras." which he said were not at all clear to him at present. He was not clear also why an attempt was being made to rush the measure, while the whole question of Hindu marriage reform was being examined by the Rau Committee.

Mr. *N. M. Joshi* thought that the reform which the Bill sought to make was a very small one. Many of his way of thinking would have liked the mover to have brought up a much wider measure. The Bill, Mr. Joshi pointed out, need not

offend the feelings of any Hindu who did not approve of Sagotra marriages, because it did not compel such marriages. As regards marriage between different sub-castes, Mr. Joshi said that in the absence of a definition of caste, it was doubtful if sub-divisions of a caste were themselves separate castes and whether marriages between them could on that account be objectionable. Mr. Joshi did not agree that this small reform intended by the Bill should be held up because of the large reform promised by the Rau Committee, nor did he agree that this House was not a body fit to undertake changes in Hindu sacred customs. In the absence of any other authority empowerd to make such changes, it was the duty of this legislature to take up that work.

Mr. *Ananthasayanam Iyengar* classed himself as a pseudo-Sanatanist and declared himself an unequivocal supporter of the principle of gotra. Where would Hinduism have been, he asked, if it were not for the gotra, that is, if it were not for the great Rishis from whom Hindus traced their spiritual heritage? He was proud of those Rishis and was against anyone who would not recognise their spiritual eminence and power. Those Rishis themselves, he pointed out, had accepted the principle that from time to time it was open to assemblies of wise men to alter customs and laws. He asked the mover why he had not consulted the assemblies of religious men, mathadhipathis, and so on, on the Bill? Marriage between different sub-castes was allowed and he, therefore, did not know why the Bill was making any provision about it.

Mr. Iyengar had not concluded when the House adjourned for the day.

Railway Budget for 1945—46

15th. FEBRUARY :—Presenting what he described as a somewhat unorthodox budget in the Assembly to day, the War Transport Member, *Sir Edward Benthall* stated that it was not proposed to make any general increase in rates and fares apart from the decision announced already that from February 1, the port-to-port rates on certain goods be increased in order to bring them into line with the cost of shipment by sea. This, Sir Edward pointed out, had been done purely as a war measure with the object of ensuring that shippers who were forced by the controls to send their goods coastwise by sea should not be unfairly penalised by the cost of doing so and was designed to make the maximum use of all forms of available transport in the present emergency. If successful, it would mean not an increase but a decrease of the railway earnings to the extent that goods were diverted to the sea route.

Sir Edward empasised once again that the large earnings on railway had been due in the main to increased efficiency in hauling the large volume of traffic temporarily offering and that railway rates and fares, in spite of the increase in 1940 which were relatively light and totally excluded such things as food grains and short distance passenger traffic, stood far below the general level of prices prevailing now or likely to prevail for some years to come. Transport was still cheap though, it must be admitted, not comfortable.

An "Unorthodox Budget"

The unorthodox character of the Budget, Sir Edward suggested, lay in the proposal that the increased earnings of railways should be utilised to write down the high cost of rolling stock acquired and works executed during the war, so that the Depreciation Reserve Fund shall not be unduly reduced or the capital at charge improperly inflated.

The surplus for 1944-45 was accordingly reduced by Rs. 24 crores on account of special items for this purpose and 30 crores would be similarly charged to the revenue in 1945-46. As a result, a surplus of 42·01 crores was forecast for 1944-45 and 36·51 crores for 1945-46.

In 1944-45 the total traffic receipts were expected to be Rs. 214·30 crores, and the total working expenses were expected to be Rs. 147·49 crores. The budget estimate of traffic receipts for the next year was 220 crores and the total working expense Rs. 159 87 croree.

Of the surplus, general revenues would receive 32 crores this year and the same amount next year also, unless the actual position turned out substantially different from what was forecast now.

Speaking of railway performance, Sir Edward said that the military operational demands had been met to the satisfaction of the service chiefs, the expansion of capacity on the lines of communications to Assam had been in excess and in advance of the target, and thanks to the close co-operation of the services, military movements over the entire railway system had been carried through according to programme.

Since the beginning of the war, railways had, among other things, constructed 1,400 miles of military sidings, 70 miles of permanent and 153 miles of temporary sidings for airfields. In all some 3,500 miles of track material had been arranged for, including 1,205 miles of overseas.

The essential programmes for the movement of civilian traffic like foodgrains, sugar, cotton cloths, etc. had, on the whole, been successfully carried out. As regards foodstuff, in particula, railways could claim with satisfaction that in 1944, nobody went short of necessaries of life because of the failutre of rail transport.

ROAD TRANSPORT SERVICES

Road transport services were being organised to afford relief on congested sections and to encourage the movement of essential supplies; and at the same time, Government were approaching the problem of road-rail co-ordination in the post-war period to secure a rational, rapid and prosperous development of internal transport by any methods of securing the joint interests of road and rail development in keeping with the policy most suitable to the varying needs of the Provinces.

In the first eight months of the last year, railways loaded 7½ per cent more wagons and carried nearly two million tons more goods than in the same period of the previous year. Coaching earnings have increased by no less than 30 per cent, largely due to increased parcels traffic. Some ten million more passengers were carried monthly than in 1943 and 25 millions more are now being carried than in 1942, in spite of the relatively small increase in war activity and of the publicity campaign against travel. Various measures have been taken to reduce congestion in ordinary trains. Special military leave trains have been run and further extension of this practice is under consideration. And, in spite of the shortage of materials, all possible efforts are being made to bring into service every coaching vehicle which can be made to run and to construct more coaching stock.

Coal supplies for the railways have, however, been a continual source of anxiety owing to the low coal raisings, necessitating the closing of numerous stations and on one occasion, the curtailment of passenger services for a short period. All demands for wagons for coal have been met but with the coming of the good coal raising season and with heavier demands for traffic, particularly military, a period of great wagon stringency is likely to ensue and to last at least until the second half of the year.

PLANS FOR POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

Railway plans for post-war reconstruction are as well ahead as are in advance of those of any other department of Government. A tentative programme of construction of new railway has been prepared and can be put into operation at a reasonably short notice. Standards for improved rolling stock and plans for amenities for third class passengers and staff are being finalised. It is hoped to hand over the Singhbhum Shops to Tatas on the 1st April 1945, for the manufacture of boilers and locomotives, and to produce 100 boilers within the first fifteen months of that date. The lay-out and equipment for the manufacture of locomotives at Kanchrapara under State management, are also being finalised to enable manufacture to commence after the war, without avoidable delay, and some orders for machinery have been placed. Proposals for overhaul of the rate system and for re-grouping of railways are in hand, while a committee has been set up under the Chairmanship of Mr. John Sargent to examine the question of encouraging tourist traffic after the war.

Sir Edward Benthall paid a tribute to the very fine performance put up by railway officers in difficult circumstances under the leadership, first of Sir Leonard Wilson and now of Sir Arthur Griffin. They had not received much relief to meet war-time living conditions but Sir Edward assured them that whatever relief Government might be able to extend to their officers would be shared by the railways. For other classes of railway servants, who also were performing their more than normally arduous duties under difficult conditions, the relief given in cash and kind, the cost of which was already in the neighbourhood of 20 crores, had been substantial and workers in the lowest wage ranks had been completely compensated for the rise in the cost of living. Nevertheless, they would be included in any further benefits sanctioned to other civilian employees of Government.

ROLLING STOCK POSITION

The War Transport Member mentioned some of the handicaps from which railways have been suffering as, for instance, having 29 per cent of the total locomotive stock over-age, which, with a large number of over-age wagons have to be kept running at a high cost in repairs and in efficiency. It

has only been by the narrowest of margins that the railways have succeeded in moving the requirements of the Services in addition to peoples' food and raw materials and products of industry. Much less essential traffic has not moved. But Government acted vigorously; large numbers of rolling stock were ordered from 1942 onwards, and their timely arrival played a part in the victory of Imphal, and though broad gauge stock received hitherto has been relatively small it has just turned the scale in maintaining the civil life of the country. The total stock ordered since 1942 has been 937 B. G. engines, 415 M. G. engines, 46,734 B M. G. wagons 12,481 M. G. wagons, of which 17,934 B. G. and 661 M. G. wagons have been ordered in India. Of these 255 B.G. engines, 334 M.G. engines, 4,029 B.G. wagons and 8,790 M. G. wagons will be in service by the middle of January 1945. It is expected that the whole of the orders from overseas will be in the service by the early part of 1946, and the latest order for 10,000 wagons placed in India is scheduled for delivery over 1946, or early in 1947. Sir Edward Benthall gave the assurance that, in spite of these immense purchases there would, subject to financial consideration, be plenty of orders available for the new locomotive works which were being established and that from 1947 onwards there would be room from the technical aspect, for wagons on the Indian industry in excess of the pre-war average.

Financial Allocations

The effect of these large purchases on the finances of the railways must clearly be abnormal specially since they have been made at war time prices and in some cases, the stock delivered has been below Indian standards. The application of ordinary rules would result in some degree of over-capitalisation and a very serious depletion of the Depreciation Fund. To prevent this, Government have decided that in all works of general utility executed at the instance of the War Department the railway share should be charged to revenue, that in view of their high cost due to the war 50 per cent of the expenditure incurred after 1942-43 on other important works built entirely at the cost of the railways should be charged to working expenses, that all rolling stock should be treated as on replacement account that there should be no debit to capital unless there was an increase in total capacity, and that the balance of the expenditure should be so shared between the depreciation Fund, Railway Reserve and working expenses, that the debit to the Fund was limited to the amount accumulated therein for the items treated as replaced, that the difference between such accumulation and the original cost of the items should be found from the Railway Reserve and the balance should be charged to working expenses. As a result of these decisions, the total expenditure of Rs. 97¾ crores on rolling stock, which would normally have been shared between capital and the Depreciation Fund in the proportion of 16 : 78¾ crores would be now divided as follows: one crore to capital, 22 crores to Depreciation Fund, 10¼ crores from Railway Reserve, 61½ crores by charge to working Reserve, 61½ crores by charge to working expenses.

In conclusion Sir Edward Benthall said that the Indian Railways were now almost one hundred per cent Indian-owned, that they were an "asset of which India can be proud. But the lessons of the past show that their financial resources must be handled with sedulous care". He claimed that, if the policy underlying his budget proposals were continued, Indian Railways would be "in a fit state financially to give a fair chance to the Governments of the future."

The Financial Statement for 1945-46

28th. FEBRUARY :—Presenting the Sixth War Budget relating to 1945-46 in the Assembly to-day, the Hon'ble *Sir Jeremy Raisman*, Finance Member, Government of India, disclosed a revenue deficit of Rs. 155 77 crores in the Revised Estimates of the current financial year and Rs. 163.89 crores in the Budget Estimates for the next year. The Revised Estimates of Defence Expenditure for 1944-45 amount to Rs. 397.23 crores and Rs 59.41 crores under the Revenue and Capital heads, respectively, as against the original estimates of Rs. 276.61 crores and Rs. 24.60 crores, respectively. The Finance Member announced that an agreement had been reached with His Majesty's Government regarding the allocation during the war of Non-effective charges, like pensions and gratuities paid to the personnel of the Defence Services and their dependants, as a result of which an annual saving of Rs. 60 lakhs would accrue to the defence revenue budget.

The following is the full text of Sir Jeremy Raisman's speech :

Last year, when presenting the fifth war budget to this House, I referred to the period through which India had been recently passed as one of economic storm.

This year, in presenting the sixth war budget, it is possible to refer to the twelve months which lie behind us as one of relative consolidation and stability in the economic field, in strong contrast to the dramatic events which have been taking place on the field of battle. In Europe, in Asia and in the Pacific the tide has more than turned; the enemy is at bay and who can doubt that 1945 will bring final victory, at least in Europe?

These heartening achievements have helped and abundantly helped, the battle on the economic front also; they are dispelling that fear of an indefinitely prolonged war which contributes to hoarding and to speculation. But important as the psychological consequences of military victories have been, I feel I can legitimately claim that the measures of economic control which were effected in 1943 and which have since been enforced with increasing vigour and determination have also contributed to the result. First and foremost I would put the improvement in the food situation. We are moving forward on three fronts: towards monopolistic government procurement, towards an ever-widening extension of rationing, and now that we have a solid foundation under our feet, towards a wider nutrition policy, which will embrace the protective foods as well as the foodgrains.

Secondly, we have made notable progress in our attempt to maintain prices generally on an even keel, to control the distribution of textile goods and to prevent profiteering of all kinds. The general level of wholesale prices has been subject to fluctuations from time to time, according as a more or less optimistic view was taken of the duration of the war, but prices as a whole do not differ markedly from what they were in the spring and summer of 1943, when our anti-inflationary efforts began to be undertaken on a wide front. It is encouraging to note a greater degree of willingness on the part of the public to co-operate with us and to resent the anti-social activities of certain traders in with-holding supplies and of others who do not hesitate to offer or accept bribes in the furtherance of their own selfish interests.

FREER FLOW OF IMPORTS

Our efforts to improve the economic situation have been greatly assisted by the freer flow of imports—of foodgrains, raw materials and finished products. The House is aware of the fact that a Mission has recently gone to London for the purpose of further discussing with His Majesty's Government the possibility of lightening the load which the continuance of the war imposes on the Indian economy.

I must again emphasise, as on previous occasions, that though individual measures of the kind that I have referred to are indispensable, yet the keystone of our defences, apart from our taxation and loan programmes, lies in the conscious restriction of expenditure by the mass of individuals. Though certain classes of the population have suffered, and continue to suffer, from the fact that their incomes have not yet become fully adjusted to the higher level of prices, yet large and very important classes of the population are now in receipt of money-incomes very much higher than those which they previously enjoyed.

This applies to the industrial population and to the agricultural classes as a whole; to the traders and to the manufacturers. The consumers goods for which they crave are not available and, except in so far as the additional incomes which have been generated by the war are amenable to taxation, the only possibilities are abstention from expenditure and lending to Government. Naturally, at the present time, the latter is the more completely satisfactory solution; not only does such lending greatly assist Government in its anti-inflationary campaign, but it marks a break with the age-old tradition of hoarding, which may well be an even greater obstacle to the rapid progress of India than many of the factors which are more frequently mentioned.

FINANCIAL YEAR, 1943-44

I will first, as is customary, give briefly the results of the last financial year. In our revised estimates we expected to end the year with a deficit of Rs. 92.43 crores. The actual deficit turned out to be Rs. 189.79 crores. Defence expenditure exceeded estimates by about Rs. 96 crores. This was due partly to the fact that much of the fighting against the Japanese took place within, instead of wholly outside, India's frontiers and partly to an unexpectedly heavy adjustment in the accounts of the year in respect of vehicles utilised for the initial equipment and maintenance of India's local defence forces. There was also a deterioration of about Rs. 9 crores under Taxes on Income which was offset by an increased contribution from Railways and larger receipts under Excise.

FINANCIAL YEAR, 1944-45

Revenue

Coming to the current year, the total revenue receipts are now expected to be Rs. 356.88 crores, an improvement of Rs. 48.60 crores over the budget estimates.

Customs receipts are expected to improve by Rs. 12 crores as a result of larger imports made possible by the general easing of the shipping position. Of this amount, Rs. 2¾ crores are accounted for by the import of locomotives and wagons. Under Central Excise, however, there is a short fall of some Rs. 2 crores, mainly under tobacco, caused by transport difficulties and by reduced cultivation as a result of the drive in favour of food crops.

Taxes on income were expected to yield Rs. 182.5 crores, Rs. 78 crores from excess profits tax and Rs. 104.5 crores from other taxes on income. This progress of regular E.P.T. assessment has been stepped up so that we now expect collections under this head to reach Rs. 110 crores. There is, however, likely to be a fall of Rs. 4½ crores under other taxes on income, which are expected to yield Rs. 100 crores. This figure excludes the collections of approximately Rs. 60 crores under the "pay-as-you-earn" scheme which are treated for accounting purposes as deposits pending completion of the regular assessments. The divisible pool of income-tax has been taken at Rs. 61.13 crores and the share of the Provinces at Rs. 26.56 crores (including Rs. 49 lakhs on account of the previous year's arrears), or Rs. 2.87 crores more than the budget figure.

An improvement of Rs. 2.56 crores is anticipated under Currency and Mint due mainly to Government's share of the surplus profits of the Reserve Bank increasing from Rs. 7.50 crores, to Rs. 10.07 crores.

P. & T. DEPARTMENT'S REVENUE

The estimates also include Rs. 10·27 crores proposed to be transferred from the two War Risks Insurance Funds to cover the estimated payments this year under the Bombay Explosion (Compensation) Scheme.

The revenue of the Posts and Telegraphs Department is now estimated at Rs. 28.78 crores, that is, Rs. 86 lakhs more than the budget figure. Expenditure is placed at Rs. 19.46 crores, an increase of Rs. 2.85 crores. The anticipated surplus of Rs. 9.32 crores will accrue to general revenues.

For reasons already made known to the House, it has been decided to stabilise the contribution from Railways to general revenues at Rs. 32 crores for the current and ensuing years.

EXPENDITURE

Defence Services.—Turning to expenditure I begin, as usual, with the defence services. The past year has witnessed a succession of major triumphs for the Allied cause On the Western front the years of intense effort and patient preparation at last bore fruit and the liberation of France was effected with a dramatic suddenness equal to that of its fall, four years earlier. The Allied forces in this theatre are now fighting on the borders of, and even within, Germany itself. Our progress on the Italian front has, it is true, been slowed down but only at heavy cost to the enemy who have had to lock up in this theatre forces that they very badly needed elsewhere especially on their Eastern Front.

On that front the Russians, in a succession of titanic offensives sweeping all before them, have succeeded not only in freeing their own territory entirely from the enemy, but also in forcing the capitulation of most of the Axis satellites—Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary—and are now within striking distance of Berlin itself. With the Russians investing her capital, the other Allies hammering at her Western frontiers, and the Allied air forces continually destroying her centres of war production, it is difficult to see how the final collapse of Germany can be long delayed. Nor is the position of the other surviving Axis partner much less precarious.

THE WAR AGAINST JAPAN

In the Pacific Japan is rapidly being forced to give up her ill-gotten territories ; her navy and merchant shipping are disappearing under the combined attacks of the Allied sea and air forces, and she is now being subjected in her turn to the devastation of air attack.

Developments in the S.E.A. theatre, in which India naturally has a special interest, did not take quite the course envisaged at the time of my last budget speech. Before any major offensive based on India could be launched against them, the Japanese took the initiative and committed almost their entire resources in Burma to a large scale assault on India's North-Eastern frontier. Some of the bitterest fighting of the war followed, largely on Indian soil, but the months of rigorous training

in jungle warfare based on past painful experience in this theatre, which had been given to our forces, now paid magnificent dividends and, as the House knows, the Japanese suffered a major and decisive defeat. The full magnitude of the disaster inflicted on the Japanese in this brilliant campaign has yet to be revealed but the results to some extent speak for themselves, since not only were such of their forces as survived flung back over the border but the demoralised remains have been in continuous retreat, suffering heavy losses in men and munitions of war in the process. As a result the whole of Northern Burma has now been delivered from their control.

Although the date of Japan's final discomfiture cannot yet be confidently predicted, the events just summarised encourage us to think that it may be nearer than we dared to hope a year ago. India may well be proud of the part played by her forces of all three services in these events, and it is satisfactory that the importance of her contribution in this theatre has at last been duly recognised and appreciated by the other Allied Nations

IN THE FIELD OF DEFENCE

I shall now briefly refer to other important developments in the field of defence which have taken place in India during the past year.

There have been a number of improvements in the terms and conditions of service affecting all arms. Certain improvements in the rates of proficiency pay of Indian other ranks that were in contemplation a year ago have since been sanctioned with effect from January 1, 1944. Improved scales of basis pay and *batta* for Viceroy's Commissioned Officers were also introduced from April 1 1944. The Government of India have recently extended to the personnel of the British Services in the India Command the war service increments of pay sanctioned from September 3, 1944, by His Majesty's Government for such personnel in other theatres. They have also sanctioned similar increments for personnel of the Indian services with effect from the same date. These pay increases are admissible to all those having more than 3 years' service since the outbreak of war.

There have been further improvements in the medical arrangements for dealing with sick and wounded on India. The standards of military hospitals, both as regards buildings and equipment have been raised ; better cook houses, fully modernised operating theatres, and improvements in ambulance trains have been introduced. Particular attention, too, is now being paid to the rehabilitation of wounded men, and the medical services are doing everything in their power to restore the normal functioning of limbs injured on active service so that the men concerned may take the fullest possible part in their subsequent civilian roles. An artificial limb centre has been established in India and is playing a very important part in this rehabilitation process.

During the cold weather of 1943-44 plans were made whereby the Defence Services would produce much of the supplies of fresh provisions required for their own consumption. These plans have now matured and by the middle of the year 60 per cent of the fresh vegetables and potatoes required by these services was being obtained from schemes sponsored by them. Large quantities of eggs and poultry were also being produced monthly. By the end of the year the Defence Services will be largely self-supporting in fresh vegetables and potatoes and the output of the other items metioned will have been multiplied many times. In some places supplies of fresh food produced in this way exceed the service requirements and so become available for sale to civil consumers. The arrangements will also exercise a salutary check on the prices of such produce in the country at large.

In my last budget speech I made special reference to the efforts being made for the promotion of the welfare of the Defence Services. During the past year this subject acquired a good deal of publicity, particularly in the U.K., and the visit of the Earl of Munster to India was designed to investigate how far the complaints from service personnel regarding the welfare and amenities arrangements in India were justified, and what steps were necessary to put things right. The investigation showed that within the limited resources at their disposal the authorities in India had done what was possible to ameliorate generally living conditions for soldiers—both British and Indian—in India. Such improvements as were called for were dependent in most cases on obtaining goods and services from overseas and it is expected that greatly increased facilities for this purpose will now be afforded.

The improvement in the quality of the Indian Air Force continues; the most recent development is the introduction of the famous Spitfire air-craft, and one squadron equipped with these will shortly be given an active operational role as a fighter squadron.

During the past year the quality of the men who presented themselves for selection as general Duty Officers in the Indian Air Force has been somewhat lower than formerly. The effect of this has been a large wastage in training, and the necessity for increasing the monthly intake from 70 to 104 recruits. In spite of this, the 10-squadron target has not been reached owing to lack of pilots. The 9th squadron of the Indian Air Force was formed on February 20, 1944, and the formation of the 10th is under consideration, but, unless recruiting improves, this will not be possible.

The Empire Training Scheme has been temporarily discontinued, but flying training in India continues as before.

The Royal Indian Navy continues to grow and further progress has been made in the construction of training establishments and holding depots. Apart from its work in the defence of India's ports and coasts, the Royal Indian Navy is playing a considerable role in escorting shipping and general policing duties in Indian waters. It has given invaluable support and protection to the land forces in the recent operations on the Eastern Front in which its landing craft have played a major part.

LEND-LEASE

India continued to receive goods and services from the U.S.A. under Lend-Lease arrangements and, in return, to grant Reciprocal Aid in various forms of supplies and services as explained in my speech last year. The demands for such aid have been heavier than was anticipated last year particularly in regard to works (mainly airfields), petrol and aviation spirit. To some extent this was due to the increased activities of the U.S. Forces in strafing the Japanese on India's North-Eastern Frontier.

The estimated cost of Reciprocal Aid to be afforded at India's expense to the U.S.A. for which provision has been made in these estimates is Rs. 76·33 crores during 1944-45 and Rs. 70·34 crores during 1945-46. The value of such aid furnished in the year 1943-44 amounted to Rs. 35·11 crores and the progressive total of Reciprocal Aid from the beginning of the war to the end of 1944-45 would, on these estimates, amount to about Rs. 124 crores. At present the great bulk of Reciprocal Aid afforded to the U.S.A. in India is charged to Indian revenues and only a relatively minor amount of such aid (*e.g.*, that relating to certain non-indigenous supplies) is financed by H.M.G. and treated as British Reciprocal Aid.

The total amount of supplies and services expected to be made to India under Lend-Lease arrangements up to the end of 1944-45 is now estimated at roughly Rs. 515 crores and the value of these supplies and services which India, but for Lend-Lease, would have had to provide at her own expense is now assessed at approximately Rs. 150 crores. It is impossible to make any similar estimate for the year 1945-46 as the extent of Lend-Lease granted during that year must necessarily depend on war developments both in the European and the Eastern theatres. There seems no reason, however, to think that the value of Lend-Lease aid received by India to the end of that year will fall short of the corresponding amount of Reciprocal Aid to the U.S.A.

MUTUAL AID AGREEMENT

During the year under review India signed a direct Mutual Aid Agreement with the Government of Canada, which entitles her to participate in the benefits of Mutual Aid accorded by the Canadian Government to the Allied Nations. The precise effect of this Agreement upon India's defence expenditure has not yet been finally ascertained in the absence of complete information regarding the amount of such aid to be made available but, in framing the revised and budget estimates, a reduction of Rs. 5 crores has been allowed on this account in the estimates of each year.

In my last budget speech, I refer to the necessity for ensuring that India's economy was not subjected to an intolerable strain as a result of its employment as a major base of operations against Japan. I have already referred to the Mission under Sir Akbar Hydari which is now in London examining in detail the extent to which demands for commodities required for war purposes, hitherto placed on India, can be met from other sources, and further what goods badly needed here can be sent out in order to offset the general depletion caused by war demands. It is hoped that this Mission, besides bringing much needed relief to India's economy, will have a wholesome educative effect on opinion in the United Kingdom and produce a better appreciation of the magnitude and nature of India's war effort.

During the year the negotiations with H.M.G. that have been in progress for some time past regarding the allocation during the war of non-effective charges, *i.e.* pensions and gratuities paid to personnel of these defence services and their dependants, were concluded and an agreement between the two Governments on the subject has now been reached.

Prior to the outbreak of the present war, each Government received from the other contributions in respect of so much of the pensions and gratuities of their own armed forces as were reckoned to have been earned in the service of the other Government. Since under normal conditions the number of British service personnel employed in India far exceeded the number of Indian service personnel employed at Imperial stations, the net result of these adjustments was a substantial annual payment by India to H. M. G. This process necessitated the maintenance of an elaborate non-effective account and the continuous collection of detailed information regarding the service of many thousands of officers and men.

NON-EFFECTIVE CHARGES

During the last war it was found quite impossible to keep up this non-effective account which had therefore to be held in abeyance and the settlement of numerous claims and counter-claims in respect of non effective charges relating to that war formed the subject of prolonged correspondence and eventually—though not until 1931—had to be settled in a more or less arbitrary manner. It was felt most desirable to avoid a similar long-drawn out controversy over the non-effective charges arising out of the present war. The matter has been examined at great length by technical experts on both sides and the agreement now reached may be summarised as follows.

(1) The non-effective account between the two Governments to be finally closed as on April 1, 1939, India's net liability towards H. M. G. for the non-effective charges of all defence personnel on that date being discharged by a lump sum payment of £15 million.

(2) India's net liability thereafter during the war to be fully discharged by an annual payment of £1,350,000 to H. M. G.

(3) Each Government to bear the cost of those casualty pensions and other abnormal non-effective charges arising out of the war, which are sanctioned under its own regulations.

(4) The new agreement to be co-terminous with the main Financial Settlement, a fresh agreement to be negotiated thereafter.

It is felt that this non-effective agreement has the great merit of simplicity while securing an equitable apportionment of the charges in question between the two Governments.

The agreement provides for the payment of the sum of £15 million on the date of its termination. Recently H. M. G. enquired whether the Government of India would be disposed to pay this amount in advance of that date and offered to reduce the annual payment of £1,350.000 by £450,000 as from the date of such premature payment. As this offer seemed to the Government of India a favourable one, it has been accepted and the payment was made on February 1, 1945, from which date the annual payment will accordingly be reduced to £900,000.

THE FINANCIAL SETTLEMENT

It is now necessary to consider the effect of these developments on our estimates of defence expenditure for the current year. The Financial Settlement accepted in 1940 was the target for a great deal of abuse—much of it extremely ill-informed—by the Press both in India and in the United Kingdom during the year. As was no doubt inevitable with any arrangement of this character, the criticism has been vehement and has proceeded from diametrically opposite points of view. It still remains, however, our sheet-anchor for the purpose of determining India's share of war expenditure. Under the operation of that Settlement India becomes liable for a considerable amount of additional expenditure arising out of the Japanese invasion at the beginning of the year.

In framing the budget for 1944-45 it had been assumed that operations against the Japanese would take place outside India and in consequence that no portion of their cost would fall on Indian revenues which on the other hand, would be relieved as a result of the sending of forces beyond her frontiers to take part in those operations. In the event, not only had forces earmarked for employment overseas to be retained in India but others were brought in from outside to repel the invader, and no provision existed in the budget for the cost of all these troops or for the other additional expenditure incurred on these operations for which India

is liable. This constitutes one of the major causes of the heavy excess of the defence expenditure for the year over our budget anticipations, but I trust the House will realise that this is a small price to pay for the victory which has assured to India immunity from the Japanese invader.

Other major developments that could not be foreseen a year ago and for which consequently no provision was made in the budget are:—

(1) The grant of war service increments and other pay increases to both British and Indian troops during the year;

(2) heavy demands from the U.S.A. Forces in India for goods and services on Reciprocal Aid;

(3) the decision that India would be liable for the indigenous element in the cost of imported petrol utilised for her own war purposes. As mentioned in my speech last year, H. M. G. offered to bear the cost of petrol and aviation spirit required for the expansion of India's land and air forces, but this offer, it has since been made clear, will only cover the cost landed at an Indian port leaving the expenses of distribution in India to be borne by India;

(4) the payment of the sum of £15 million in connection with the Non-effective agreement.

REVISED ESTIMATES OF DEFENCE EXPENDITURE

The revised estimates of defence expenditure for the year 1944-45 amount to Rs. 397·23 crores and Rs, 59·41 crores under the Revenue and Capital heads respectively. The details are as follows:—

REVENUE PORTION

			(In lakhs of rupees)
(1)	Basic Normal Budget	...	36,77
(2)	Effect of rise in prices	...	16,92
(3)	India's war measures	...	3,34,22
(4)	Non-effective charges	...	9,32
	Total	...	3,97,23

CAPITAL PORTION

(1)	Air Force—Airfields	...	15,89
(2)	Capital outlay on industrial expansion	...	3,34
(3)	Reciprocal Aid—Airfields	...	15,20
(4)	New Construction for the R.I.N.	...	1,00
(5)	Capital outlay on Tele-communications scheme		3,98
(6)	Lump sum payment under the Non-effective Agreement		20,00
	Total	...	59,41

In the revenue portion, the increase of Rs. 1 87 crores in item (2) over the corresponding budget figure is due mainly to the grant of further increases in pay and allowances to the forces in India. The increase of Rs. 118·64 crores in item (3) is due to the major developments just mentioned and to an under-estimate of the cost of air services in India. The total increase has been counter-balanced to a certain extent by an increase in the amount of receipts on account of Lend-Lease stores supplied to Provincial Governments, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs Department and other paying indentors, and also to the relief anticipated from India's participation in Mutual Aid from Canada.

As regards the capital portion, the increases under items (1) and (3) are due to further demands for new airfields and the improvement and expansion of existing airfields for both British and American Air Forces in India. There have been further expansions of ordnance factories, dairy farms, etc., which account for the increase under item (2), while the decrease under item (5) is due largely to a carry-forward of expenditure connected with the Tele-communications Scheme to the year 1945-46. Item (6) represents the lump sum payment under the Non-effective agreement which I have already explained.

CIVIL ESTIMATES

The continuance of war conditions and, at the same time, the necessity to plan for the transition period and the days of peace ahead inevitably involve an increase in governmental co-ordination and control, which is reflected in increased expenditure. Thus civil estimates now stand at Rs. 115·42 crores compared with Rs. 86·38 crores provided in the budget. Hon'ble Members will find details of the variations

in the Explanatory Memorandum on the Budget and I shall confine my remarks here to a few of the more important items.

Provision for Rs. 1½ crores was made in the current year's estimates as Central Assistance to Bengal for meeting their heavy expenditure on famine relief. Representations were, however, received from the Provincial Government that the grant was inadequate and the position was reviewed. It was finally decided to make an exgratia subvention of half of the direct cost of the famine, subject to a maximum of Rs. 10 crores, of which Rs. 3 crores had already been adjusted in 1943-44. This decision is responsible for an increase of Rs. 5½ crores in expenditure this year.

Another important item is the expenditure involved in paying compensation for damage resulting from the explosions in the Bombay Docks in April last. The House is already familiar with the measures for the relief of the victims announced by the Government of India. The machinery for dealing with claims is at work and steady progress is being made in disposing of them. At present it is not possible to assess accurately the total amount which will be involved, but provision has been made for an expenditure of Rs. 10¾ crores this year and Rs. 5¾ crores next year. The question of the incidence of this expenditure is under consideration and, pending a final decision as to the sharing of the cost between India and His Majesty's Government, it has been decided to meet the sums involved from general revenues, at the same time transferring from the War Risks Insurance Funds to the revenue account amounts equal to the estimated compensation payable.

Consistently with the drive for increased production of food, Government has steadily pursued its policy with regard to the statutory control of prices, procurement by or through its own agencies and extension of rationing which now covers some 42 million people.

In the matter of the procurement of grain, a steady advance has, as I have already mentioned, been made towards Government monopoly. While the object has been to maintain a price-level which will ensure adequate production without imposing too heavy a burden on the consumer, it is not the intention to attempt to bring prices down to pre-war levels and we have announced our readiness to intervene in supporting the market should prices fall unduly.

The steps taken to achieve these objectives, which involve transactions of vast magnitude, have necessarily led to considerable revenue expenditure and outlay of capital.

The same objectives of increased production, and control of distribution and of prices have been pursued in the field of other consumer goods. Price control of cloth has been extended to cover both the imported and exported varieties and a progressive reduction in prices has been achieved. We have recently been able to effect a further reduction in prices which to-day are nearly one-third less than those fixed in 1943. This represents a total overall reduction of approximately 75 per cent from the peak reached in June, 1943.

At the same time the problem of the stabilisation of the prices of Indian cotton within suitable limits has engaged Government's close attention and, in fulfilment of their undert king to maintain the price above the fixed floor, Government entered the market and purchased during the current year some 2¾ lakhs of bales valued at over Rs. 6 crores.

SUPPLY DEPARTMENT'S WORK

The activities of the Supply Department have been directed towards the fulfilment of the same policy. An organisation has been set up in Calcutta for increasing the production of coal and ensuring its equitable distribution among the consuming interests. Schemes for the payment of a bonus to colliery owners on increased raisings and for open-cut mining have been introduced, while facilities have been provided for the import of labour into the coal areas and welfare officers have been appointed to look after the interests of mine labour.

The Disposals Directorate has been strengthened and out of some Rs. 5 crores worth of goods reported as surplus, stores and salvage valued at nearly Rs. 2 crores have been disposed of. Closely connected with this aspect of the Supply Department's work are the plans now being laid for dealing with contracts which will have to be cancelled or reduced as war demands lessen. It is essential that steps be taken as soon as the war situation permits to cancel or curtail production so as to avoid the manufacture of redundant stores and the locking up of useful raw materials which are urgently needed for civilian requirements. At the same time the problems involved in the transition from war to peace are being carefully

studied with a view to preserving the economy of the country from violent shocks in the process of adjustment.

The value of orders placed by the Supply Department which was Rs. 256 crores in 1942-43 and Rs. 162 crores in 1943-44, amounted to Rs. 76 crores for the first seven months of the current year. This reduction is due partly to the transfer of responsibility for the procurement of textiles and foodstuffs to the Departments of Civil Supplies and Food and also to a falling off of demands in certain lines.

INDIA AND U.N.R.R.A.

The scheme for financial assistance to evacuees and their families, to which I referred in my last budget speech, has been continued and extended. These measures are now estimated to cost a little over Rs. 1 crore more than the budget provision.

There is one other matter which I should mention, namely, India's contribution to U.N.R.R.A. The House has already agreed that India should participate in this Administration and in implementing that decision, the Government of India have decided that India's contribution should be Rs. 8 crores. A sum of Rs. 1.10 crores is likely to be expended in the current year, for which a supplementary grant will be taken in due course and it is proposed to provide for the remaining Rs. 6.90 crores in the next year's estimates. This sum will be transferred to a special fund to prevent budgetary inconvenience in the future.

I alluded last year to the hardships caused to Government servants by the continued rise in the cost of living, and referred to the measures taken by Government to afford relief. Ameliorative measures in the shape of dearness allowance and concessional issue or foodgrains still continue. The scheme of dearness allowance to low-paid Government servants was substantially liberalised in March 1944, and its cost this year is expected to be Rs. 3¾ crores in respect of Central Government servants other than those paid from Railways and Defence Estimates.

We also came to the conclusion in the course of the year that certain other Government servants, who had so far received no cash relief, must also be given an allowance to enable them to meet their essential commitments. We have therefore given, with effect from July 1, 1944, a war allowance at 10 per cent. of pay to married officers drawing pay up to Rs. 1,000 and at 5 per cent of pay to single officers whose pay does not exceed Rs. 750. As the House is aware, we have under constant review the problems connected with the rise in the cost of living and its effect on Government servants of all classes and proposals for increasing the scope and extent of the relief already afforded are at this moment under active consideration. Until a decision has been taken it is not possible to evaluate the extra expenditure likely to be involved. The estimates are, therefore, based on the existing scales of relief.

The year that is now drawing to a close has thus seen India preparing herself more intensively not only for the launching of the final blow against Japan but also for the tasks of peace that lie ahead. It is inevitable that these great efforts should react on the budgetary position. Thus, while our revised estimates provide for a revenue of Rs. 356.88 crores, expenditure charged to revenue is expected to be Rs. 512.65 crores, resulting in a revenue deficit of Rs. 155.77 crores in the current year.

FINANCIAL YEAR, 1945-46

Revenue

I turn now to the financial year 1945-46. Our total revenue estimates amount to Rs. 353.74 crores compared with Rs. 356.88 crores in the Revised Estimates for the current year.

Customs Revenue has been placed at Rs. 52·85 crores net, an increase of Rs. 12.85 crores over the revised estimates for the current year. This is based on the expectation of additional imports including a large number of locomotives and wagons. Under the Central Excise Duties, we look for an improvement of nearly Rs. 6 crores, half of which is under tobacco. We estimate the total collections of Corporation Tax and Income Tax at Rs. 190 crores. This includes an expected yield of Rs. 90 crores from Excess Profits Tax, the forecast for other taxes on income being the same as the revised estimates for the current year, viz, Rs. 100 crores. The divisible pool of income-tax has been taken at Rs. 57.07 crores and the share available to Provinces at Rs. 24.04 crores.

The revenue of the Posts and Telegraphs Department is expected to be Rs. 30½ crores and expenditure Rs. 20 crores, inclusive of an extra contribution of Rs. 50 lakhs to rehabilitate the Renewals Reserve Fund. The surplus is estimated at Rs. 10½ crores, the whole of which will accrue to general revenues.

Defence Services.—The Budget estimates of defence expenditure for 1945-46 amount to Rs. 394.23 crores and Rs. 17.76 crores for the Revenue and Capital heads respectively. The details are as follows :—

Revenue Portion

			(In lakhs of rupees)
(1)	Basic Normal Budget	...	36,77
(2)	Effect of rise in prices	...	19,76
(3)	India's war measures	...	3,28,51
(4)	Non-effective charges	...	9,19
	Total	...	3,94.23

Capital Portion

			(In lakhs of rupees)
(1)	Air Force—Airfields	...	2,42
(2)	Capital outlay on industrial expansion		1,55
(3)	Reciprocal Aid—Airfields	...	10,74
(4)	New Construction for the R. I. N.	...	50
(5)	Capital outlay on Tele-communications Scheme		2,55
	Total	...	17,76

In the revenue portion, the increase of Rs. 2.84 crores over the Revised Estimates in item (2) is due to the effect over a full year of the grant of increases in pay and allowances to the forces in India sanctioned during 1944-45. In regard to item (3) there is a reduction of Rs. 5.71 crores as compared with the Revised Estimates which is the net result of various increases and decreases. The principal increase is due to the cause just mentioned while the decreases are the result of (i) a decrease in the 'Ceiling' forces certified by H.E. the Commander-in-Chief to be necessary for the defence of India during 1945-46 and (ii) the fact that no repetition of large scale operations within India's frontiers is expected in 1945-46.

Of the decrease of Rs. 41.65 crores under the Capital portion of the Budget Estimates as compared with the Revised, Rs. 20 crores is explained by the non-recurring lump sum payment under the Non-effective agreement included in the Revised Estimates. The balance of the decrease is due to the fact that the requirements in the matter of airfields, etc., for India's local defence air forces are expected to be largely completed in 1944-45, while a reduction during that year in the programme of airfields construction for the U.S.A. Air Forces in India, for the cost of which India is liable, has also been assumed. The provision made against item (5) represents the carry-forward of expenditure on the Tele-communications Scheme into the year 1945-46.

CIVIL ESTIMATES

Civil expenditure shows an increase of approximately Rs. 8 crores as compared with the revised estimates for the current year. This is due mainly to an increase of about Rs. 11½ crores under the head 'Interest', resulting from the policy of borrowings to absorb surplus purchasing power, offset by savings under other heads. In the Explanatory Memorandum Hon'ble Members will find full details and I will not weary the House with further analysis at this stage. The expenditure estimates also contain sums in connection with post-war planning, to which I shall refer more fully at a later stage.

I can now summarise the position for the coming year. The expenditure detailed in the Civil Estimates comes to Rs. 123.40 crores and the provision for Defence Services has been placed at Rs. 394.23 crores. The total revenue at the existing level of taxation is estimated at Rs. 353.74 crores. We are thus left with a prospective revenue deficit of Rs 163 89 crores.

WAYS AND MEANS

I now come to the Ways and Means section. At this stage last year I made a few introductory remarks in order to explain the changed significance of the ways and means position in the conditions created by the war and to bring into relief the complex economic problems created by war disbursements as well as the extent to which Government are able to re-absorb, by way of taxation and borrowing, the evergrowing quantities of moneys expended by them. In the figures which are published from time to time of Government's rupee balances is reflected the extent to which these and other operations of Government succeed in bridging the gap between our own budgetary requirements and the total outlay on Allied account.

As in previous years, borrowing has been the mainstay of our ways and

means programme and no effort has been spared to stimulate lending to Government by the various sections of the public. For the best part of the year, war developments continued to be encouraging, and this was undoubtedly a favourable psychological factor. The total amount invested by the public in various forms of public loans reached Rs. 286 crores during the twelve months beginning with February 1, 1944 and ending with January 31, 1945. This figure, which approximates to the total receipts for the previous twelve months, must be regarded in the context of the other anti-inflationary measures newly introduced during the year, such as the hundred per cent immobilisation of excess profits, the "Pay-as-you-earn" income-tax collections and the sales of gold and silver which have also played a not inconsiderable part in mopping up surplus funds.

BORROWING PROGRAMME

In continuation of the cheap money policy hitherto followed, the Government have, in consultation with the Reserve Bank, framed their borrowing programme so as to make available to the public a wide range of securities. The 3 per cent Loan 1953-55 (4th Defence Loan) was closed for public issue as from April 1, 1944, after the total subscription had reached the record figure of Rs. 114·55 crores during its currency of nine months, and, in its place, the tap issue of the First Victory Loan 3 per cent 1957, was opened. This issue had, up to its closure on February 17, yielded about Rs. 110 crores. The demand from banks for a short-term Government security was met in June by the creation of a special re-issue of the 2¾ per cent Loan 1948-52 to the extent of Rs. 50 crores. Continued demand from institutional investors for a long-term loan was also met by the further creation in October of Rs. 35 crores of the 3 per cent Funding Loan 1966-68 so as to replenish the stock of this loan, held in the Government Cash Balance Investment Account.

The generally steady conditions in the Government securities market led to a continuous improvement in the price of 3½ per cent Paper, which reached par for the first time on November 16, 1944. At this stage, it was considered desirable to meet the demand from existing stock and during the period mentioned above, Paper worth Rs. 15·11 crores was sold by the Reserve Bank of India on Government account. As in the previous year, Rs. 13·27 crores of new money was subscribed to certain provincial loans floated to repay a part of the Provincial consolidated debt to the Central Government.

PREMIUM BOND ISSUE

I referred last year to the interesting departure from orthodox loan policy that was made in the Premium Bond issue. The sales so far have amounted to Rs. 4 crores which is lower than our expectations, due partly to the fact that the issue has not been intensively publicised and partly to its proving less attractive than at one time seemed probable. We have, however, decided to continue the experimental issue for the reason that it will help to draw off money from a class to whom other forms of investment make no appeal.

The progressive total of public loans since the beginning of the war has, upto the end of January, reached the impressive figure of Rs. 833 crores.

The main difficulty that still confronts us in the monetary field is that arising from the unfamilarity of the rural classes with the various forms of investment in Government securities which are a matter of such every day concern to institutional investors and the urban public generally. In this field we have been fortunate enough to secure the willing co-operation of the Provincial Governments as well as non-official organisations, whose assistance I take this opportunity of acknowledging. The results are reflected in the much better showing of the net deposits in Post Office Savings Bank accounts and in the 12-year National Savings Certificates. Net investment in these and other forms of small savings, that is to say, excess of deposits over withdrawals, continues at the satisfactory rate of nearly Rs. 3 crores a month, due to some extent to the raising of the rate of interest on Savings Bank deposits and, in a larger measure, to the scheme of Small Savings evolved last year by the National Savings Commissioner.

FLOATING DEBT

Our floating debt, which was Rs. 111 crores at the end of last year stood at Rs. 93 crores on January 31, 1945. This is an improvement of a kind one would expect, since the Government's ways and means position from the strictly budgetary point of view must be regarded as very comfortable. The reason why it has not proceeded much further is that we have continued till recently to offer fairly large amounts of treasury bills to the public in order to prevent the structure of

money rates being disturbed by an excessive release of funds invested by banks in treasury bills.

Satisfactory as these results are, with the expected prolongation of hostilities near our borders, after the date when the war in the West may reach its termination, it is obvious that we cannot afford to relax our efforts. The requirements of the situation will impose the continuance, and possibly even the final intensification, of India's war effort, which includes the finding of the resources required for the war effort of the Allied countries. In other words, the problem of the inflationary gap is still with us, and, judging from recent indications, may call for increased vigilance and control.

As I have already said, the various anti-inflationary measures that we have adopted were sustained, and in places extended, during the year. Most of the usual indices responded encouragingly to these measures, and to the very favourable turn in hostilities that the year witnessed. The general index number of wholesale prices of the Economic Adviser has, for instance, ranged between 240 and 250 approximately since May 1944, and the Calcutta index number has been relatively stationary for the last few months. Hon'ble Members will find graphs giving the main indices in the Explanatory Memorandum. Cost of giving index numbers, generally speaking, have also registered declines in differing degrees since the peak reached during the autumn of 1943, the general picture being one of comparative stabilisation in recent months.

There is also evidence that the low rate of turnover of bank deposits characteristic of last year has been maintained, and that there has been, through the greater part of the year, some slackening of the general pace of monetary circulation. There was, moreover, a very marked decrease in the rate of currency expansion, particularly in the first eight months of this year. In the last two months the results have not been so favourable—an indication that we cannot afford to relax our efforts to ensure that surplus purchasing power arising out of Governmental disbursements is canalised into public saving. The Government, on their part, are vigilantly reviewing both the scope for reducing the load on the country's resources constituted by our own and the Allies' war efforts and the possibility of adding to the available supplies of goods required for public consumption. This, indeed, is the main object of the Hydari Mission which, it is hoped, will succeed in reducing the economic load incidental to the use of India as a base for further operations in the East.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

The Reserve Bank continued to effect sales of gold on behalf of His Majesty's Government and the Government of the U.S.A. and these contributed substantially to the reduction of the inflationary gap. Sales of Lend-Lease silver, which were commenced in the middle of the year, have further aided in mopping up surplus resources which do not find their way to Government loans.

In my last budget speech, I referred to the expected convening of a Conference of the United Nations to consider the plans put forward for international monetary regulation in the post-war period. The United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, consisting of representatives of forty-four nations, met in July in the United States at the invitation of President Roosevelt, and, as the House is aware, India was presented at the Conference by a delegation in which I was accompanied by the Governor of the Reserve Bank, the Economic Adviser to Government and two distinguished non-officials.

The main conclusions of the conference relating to the establishment of a International Monetary Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development are recorded in Articles of Agreement to which none of the Governments is as yet committed. The Articles are incorporated in a Final Act of the proceedings of the Conference which have been published. The Indian Delegation have now submitted their report to Government and it will be placed before the House in due course when the conclusion of the Conference can be reviewed in the light of the action taken on them by the principal countries concerned, in particular by the United States and the United Kingdom.

SETTLEMENT OF WAR BALANCES

I referred last year to the importance of an orderly liquidation of war balances for the success of any international monetary scheme. The Joint Statement by Experts on which the Conference based its deliberations omitted any mention of this problem, although the original plan of the British Treasury recognised the desirability of some provisions to deal with it, and the first two

versions of the United States Treasury plan contained some actual provisions to this end.

The Indian Delegation pressed the Conference to provide for partial multilateral clearing of war balances through the machinery of the Fund, in the interest alike of promoting economic development of backward countries and assisting the broad objective of the Fund to secure the expansion of multilateral trade, for the relegation to bilateral channels of the whole of the large area of trading involved in the settlement of war balances might seriously constrict the scope of multilateral transanctions. The proposal was, however, negatived by the Conference primarily on the ground of the limited size of the Fund in relation to the magnitude of the war balances. The question, therefore, remains one for settlement in direct negotiation with the United Kingdom.

On the termination of the Bretton Woods Conference and before my return to India, I spent a short period in London and I took the opportunity of having preliminary talks with His Majesty's Treasury officials on the question of India's sterling balances. Since many of the material data were still incomplete and uncertain, particularly the exporting capacity of Great Britain in the immediate post-war years on the one hand, and the development requirements and absorbing capacity of India on the other hand, these conversations were necessarily directed towards exploring the background of future discussions and the indication of a suitable time-table for more definite negotiations.

DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

The vicissitudes of the war in the West have, I am afraid, disturbed the provisional time-table foreshadowed at these talks, and I do not anticipate that any negotiation can be usefully entered upon until after the end of the war with Germany. In view of the lack of definition at this stage of our own development programme, I do not think that the delay should be prejudicial to India's interests. Indeed it may well prove necessary that any negotiations to be carried on should, in the first instance, be of a tentative character and should secure both parties an agreed opportunity for review at a later stage when firmer data may be expected to be available.

In the meanwhile, sterling continues to accrue from market purchases and from payments received in London on account of recoverable war expenditure incurred by the Allied Governments in India. During the last eleven months of the current financial year, £248 million were added to the Reserve Bank's holdings, and it is estimated that allowing for the receipts during the last month of the year, the total holding as on March 31, 1945, will be of the order of £1,030 *million*. It is hoped that the rate of accrual will be slowed down in future both by diversion of some of the demands now made on India to other sources of supply and by an increase in compensatory imports.

It must also be remembered that any payments that will become due from India to His Majesty's Government for stores required for her post-war defence forces or in connection with terminal adjustments after the war will partly counteract these accretions. So also will the rupee sale-proceeds of surplus stores and other assets belonging to His Majesty's Government that are disposed of in India. I mention these factors which may operate to mitigate the further aggravation of a problem which is already sufficiently formidable.

With the virtual completion of the scheme of repatriation of liabilities of the Government of India, including payments on account of railway and railway debentures referred to in my last budget speech, there was a limited scope for the utilisation of sterling during the year, with the exception of £15 million for the capitalisation of a portion of India's Non-effective charges which I have explained earlier and of £10 million for the acquisition of the M. and S. M. Railway, and the B.N. Railway. The outstanding sterling liabilities of the Government now stand at about £11 million. The holders are mostly residents of places situated outside the area covered by the Vesting Orders, although small amounts continue to be tendered occasionally.

I referred last year to His Majesty's Government's willingness and to set aside, each year, as a special case, a part of the dollars accruing from India's export surplus to the U. S. A., an amount earmarked specifically for India's post-war development. After a very careful examination of current figures and tendencies, we have agreed to accept an amount of $20 million for the calendar year 1944 and a similar amount for 1945, subject to re-examination later in the light of the relevant statistics for that year. This figure is, of course, in addition to what we need for current requirements. In agreeing to it, we have recognised that it was both reasonable and necessary, with a view to ensuring the stability of the sterling system in which

we are so closely interested, that we should continue to make some contribution to the replenishment of the sterling area reserves, which had depleted in the common war effort.

POST-WAR PLANNING

On the other hand, we have naturally been anxious to make some immediate tangible provision for foreign exchange for the purchase of capital goods likely to be required for India's post-war development purposes, and we feel that the arrangement described represents in the circumstances a fair and valuable concession to this point of view. The relevant figures will be under periodic review and the House may rest assured that at no stage will India's direct interests other than those in which she herself has a greater, although indirect, interest.

Last year, I referred to the twin subjects of post-war planning and reconstruction finance, and have but little now to add to the general picture which I then drew. In the matter of detailed planning for post-war development much progress has been achieved during the past twelve months, and the creation of a separate department at the Centre for this purpose and of suitable planning organisations in the Provinces and States bear witness to the determination of the various governmental authorities in this immense country that the end of the war will not find them unprepared for the major campaigns of the peace to follow. But it must be obvious that, so long as war conditions continue not only in India but in all the Allied countries, resources of materials and manpower must remain mobilised for the immediate task of achieving victory. Once that task has been accomplished and the inevitable period of adjustment has passed, it will be possible to initiate the execution of plans for post-war development.

These physical limitations to the super-imposition of a forward policy of national development on an economy subjected to the strain of total war have their counterparts in the financial sphere. So long as the financial and currency system of the country is overstrained in the maintenance of the war effort or in securing the early stages of transition from war to peace, heavy new expenditure on national development schemes would be dangerous in the extreme. In other words, post-war development must mean and must continue to mean post-war development, and by no magic or optimism can it be made to mean war-time development. The first year or two at least after actual fighting ends will inevitably be for the Centre years of heavy deficit on revenue account. It will be during this period that the Provincial Governments will find of particular value the post-war Reconstruction Funds which they had the foresight and determination to build up while the war was still in progress.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

While it is indubitable that large-scale development projects cannot be initiated so long as war conditions continue, the Government have no hesitation embarking at once on such preparatory work as is found to be possible and desirable, or in taking any action calculated to secure early results of anti-inflationary value. Thus of late the Government have set up a Central Electrical Power Board, an Irrigation and Waterways Board, a Resettlement and Re-employment Directorate with a network of employment exchanges, and have established numerous panels of industrialists, assisted by Government personnel, to prepare plans for industrial development.

Plans have been laid for high-level technical training abroad, on a large scale but suitably diversified, and steps have been taken to set up a Rs. 10-crore Government fertiliser factory to produce annually 350,000 tons of ammonium sulphate. This general policy the Government intend to continue, and provision for Re. 1 crore has been made in the Budget for such measures of a like nature as may be found practicable. This provision is over and above that included in the Budgets of the various administrative departments for their planning activities. Should these amount prove to be less than can usefully be spent the House will be moved to vote each Supplementary grants as may be required.

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

I said last year that if any effective development is to take place on the requisite scale in this vast country large amounts of money are bound to be involved ; and I expressed my firm conviction that the first pre-requisite of reconstruction finance is a sound financial position, both at the Centre and in the Provinces, secured by the fullest development of their respective taxation resources. I hold that conviction if possible still more firmly to-day.

A vast scheme of national development of the kind contemplated by a number

of leaders and writers, and by the Government, has to be planned for, worked for and paid for. There is no easy road to big achievement in this field. It is essential, therefore, that not only the Centre but also the Provinces should lose no time in developing to the full their financial resources, since it is clear that the combined resources of all will hardly be adequate for the great end in view. For that reason, I feel that those Provinces which made an early start and taxed themselves considerably in excess of their immediate revenue requirements should not, as a result of the favourable financial position in which they find themselves, be prejudiced in the matter of financial assistance from the Centre. It is our hope and intention that in due course a substantial distribution of Central revenues will take place, but the Provinces will, in addition, need all that they themselves can raise if the financial foundations of future development are to be sufficiently broad-based to carry the contemplated load.

It is in this context that the Estate Duty Bill, which I hope to introduce later in the Session, must be viewed. For this measure, together with the recent expansion of commodity taxation, should be regarded as the first concrete step towards the building up of a planned and expanding financial system for the future. The reaction of the country to measures such as these will, in my view, constitute the first real test of the seriousness of its intentions in the matter of post-war development. The second effective test will be the response to the Government's efforts to establish a national habit of saving which, with the denial of current consumption which it involves, will be necessary for development purposes after the war as it is for holding inflationary tendencies in check during the war.

It may be appropriate for me, in my last Budget speech, to devote a little more time to the subject of the fiscal means by which the Government of the future may be enabled to fulfil the high hopes now entertained, and to give the outcome of my own reflections on this topic.

NATIONAL INCOME

Tax revenue depends, in the last resort, on the rate of tax and the national income. The national income, in its turn, is determined by the level of prices and the scale of economic activity. If then, to fulfil the programme of development, India will require a level of expenditure much more closely related to its present than its pre-war scale, a great deal must necessarily turn upon the future price-level and the future level of economic activity. Both these must be taken into account. There is a tendency to argue that the high level of prices which has been reached during the war—when so large a proportion of the productive powers of the nation are devoted to non-civilian ends—must be maintained in the post-war period, otherwise it will not be possible to raise the necessary resources. I believe this to be a mistaken view. When the productive power of the nation is turned from manufacturing for war to manufacturing for civilian use, there will be a large supply of goods available and this additional supply must result, in my judgment, in lower prices for those goods. But if simultaneously the total volume of activity deployed during the war can be maintained and increased, the total national income can be maintained and even increased in spite of a fall in unit-prices.

It is the maintenance of the aggregate national income in terms of money and not the stabilisation of prices of individual commodities that should be the objective in the years after the war. It may well be that in that period some prices will rise, and some will fall—for it is the inevitable consequence of rapid changes such as those of the last five years that relative price changes should get out of step—nevertheless, our efforts should be directed rather to the maintenance of the aggregate figures upon which the fiscal authorities can operate than upon the guaranteeing to each particular group of producers of the prices which their products may, in certain cases quite fortuitously, have attained during the war.

TAXATION

But while it will be necessary in the post-war years to impose taxation of a magnitude comparable with that existing at the present time, it by no means follows that the existing scheme of taxation should continue when the present hostilities have ceased. Excess Profits Tax is an obvious expedient in time of war to secure reversion to the State of a due proportion of any increased profits made by industry in the abnormal conditions then prevailing. Any scheme for the levy of a special tax upon such increase of profits can at best be of a somewhat rough and ready nature, no matter what degree of thought and care have gone to the devising of the enactment that gives effect to it. Moreover, the datum line from which excess profits are measured must inevitably bear less

and less relation to current realities as we get further from the pre-war years. It is, therefore, to my mind desirable that this war-time expedient should vanish with the emergency that brought it into being.

Repeal of the Excess Profits Tax would not, however, represent a proportionate loss of revenue, for Excess Profits Tax is allowable as a deduction in computing profits assessable to income-tax and super-tax, so that with its repeal, profits assessable to income-tax would be correspondingly increased. Nevertheless, whatever may be the extent and duration of the post-war boom during which industry will be engaged in repairing the ravages of war and whatever may be the scale of the profits that are expected to accrue from the plans for the post-war expansion of industry, taxes on non-agricultural income can hardly be expected to continue to play the overwhelming part in the scheme of national finance that they now do.

The projected estate duty on property, other than agricultural property, would be capable of restoring in due course the position as regards the aggregate contribution made by the industrial, commercial and professional classes of the community as such. It has to be remembered, however, that these form but a small proportion of the total population of the country and it will be necessary to secure a further contribution from the remainder.

Agricultural income-taxes would go some way to achieve that end, and this is, in my view, an inevitable development if the Provincial Governments, to whom this source of revenue is allocated by the Constitution, are to play their part in mobilising the resources of the country for the prosecution of the campaign against poverty, illiteracy and ill-health.

Our main revenue from commodity taxation has hitherto been derived from customs duties and these are likely to remain a highly important source of revenue for many years. Indeed, in the immediate post-war period, extensive importation of capital goods and replenishment of stocks of urgently needed consumer goods of all kinds may cause customs receipts to soar to unprecedented heights; and though they may decline sharply once the market has built up adequate stocks of goods for general consumption, they are likely to remain buoyant for a number of years. With the growing industrialisation of the country, however, this source of revenue can hardly be expanded and may, indeed, appreciably contract, particularly if the customs tariff should be given a more positively protective complexion; moreover there are decided objections to burdening capital goods and raw materials with too high rates of duty.

SALES TAX

As an instrument of commodity taxation, reliance will, therefore, increasingly have to be placed on Central excises. The exigencies of war-time finance have already necessitated systematic exploration of this field. New excises have been introduced which are already lucrative and can be expanded; and the law and procedure relating to Central excises have been consolidated in a compendious code, which has been so fashioned as to enable the present excises to be enlarged or further excises to be added as the Central Government's finances may, from time to time, require.

Another possible major development in the field of indirect taxation lies in the expansion of the sales or turnover tax. This source of revenue has so far been but lightly tapped in India, but increasing recourse to it may be necessary in order to finance schemes for economic expansion. Since the first World War the sales tax has become an important feature of the revenue systems of most leading countries of the world and, in some of them, has rivalled customs and even income taxation. During the present war a purchase tax has been introduced in the United Kingdom, which has not only helped to check inflation in that country but has yielded a very large revenue.

In India, the sales tax is a provincial impost and has been applied only in five provinces; and, except in the province of Madras, the yield so far is comparatively small. As with other indirect taxes care is necessary to prevent the incidence from being too regressive. Problems also arise from uneven incidence in contiguous territories. It would obviously be to the advantage of the consumer and of trade in general if the tax were applied (in so far as may be practicable) in the same rates, and to the same classes of transaction throughout the country. It is possible that with the aid of the Central Government, a comprehensive system might be devised and administered on a national basis, the net proceeds accruing to the governments of the participating units. An all-India tax of this kind would greatly assist the provinces with their plans for development; and if higher rates

were imposed on luxury goods, it should also assist in counteracting the inflationary tendencies of a period of expansion.

There is one further issue to which I must make reference. Public discussions of the advantages of the State ownership or operation of industry, as against the advantages of private enterprise, are being very actively pursued at the present time, which is natural in view of the intrinsic importance of the question. But, in the public consideration of these matters, I feel that perhaps insufficient attention has hitherto been paid to the question whether it would not be advisable to extend State ownership of industries as a source of additional revenue. It may well be that in the future the State may find it necessary to nationalise certain industries—especially those with large possibilities of expansion—in order that it may have at its disposal additional sources of income for the sustenance of national well-being as a whole.

NEW PROPOSALS

I return now to the problems of the year immediately ahead. Against a total estimated expenditure, military and civil, of Rs. 517·63 crores, the total revenue at the existing level of taxation is estimated at Rs. 353·74 crores, leaving a revenue deficit of Rs. 163·89 crores. On the assumption that the whole of this gap were to be filled up by borrowing, the pattern and proportion of our war-time budget would seem to challenge comparison with that of any belligerent country. We have, however, as I explained in detail last year, to keep in view a larger and more comprehensive target if we are to minimise not merely our own budgetary deficit but the gap between total rupee outgoings, whether on our own or Allied account, and total rupee incomings, whether by taxation, borrowings, sales of bullion or other devices for absorbing surplus purchasing power. Whilst the general picture, in the light of this more exacting objective, gives less cause for satisfaction, I have, on a careful survey, come to the conclusion that no really significant improvement could be effected by any practicable major change in the sphere of Central taxation.

WARTIME TAXATION

The scope for further improvement in this field lies rather, in my opinion, in the direction of greater efforts to combat evasion and in the enforcement of existing tax obligations. I trust that we shall have the support of the House and the country in that policy. For the rest, we must rely on the expansion of our borrowing programme and on the response of the public, born of the gradually widening appreciation of its importance to the maintenance of the economic health of the community, and assisted by the operation of the various controls.

In the sphere of direct taxation it is proposed to continue the Excess Profits Tax at the present rate together with the scheme of conpulsory deposits, for a further year up to March 31, 1946. As regards income-tax, we have given considerable thought to the problems which will shortly arise in regard to the financing of the re-equipment of industry.

Our scheme of wartime taxation has throughout been so devised as not to deplete, and on the contrary to strengthen, the reserves at the disposal of industry for meeting the calls which will be made upon them in the post-war period. In this respect we may, without undue sacrifice of modesty, claim to have shown more foresight than we have been given credit for. Nevertheless we are conscious that the restoration and expansion of the machinery of production will call for some new form of assistance and we feel that we are justified in adapting to Indian conditions the measure of relief which has been announced in the United Kingdom. This will take the form of the grant of special initial depreciation allowances in respect of new buildings erected, and new plant and machinery installed, after March 31, 1946. These allowances will, in the year in which they are given, be an addition to the usual depreciation allowances and they will not be deductible in arriving at the written down value. They will not be given for E. P. T. purposes. It is proposed to prescribe these allowances by rule but I may state here that the figures I have in mind are 20 percent on plant and machinery and 10 per cent on buildings. Allowances at these rates, in addition to the usual rates, should provide substantial encouragement for the early re-equipment of industry.

I am also proposing to allow for income-tax purposes expenditure on scientific research. The proposals follow generally the provisions in the U.K. Finance Act, 1944, which have been described by the Chancellor of the Exchequer as "a comprehensive attempt to relieve from taxation altogether funds devoted by industry to the support of fundamental research, to the translation of laboratory research to production and to the full-scale development of the product." The proposals, in

brief, are the allowance of current research expenditure as it is incurred, the allowance of payments to recognised research bodies and institutions and the allowance over a period of five years or over the life of the assets, if shorter, of research expenditure of a capital nature.

Provisions for these reliefs, as well as for earned income relief, which I will now explain, are contained in a Bill to amend the Income-tax and E.P.T. Acts which is being put before the House.

INCOME-TAX

Differentiation for income-tax purposes between incomes that are earned by personal exertion and incomes that are not so earned has long been a feature of the taxation systems of many countries, including England and the U.S.A. It has been somewhat aptly described as the only method by which the depreciation of the human machine can be adequately recognised in taxation. Recent developments in India have emphasised the inequity of the identical treatment of earned and unearned incomes and this is an appropriate time at which to introduce this distinction into our system.

The Finance Bill provides that there shall be an exemption of one-tenth of earned income subject to a maximum (in terms of income) or Rs. 2,000. The Income-tax Amendment Bill to which I have referred contains provisions for giving effect to this proposal. The exemption will be given only in respect of income which may be described as derived from personal exertion and will not therefore, for example, apply to the income of companies or in respect of dividends, interest on securities or income from property. It will be given only for income-tax and not for super-tax.

The cost of this earned income relief is estimated at about Rs. 3½ crores, of which the Centre will bear Rs. 2¾ crores. To make up for this loss I propose to increase by 3 pies the surcharge on slabs of income above Rs. 15,000 and on incomes taxable at the maximum rate. This increase will not apply to Life Insurance Companies whose combined rate of income-tax and super-tax will continue to be 63 pies. It is estimated that this small increase will yield about Rs. 4 crores.

CUSTOMS AND EXCISE

In the sphere of indirect taxes, the Customs surcharges which are being levied for revenue purposes during the present abnormal conditions will be continued for another year. In the Central Excise tariff a further change is proposed in respect of tobacco. The improved shipping situation has enabled the limit placed on the proportion of imported tobacco in the more expensive types of cigarette to be raised from 30 to 70 per cent. It is accordingly now proposed that the highest class of flue-cured tobacco in the excise tariff should be subdivided into three and should be subjected to a duty of Rs. 7½, Rs. 5 or Rs. 3½ a pound, according as it is intended for use in the manufacture of cigarettes containing more than 60 per cent, more than 40 but not more than 60 per cent, or more than 20 but not more than 40 per cent by weight of imported tobacco.

Minor changes include a parallel increase in the rate of duty on flue-cured tobacco intended for any purpose other than those specified in the tariff. Complementary changes to these will be made in the Customs tariff where the standard rate of duty on unmanufactured tobacco is being raised to Rs. 7½ a pound, with no surcharge, and the rates for related items—cigars, cigarettes and manufactured tobacco—are being re-fixed so as to correspond. These changes, which will come into effect immediately by virtue of a certificate under the Provisional Collection of Taxes Act, are expected to result in an increased revenue of Rs. 3·6 crores under Excise and Rs. 2·4 crores under Customs, a total of Rs. 6 crores.

The only other changes included in the Finance Bill this year relate to postal parcels, the traffic in which continues to increase at a rate with which it is difficult to cope. The rate, which is now 6 annas for the first 40 tolas and 4 annas for every 40 tolas thereafter, will be raised to a uniform 6 annas for every 40 tolas. It is also intended to raise the surcharge on telephone rentals from one-third to one-half, and that on trunk call fees from 20 per cent to 40 per cent. The surcharge on ordinary and express telegrams will also be increased by one anna and two annas respectively. The total additional estimated yield of these increases is Rs. 1,35 lakhs.

Excluding the effect of the proposals for relief to industry in respect of re-equipment and scientific research, of which no reliable estimate can be made at this stage, the changes in taxation and in postal and telegraph rates will yield an estimated increased revenue of Rs. 3.60 crores, which would reduce the prospective deficit to Rs. 155.29 crores.

INDIA'S FINANCIAL POSITION

Though this is the end of my last Budget Speech, the House will be relieved to learn that I do not intend to inflict on it a recital of the financial events of my period of office. So much has happened in these six years—a longer period, I believe, than that of any of my predecessors—and changes of such a scale and complexity have been brought about, that I will not attempt to summarise them. I would rather leave that task to the historian and the economist, who will in due course pass judgment on the handling of these matters.

No man who bears so large a share of responsibility as the Finance Member of this Government for the stability of this great country with its enormous population, could fail, during the course of the last few years, to experience the most intense and prolonged anxiety. No man in that position, beset from day to day with harrassing problems clamouring for instant solution, could claim that all his decisions had proved to be right. I have been sustained throughout these troublous times by a firm belief that I was acting in the best interests of India. I have been conscious that the difficulties that will arise after the war may be even greater than those of the war, and I have tried, so far as I could, to do nothing that would aggravate them. I have had constantly in mind the thought of the fuller status that India may shortly be expected to achieve, and have endeavoured to order the matters entrusted to me in consonance with that expectation.

I am confident that the financial position of this country is one of immense strength, and that it has successfully weathered the violent storms to which it was exposed. It is not merely the extinction of all her external obligations, and the replacement of them by massive assets, but the fact that even her internal unproductive debt must be a far lighter charge on the national income at the new levels which she will obviously be able to maintain in the future. This has been achieved at great sacrifice, but it has none the less prepared the stage for the momentous developments of the years to come.

I realise that problem of great difficulty and intricacy still await solution. They are part of a tangle of world problems which is the inevitable heritage of war. In spite of the lessons of the last great war and its aftermath and in spite of all that has been said on the subject during the present war, it has not yet proved practicable to devise and ensure that just allocation of the cost of war among the participants in a common cause.

It is not merely the evaluation of enormous material devastation, nor the appraisement of the extent of sacrifice, in terms of blood and sweat and tears, which has denied all accountancy; it is the proportionate distribution of the final burden among partners of widely varying capacity and with entirely differing standards of living which needs to be effected as equitably in the international field as modern system of national taxation aspire to do in the domestic sphere. Speaking entirely for myself, I cannot see how the pooling of currently available resources, coupled with the acceptance of the fortuitous location of the ravages of war can provide a complete solution for problems of this character.

Before I sit down, Sir, I should like to take this occasion to express my gratitude to the devoted band of official assistants who have served me so well in times of unparalleled strain and difficulty. Their numbers are sadly restricted, and the demands on them have been unlimited, but they have responded so nobly that I should be failing in my duty if I did not publicly accord them this need of recognition.

National War Front to go

2nd. MARCH :—By 55 votes to 43, the Assembly to-day passed *Sir Yamin Khan's* resolution asking the Government to take immediate steps to abolish the National War Front branch of the Department of Information and Broadcasting and to liquidate forthwith the National War Front organisation in the Centre and in the Provinces. Some vigorous canvassing by the Opposition preceded the vote and Mr. Kailash Behari Lal (Nationalist) who had apparently decided to abstain from voting was persuaded to change this mind and was led to the 'ayes' lobby.

Mr. *G. S. Bozman*, who spoke on the motion, announced the Government's intention to replace the National War Front by a substitute organisation "for giving information and instruction which would help in securing the co-operation of the people in the working of the controls etc." He also gave details of the official scheme. The Central organisation, Mr. Bozman said, would supply publicity guidance notes on all Indian problems and literature to the provincial units but the Provinces would be free to adapt the material to their own needs. The cost of the scheme would be shared between the Centre and the Provinces in the proposed

ratio of two-thirds to one-third for recurring expenditure and fifty—fifty for non-recurring expenditure. The scheme, Mr. Bozman pointed out, differed from the existing National War Front in two important respects. The basic approach to the people would be informative and factual instead of emotional and exhortatory. While the primary task of the organisation would continue to be publicity of an educative nature for war and problems arising directly out of the war, there was nothing to prevent it from being utilised for nation-building activities. It had been made clear to the Provincial Governments that the Central Government did not wish to interfere with the publicity work they were themselves doing. The new organisation would be wholly under the administrative control of the Provincial Governments, but would rely a great deal on non-official co-operation, advice and assistance. It had been suggested to the Provinces that for every distinct unit, there might be an Advisory Committee consisting of non-officials and officials concerned with war publicity. In addition, provincial units could constitute with the Minister or the Adviser and in charge of the Department concerned and non-officials a similar committee for the whole Province. The new scheme, he said, was generally acceptable to the Provinces, subject to modification on points of detail. The Centre was not insisting on absolute uniformity and had met or would meet Provinces on the points. One Province might decide finally to stand out of the scheme: if so, the Centre would have no objection. One or two Provinces might continue at their own cost non-official organisations comparable with the National War Front, but these would be separate from the new organisation and none of the finance would be provided by the Central Government. Mr. Bozman thanked non-officials all over India who had done sterling honorary work for the National War Front. He hoped that many of them would continue to help under the new scheme and he knew that in many Provinces they would do so.

Earlier, Mr. Bozman replied to points from the various speeches made on the resolution which, he said, contained a certain amount of misunderstanding and misinformation on the functions and objects of the National War Front. Statements had been made in the House of the work of the N. W. F. in the Provinces. He would speak of the Front in relation the Centre. Giving the history of the N. W. F., Mr. Bozman recalled how it was started nearly in 1942 shortly after the Japanese entered the war and scored quick victories. There was nervousness and food-stocks went underground and even currency and coins began to be hoarded to the detriment of the country's economy. It was, therefore, imperative to restore confidence as early as possible. The N. W. F., Mr. Bozman went on to say, was accused of dabbling in politics. It might be because of the confusion on the part of a few of the objectives and mission of the organisation. In a widespread organisation of recent and rapid growth it was impossible to secure hundred per cent understanding of its objectives and hundred per cent discipline. He must, however, definitely assure them that the N. W. F.'s policy had always been to keep out of politics. Mr. Bozman said that the money spent in India for publicity was microscopic compared to the money spent by the Governments in United Kingdom and U. S. A. He calculated that the amount spent here worked out at one pice per head per annum. The British Government had been spending on advertisements alone on an average fourteen annas per head per war year, while the Government of India's expenditure including the N. W. F., Air and advertisement bills was about three and half pies per head. Mr. Bozman emphasised that the National War Front was not a recruiting organisation and recruiting as such was not its business. But if it was implied that the efforts of the N. W. F. to inculcate the faith and courage and the will to meet agression had not helped recruitment, directly or indirectly, then he thought he must correct that impression. Many young men, after attending the N. W. F. rally, voluntarily stepped forward and had joined the ranks of India's fighting men.

Mr. *Sami Venkatachalam Chetti* said that the leader of the House stated last time that, by the time the debate was resumed Government would be in a position to state what decision they had arrived at in the matter. He invited him to enlighten the House on the question.

Pandit Nilakantha Das (Unattached) declared that the National War Front was only ostensibly non-official, but in that organisation only safe non-officials were wanted and real non-officials were discharged. Being a non-official himself, he had joined the organisation at the request of the Premier of Orissa, but gave it up in a few months.

Rev. J. C. Chatterji (nominated) admitted that improvement was necessary in the National War Front, but he thought that the organisation itself should

not be abolished. The resolution had asked not for reform, but for abolition of the National War Front, and he felt that so long as war was on, there was need for such an organisation.

Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum* (Congress) said that the vast majority of the people in this country had nothing but contempt for the National War Front, set by the Government. He asserted that the organisation was utilised not so much against the Japanese and the Germans but against popular political parties. Complaints from the Punjab were numerous and frequent that the Front was used for the party purposes and the Government of India were silent because they have a Provincial Government there to their liking. Proceeding, Mr. Abdul Qaiyum said that the N. W. F. had purchased over 50 vans for publicity work which could have been more useful for despatching food to the famine-stricken areas in Bengal. Urging the liquidation of the organisation "as waste of time and waste of taxpayers' money", the speaker alleged that those engaged for the working of the National War Front were not there out of conviction but for personal gains and they would be loyal only to the Government of the day.

Capt. Dalpat Singh strongly defended the National War Front and its activities. When India was made a base of operations, it was essential that there should be an organisation to mobilise the resources of the country for the effort. He refuted the allegations that the National War Front was utilised for party propaganda in the Punjab or for personal gains. The eight district leaders in his province and the provincial leader were not getting a single pie from the N. W. F. He pleaded for the retention of the organisation in the Punjab and hoped that the present working would not be disturbed in any way.

The League and the Front

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan refuted the suggestion that the Opposition was against the war effort. But they were opposed to the misuse of public money "and the prostitution of the N. W. F. by interested people." Mr. Jamnadas Mehta had stated that the Muslim League was adopting an attitude of "malevolent neutrality" in regard to the war. Whether it was benevolent or malevolent, the policy of the Muslim League was the only policy which any self-respecting person would have followed. The Muslim League drew the attention of the Government as early as June 1940 to mobilise the resources of India for the defence of the country. It was the Muslim League which asked the Government to take into equal partnership the people of this country to fight Nazi aggression. But Government had always depended upon those who were willing to dance to any tune that might be played in the flute of British imperialism. Speakers on the resolution, the Nawabzada continued, credited the N. W. F. with the claim for the enrolment of two million soldiers from India. Mr. Bozman, however, had made it clear that it was not the function of the N. W. F. to recruit people. A supply of two million people out of a population of 400 millions did not reflect any credit on the N. W. F. If the Government had taken the people of India into their confidence and had asked the people of India to defend their own country, instead of two millions, there would have been twenty million recruits. Referring to the new scheme which Mr. Bozman outlined, the speaker said that it was so sketchy and there was so much "ingredient of mischief in it" that it was difficult for him to support it. The new organization would continue to do what the N. W. F. had done. As he had already stated, the resolution was not moved with the intention of impending war effort but because they were convinced that it had not only done any good to war effort but its continuance would harm the real interests of the country at large.

Sir Mahomed Yamin Khan, replying to the debate, declined to withdraw the resolution and thought that the new scheme was even worse than the N. W. F. The resolution as amended by Mr. *T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar's* amendment which sought that, immediate steps should be taken both in the Centre and the Provinces for the abolition of the National War Front, was put to vote and carried.

Safeguards For British Commerce

Mr. *Manu Subedar* (Congress), moving his resolution asking for the removal of the Sections relating to British commercial safeguards, made it clear that he was not attempting to deal with any large political issues involved in the 321 Sections of the Government of India Act. He was only urging the removal of certain offensive Sections which had got in there by the backdoor, were derogatory to the dignity and self-respect of the people and the Government and sought to restrict the legislative power of this House. Giving a history of these clauses, he

referred to the recommendation of the Simon Commission and the declaration made by Sir Edward Benthall at the R.T.C. and pointed out that Indian leaders were at no time advocating discrimination. The Nehru Report laid down that there should be no discrimination on racial grounds. Mr. Subedar called attention to the fact that many of India's leaders got inveigled into granting more and more, but the one leader who had been consistently opposed to them was Mr. Jinnah (cheers). These Sections were represented at the time as though for a transitory period. They had remained with them still however. They were based on mistrust and were forced on India by the threat: "either take these Sections or no political progress." These Sections were introduced on the ground that England had lent large sums of money to India and on the pretext that these guarantees were necessary to safeguard those sums. But now the boot was on the other leg; every one of the loans had been repaid to England and against our will large sums had been taken away in the form of sterling balances, for the orderly return of which efforts were being made without any great success. These Sections which disfigured the Government of India Act, these extra-territorial rights which European firms sought in this country, Mr. Subedar continued, had no counter-part in the statute of any other country in the British Commonwealth. The most objectionable feature was that they were extracted from India on the plea that they were reciprocal and betokened equal partnership. There was also in the Incometax Act a Section which gave reciprocal tax relief to Britishers. Out of this provision, India got about Rs. 3 lakhs while she gave benefit to the extent of Rs. 75 lakhs. Such reciprocity existed in other fields too. He recalled Gandhiji's description of such a partnership as that between the giant and the dwarf. These, Mr. Subedar said, might be called sentimental grounds, but there were practical grounds on which he desired the removal of the Sections. He referred to the appointment of the Planning and Development Member and the 400-crore road plan. Men were dying for want of adequate food, he said, and what were these roads for? Were they to be used to go to the villages and remove the dead bodies? Were not the petrol, asphalt and cement interests behind these road plans? It was a mystery to him, Mr. Subedar added, whether it was the Bombay planners who had converted the Government or it was the Government which had converted the Bombay planners (Laughter). Speaking of the reported plan of the Development Member to proceed to England, Mr. Subedar asked: "Is the Planning and Development Member going there to officiate as high priest at the illegitimate marriage of big business in India with big business in the United Kingdom?" (laughter). Was Sir Ardeshir receiving the assistance of Sir Edward and other members in his development plans?" Mr. Subedar went on to refer to the manner in which a match company which was not British but foreign had established itself in India and sent many Indian companies to liquidation and how the Lever Brothers had established themselves in India and sent to liquidation 42 small soap factories. Replying to the possible argument that the Government of India Act could not be amended piecemeal, Mr. Subedar pointed out that the Act had been amended about ten times already. (Hear, hear). He quoted a shrewd American who described the Englishman in India as HAG—H for hypocrisy, A for arrogance and G for greed. (laughter), Mr. Subedar ended by quoting Mr. Amery's declaration made to the Indian Scientists' Delegation that India enjoyed the fullest economic freedom and if she failed to take effective measures for her economic development, the fault lay with the members of the Government of India. Mr. Amery had thus put the entire burden on the Executive Councillors.

Mr. Essak Sait's Amendment

Mr. *Essak Sait* moved an amendment seeking the appointment of a committee consisting of members representing all interests concerned to report to this House on the necessary provisions for replacing or repealing the Sections mentioned in the resolution.

Government's View

The Planning and Development Member, *Sir Ardeshir Dalal*, indicating Government's views, summarised the history of the whole question of British commercial safeguards in India since the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, up to Mr. Amery's statement in Commons in July 1942, in connection with the Cripps Offer. Mr. Amery then declared: "His Majesty's Government made it clear in connection with the recent offer that a guarantee of the special protection for British commercial interests in India would not be a condition for the acceptance of whatever constitution Indians might evolve after the war and that any such provisions would

more appropriately be a matter for negotiation with the future Government of India." Sir Ardeshir quoted the Duke of Devonshire and proceeded: "The position then is that, in regard to British commercial interests in India, H. M. G. will negotiate an agreement with a future Government of India. Till that time, the provisions in the existing Act, both in the field of legislation and executive action, will continue. "With the adoption of the policy of economic planning and development, these provisions have acquired a significance which they did not have before. Government intend to take a far more active interest in industrial development than they have done in the past. It is contemplated to expand existing industries and to develop a number of new basic industries of great importance to the well-being and advancement of India.

Apprehension of Indian Business Interests

"Under these clauses, it is open to any British company with a hundred per cent British capital and British directorate to establish itself in India and control such industries. More important still, it is possible for powerful combines and cartels with international ramifications to do the same. The chances of Indian industrialists competing on equal terms with such combines and companies with their vast experience and resources are very poor. As the Act stands at present, it is not possible for the Government of India to take any measures to help the indigenous industry against such competition. It is realised that Indian opinion does not regard such a state of affairs with satisfaction. He will be a bold man who will prophesy when exactly the new constitution will come into being. It will probably take some years before the new Constitution Act is placed on the Statute Book, even assuming that all the present outstanding issues are settled at a comparatively early date. But planning for the economic development of India has already commenced and is going ahead. It cannot wait till a new constitution is finally settled and becomes the law of the land.

"The problem is to arrive at some satisfactory solution on this issue. The solution must be sought not in a spirit of mutual antagonism and mistrust but of mutual co-operation and goodwill. Under happier political conditions, one can look forward to an ever-widening and almost endless vista of trade and business relationship between Great Britain and India for the benefit and prosperity of both. In the immediate post-war years, India has to look to the U. K. to a large extent for the supply of capital goods and the expert advice and assistance in the development of its industries which she so sorely needs.

"Co-operation should be welcomed if it does not involve control or domination. The Indian industry should desire to control and direct its policy in a legitimate aspiration which should not be looked upon with hostility or mistrust. "The problem, therefore, is to consider whether it is possible to arrive at any kind of convention or agreement now, without waiting for a complete constitutional settlement, so that the industrial development of the country may not be hampered. The difficulties in the way should not be minimised. The Trade Agreement is intended to be part of a general political and constitutional settlement. It is difficult to isolate one part only of the whole complex of issues, political as well as economic, and to insist upon its settlement without considering the rest. If the spirit in which a solution of this difficult problem is sought is misunderstood, either here or in Great Britain, it may have an unsettling effect upon the business communities in both countries, which it is very desirable to avoid at a time when in the interests of India's own development, closer trade relations are being sought. If it is not found possible to proceed by way of parliamentary legislation at this juncture pending consideration of the political and other issues involved, it will be necessary to explore the possibility of arriving at some kind of understanding which may remove the apprehensions of the Indian business community regarding the effect of the future operation of these safeguards on the post-war industrial development of India.

Question Under Consideration of Government

"The House will thus see that the Government of India are fully seized of this matter. It is engaging their active and earnest consideration." The Government, Sir A. Dalal reiterated, were fully aware of the situation but, he added, they would like to have an opportunity of further consideration of the matter. The result of the present discussion in the House would be reported to the Secretary of State and discussion would be entered into with H. M. G.; and the House would be apprised of the situation as it developed after that discussion. In reply to an interruption by Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, Sir Ardeshir said that the Government of India would enter

upon negotiations on the lines he had metioned and the results would be communicated to the House. Surely, it was not possible to do anything more.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir said that he supported the resolution (cheers) for more than one reason. He recalled that the whole of the Indian Delegation that went to the Round Table Conference was unanimous that there should not be restriction of any sort on the discretion of the future Government of India in the matter of trade; but it was most unfortunate that during the period of the Round Table Conference, the Delegation received no support from our own countrymen in this country. One of the reasons of the Delegation's failure was lack of support from India. The attention of the Indian Delegation was constantly drawn to the large sums which this country owed to England. He had not concluded when the house adjourned till April 4 when further discussion took place.

Indictment of Govt. Policy

9th. MARCH :—The Assembly discussed to-day the Congress Party's cut motion to reduce the grant for the Viceroy's Council to Re. 1. Mr. *Abdul Quaiyum* moved the motion.

Sir Reza Ali (Muslim League) pointed out that the Executive Council had so far not done anything towards resolving the political deadlock. He recalled that in 1916, when the last war entered a difficult phase, nineteen members of the then Legislative Council submitted certain proposals to the Government of India and what they did at that time could be done by the members of the Executive Council. The Hydari Mission and numerous other missions and delegations, said Sir Reza Ali, had been sent out during the past eighteen months to England and America, which showed that they had been taking interest in all matters except resolving the political deadlock. He compared the members to Hamlet, for they were considering, they were thinking, and they were suspicious and doubtful. Sir Olaf Caroe had suggested, Sir Reza Ali said, that bombing in the tribal areas had been undertaken to protect Hindus. This appeared to be an attempt on the part of the External Affairs Sectretary to divide the Hindus and the Muslims on the question of bombing of tribal areas. Cases of kidnapping occurred in the largest number in 1921, Sir Reza proceeded, but the Government of India had not bombed the tribal people then and it was a very far-fetched pretext to say now that Government wanted to protect the unfortunate Hindu girls from Pathans.

Detention Without trial Defended

The Home Member, *Sir Francis Mudie*, said that, when Mr. Abdul Qaiyum condemned the Government of India's policy in detaining certain persons, he based his case entirely on a slogan. Talk of concentration camps might be good propaganda especially abroad where the facts of this country were not known and could not be verified, but members of this House should base their case on actual facts. "What were the facts ?" asked the Home Member and proceeded to give a reply. The total number of persons under detention to-day was 7,500. These included Hurs and other criminals, a certain number of whom had had dealings with the enemy, or helped enemy agents and a large number of Bengal terrorists. He did not believe members of the House would wish to censure the Government for not releasing the Bengal terrorists. He was not sure if the Bengal Government would not take the strongest objection to being asked to release these terrorists ; so also, the Sind Government in regard to the release of Hurs. After deducting these, the number of those detained in India for political reasons was 1,500. "Let us compare it with the population of this conntry," suggested the Home Member amid laughter from the Opposition benches. (Mr. Krishnamachari : What about those convicted ?). The Home Member pointed out that the number of persons detained by the Government of India was about 50. The others were detained by the Provincial Governments. He was not giving the figures in order to plead that the Government of India's part was a small one in these detentions, nor to shelter behind the Provincial Governments. What he claimed was that, if the Government of India were erring, they were erring in good company. Every argument advanced against the detention was an argument not against the Government of India's policy alone, but against the policy of the Provincial Geveroments. He was not suggesting that the Government of India and the Provincial Governments all by an accident had hit upon the same policy. There were consultations between the Centre and the provinces from time to time. The Provincial Governments paid considerable attention to the views of the Home Department which received reports from all sources, and the Government of India, on their side, gave great weight to the views of the Provincial Governments. It could not possibly be that the policy followed by the Provincial Governments was

anti-Indian, declared the Home Member. It could not be thought to have any sinister purpose behind it. Nor could these people be said to have been detained because they believed in or advocated self-government for India. Self-Government had been advocated by Mr. Jinnah, for instance, and the Punjab Premier. Nor were persons detained for any opinions expressed by them. If, as had been asserted, there was no right of free speech in this country, would Mr. Gandhi have been allowed to speak and write or Mrs. Pandit allowed to go to U.S.A.? (Laughter from the Opposition.) Persons were detained simply and solely for what they would do if they were released. A great majority of them believed in violence or had had close association with those who believed in violence. Others there were who did not believe in violence, but they could not be released *en bloc* without risk. Mr. *Sri Prakasa*: What is the proportion of the population which suffered in August?

The Home Member went on to assert that no Government could afford to take the risk, at the present moment, of a repetition of what happened in 1942. Sir Francis proceeded to explain the policy of gradual release adopted by Provincial Governments and by the Government of India. Gradual release meant release as rapidly as the Governments could, consistent with public safety, let these persons out. Some Provincial Governments might be over-rash, others over-cautious. It was entirely left to them. They did not even ask the Centre when they released any detenus. (A voice: Question.) The pace of the release depended almost entirely on the behaviour of these persons after release. He had no doubt that gradual release was the correct policy. Under it, the number of detenus which in June 1943 was 10,000 had, by October 1944, been reduced to 2,000, and in February, this year, it had been reduced to 1,350, or nearly 90 per cent of those detained over 18 months ago had come out. That was a process which was going on, and he asked the House to endorse that process. The Home Member paid a tribute to the administrations which had performed the distasteful task and had never faltered in spite of violent and ignorant criticism. He asked the House not to give any vote which would be interpreted as showing lack of appreciation of these administrations.

Prof. *N. G. Ranga* (Congress) asked the Home Member to stay in jail for six months, so that he might develop a proper attitude towards persons kept in detention. He contended that there was no exaggeration in Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit's figure of 18,000 persons in Indian prisons, for it included persons who were not convicted and India was itself one large prison house. Government was responsible for carrying on propaganda in America that Mahatma Gandhi was a Japanese agent, said Prof. Ranga. It was after two years of this propaganda that Mr. Amery was forced to admit in Parliament that at no time did this Government make such a charge against the Mahatma.

In the seven lakhs of villages in the country, food requisitioning officers were breaking into houses, and taking away grain, leaving no more than three months' supplies. The Commonwealth Relations Department could not satisfy the House as to why the new High Commissioner of South Africa was being allowed to proceed. The Law Member did nothing to prevent the misinterpretation of the Defence of India Rules, even when the Federal Court drew attention to it.

Dr. *R. N. Banerjee* (Leader of the Nationalist Party) called upon the Indian Members of the Executive Council to cast away their inferiority complex and be more assertive as to the rights of the people of India." He enumerated eight grievances against the Government. The burden of the taxation on the poor people was heavy, the policy of the Government which had led to inflation had proved disastrous and resulted in a famine in Bengal and other parts of India; the financial adjustment between Britain and India in regard to the war was inequitable; the Government had failed to safeguard the economic interests of the country, the Government had failed to prevent racial discrimination against Indians in South Africa and in other parts of the Commonwealth: the Government had kept a large number of men and women in detention without any trial, and lastly the Government had failed to resolve the political deadlock.

Dr. *N. B. Khare*, Commonwealth Relations Member, refuted the charge that Indian Members of the Government had brought about a constitutional muddle. "We are here", he said, "because Opposition members indulged in a constitutional muddle". He declared categorically that he was second to none in this country in the desire to have a National Government and he wished it was in his power to get it. Like Bharatha in the epic, he was prepared to lay the crown at the feet of Rama when Rama returned after destroying Ravana and rescuing Sita. But here, Rama (the Congress) did not even go to Lanka, but came either from Wardha or Madras or Bombay without destroying Ravana and was wanting the crown. The Government

had been called irremovable and irresponsible. He pleaded guilty, and reminded the House that they were functioning under the 1919 Act for which the Indian Members were not responsible. Dr. Khare asked if the motion moved to-day was part of the programme for the freedom fight and if the sponsors of the motion were sincere. If the motion was carried and if supplies were refused, the sponsors should go to the country, and start a "No-Tax" campaign (voice: You will put them in jail.) The opposition had talked of Four Freedoms, but he said before those Freedoms could be obtained, there should be freedom from humbug. "You behold, in my person, sir," he said, "a live victim of non-violent Nazism." There was a time when the slogan was "Quit India". Now the slogan seemed to be "Quit jobs so that we may get them." Dr. Khare asked the House whether it believed that this war should be won quickly and in the interests of India. If the House believed in it, then every member must vote against the motion. (Voices: Why ?) The Congress had been against the war effort, and he would admit that the Congress had been willing to hurt and bold enough to strike, but the Muslim League was willing to hurt but afraid to strike. Dr. Khare reminded the House that the first arrest to be made under the Defence of India Rules was made by the Congress Ministry in Madras, and it was that very Ministry which got Dr. T. S. S. Rajan nominated to the Madras Legislature by the Governor, and then took him in as a Minister. As against the criticisms made against his policy with regard to South Africa, Dr. Khare quoted from a Press report of a statement which, he said, Mahatma Gandhi had made saying that he could not forget Dr. Khare's services on behalf of the Indians in South Africa.

Indictment by League Spokesman

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan (Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party) said that the motion was intended to show the lack of confidence in the Government of India as constituted to-day. He described Dr. Khare as a "jester of the Executive Council". Dr. Khare had justified his position by taking shelter under the Act of 1919, but the same Act, the Nawabzada pointed out, entitled the Opposition to express its lack of confidence in the Government, and there was no obligation to go to the country to preach non-payment of taxes.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan condemned the bombing in the tribal areas, and said that Sir Olaf Caroe's statement was like the statement of General Dyer who declared in connection with the Jallianwalabagh outrage, that he would have continued to shoot if he had more ammunition.. In regard to the composition of the present Government, the Nawabzada referred to Sir Sultan Ahmed's statement on a similar motion last year, that, as the political parties had refused to join the Executive Council, the Viceroy had to expand his Council by appointing public men. That statement was incorrect, declared the Nawabzada. The Muslim League Party did not refuse to share the responsibility for the successful prosecution of the war, but what they refused to accept was the position of Britain's camp followers. They wanted a position as co-partners in a common enterprise. The then Viceroy Lord Linlithgow was not prepared to give that promise, and the Muslim League, as a self-respecting party, had no other choice but to refuse the offer. Criticising Lord Wavell's reference to the present Government as a National Government, the Nawabzada said that only that government could be legitimately called a National Government which had the support, goodwill and co-operation of the people of the country. By no stretch of language, he asserted, could this Government be termed a National Government. "Give up this pretence", he said. "Why do you want to deceive the world by such pretences ? Do not think that the world consists of fools and that you are the only wise men. The world knows that the Government of India has neither the backing nor the goodwill nor the co-operation of the people. I do not cast any reflection on the honour of the honourable members on the other side, but they should certainly recognise that we on this side of the House, are entitled to express the opinion held by a large section of the people in this country." "Go and ask any Indian you like", he said. "I am talking of an Indian who does not want a job or contracts, and who wants to live in peace. You will hear a tale of woe." Concluding the Nawabzada said that he had heard complaints of racial discrimination even in the armed forces. A number of Indian army officers belonging to various communities had told him of the prevalence of racial discrimination. He urged the Government to remedy them.

The Supply Member

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Supply Member said that the Opposition had had pressed for a government which had the backing on the elected elements in

the House. "All of us", he said, "wanted to have a Government of that sort, but when they try to put the blame on this Government, I think, they are very wide of the mark." Dr. Banerjee had complained that this Government had done nothing to resolve the political deadlock. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, in reply, referred to the fact, known to most members of the House that this Government, as a united body, and as individual members had, time and again, tried to do what they could to resolve the deadlock. Some of their efforts had not been liked by the one or the other section and did not come up to the expectation of the one or the other section. Again, proposals which were once anathema, had, with the passage of times, appeared to have become a little more reasonable. To suggest that the Government had done nothing would mean wiping out past memories. Referring to propaganda abroad, of which strong criticisms had been made, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar said that he himself was in the United States for two months in 1943. He had lectured at various places and his addresses had been published by the American Foreign Relations Council and not by any machinery under the control of the Government of India. He invited the Opposition to show in those speeches one word of criticism or abuse of anyone. "I was in a foreign country representing the Government of my country, and every Indian was sacred to me whatever differences I may have with him here. I have not said one unsavoury word, whatever my differences may be", he said. The Supply Member continued: "Just look at the contrast of the propaganda that is being carried on on behalf of the party opposite. Look at the way Indians have been maligned and ridiculed, simply because they do not conform to your views, simply because you and I in this country could not come to an agreement. That is the propaganda that is going on and that propaganda is sufficient to bring India into disrepute."

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar paid a tribute to the Finance Member who would lay down his office shortly. The Finance Member had been criticised for many things. "The Finance Member," Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar said, "is not the one person who decined on policy, but everyone of us shares the responsibility; because the Governor-General-in-Council must take the responsibility for any measure in fact and in theory." First, in the Commerce Department, and then again as Supply Member, he had opportunities to weigh every one of the financial proposals, and it required no historian of the future to say that, as a whole, the Finance Member had dealt with this country as if it was his own country (cheers). It appeared to him, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar said, as though the Opposition had not, to this day, realised that this country was at war. Some of the war measures had caused hardships, but he asked which country was there in the world to-day, where a section did not complain of the ways of bureaucracy? For five years, he said, he had sat at his post to defend the interests of the country. The opposition had been in the wilderness and allowed the Government to be run without any proper criticism. There was not one to watch the economic interests of the people whom they had openly neglected. "I say in all sincerity, to the honourable members opposite," he said, "that there should exist some Government in this country, so long as it is not possible for an agreement to be arrived at by the parties opposite. There is no sense in mere Nihilism".

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai,* leader of the Opposition, said that he was reminded of the saying that an impressive delaration of patriotism was the last argument of unpatriotic persons. If it was true that Indian Members of the Government were patriots, it did not require a declaration such as was made by the last speaker. What the Supply Member said amounted to this: "I am as good a patriot as you, but nobody has confidence in me." The confidence of the country was, after all, the real measure of partriotism, and it was a fact that none of the Indian Members of the Government had the confidence of the country. Indeed, as regards one or two of them, some of their own families did not agree with them (Laughter.) Mr. Desai ridiculed the claim that Indian Members of the Government had done their duty in the absence of the Congressmen from the House. Those Members, he declared, had done ill to this country, had acted in a manner that was a standing disgrace. The Finance Member had said that some Rs. 830 crores had been collected as loan since the beginning of the war. What, asked Mr. Desai, did it mean in terms of human value? At the same time, money due to India had been sterilised, and the country had been told this was not the time to discuss Britain's liability. The Commonwealth Relations Member had flouted the wishes of the House that he should not send a representative of the Government of India to South Africa. He had done nothing to prevent the deterioration of the Indian position in South Africa.

The Home Member had tried to make great play with the numbers of detenues. Did it really matter what was the number of persons put in jail? What mattered was who were the persons dealt with in this fashion and for what offence. Even if one man was kept in prison without trial and for an offence which the people of the country did not consider an offence, then, those who kept that man in jail did not deserve well of the country. Mr. Desai went on to ask to what purpose were the two and a half million Indian troops being used. For whose democracy were they shedding their blood? "We are willing," he said, "to undertake the responsibility for fighting if only we are fighting for our freedom, along with the freedom of others. Mr. Desai said that by reason of the fact that their soldiers were in this country, the Americans had come to acquire a great deal of respect for the people of this country, and were interested in the freedom of this country. In any case, said Mr. Desai, the freedom of this country could not depend on his calling the Indian Members of the Government patriots. "I assure you, I am prepared to risk losing freedom rather than call you a patriot," he asserted. (Laughter.) Reverting to the sterling balances, Mr. Desai said that they were the result of sweat, starvation and famine, and he would not accept settlement about it made by this Government. "But I would make a present of all the sterling balances if England will say that from to-morrow we are free to arrange our affairs.

Sir Sultan Ahmed

Sir Sultan Ahmed, Leader of the House said he did not wish to emulate the Opposition in the use of intemperate language, but he could not allow the Leader of the Opposition to run away with one observation which he had made without challenge. Mr. Desai had put the question whether Indian members of the Government had advanced the cause of India's freedom by one inch. Sir Sultan would respectfully answer: We have done certainly much more by sticking to our places here than you have done" (interruption from the Opposition). Freedom of the country about which the Opposition members had talked so much, was freedom of this country. "You have no monopoly of the patriotism," he asserted. "You may rest assured, you are not serving your country simply by abusing those who are doing their job." Sir Sultan went on to refute the allegations made about the Government of India carrying on propaganda in America. Malicious and fantastic statements had been made, he said, about Indian publicity in America. Mr. J. J. Singh had made the statement that the Indian National Congress was the only political party in India representing all the various classes and communities. But when Mr. Singh heard that the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha were also going to send out representatives to America to place their case before the American public, he came forward with the plea that the presentation of the communal views in America would weaken the Indian case and strengthen the British case. Incidentally, that statement demolished Mrs. Pandit's statement that there were no religious differences in this country at all. As regards Mrs. Pandit's other statement that the whole of India was a concentration camp, Sir Sultan said that the Home Member had dealt with that charge, but the question had been asked how many were the convicted prisoners. Sir Sultan gave the figure as 26,000 after the August disturbances, and said that, out of that number, 21,000 had been released, and only 5,000 remained. But, he asserted, that if they were convicted and sentenced by courts of law, it could not be said that Indian members of the Government were responsible for it. Refuting the statement that Indian soldiers were 'rice soldiers,' Sir Sultan confessed that nothing had pained him more than this derogatory expression. "If India is to get freedom it will not be because you people have gone to jail, but because they have shed the last drop of their blood." (Cheers.) In May last, he had visited Imphal, and the Viceroy's Commissioned Officers with whom he had talks, told him: "Go and tell our countrymen that we will not return to India until we have driven the Japanese out of Burma." (Cheers.) Did the detractors realise that one Indian division supported by a tank division annihilated three Japanese divisions? Instead of paying tribute to these people, they were being called rice-soldiers. He would be ashamed of speaking in those terms. Sir Sultan went on to deny the statement that the Indian Information Services had issued hundreds of books in America. That was lie, he declared. Not one book had been issued. It was a black lie that the Agent-general was devoting his time to spying on Indian students and publicists, or that the Agent-General was getting 52,000 dollars a year to carry on anti-Indian propaganda, that 10,000 British propagandists were devoting their time to anti-Indian propaganda, or that the British Information Services distributed copies of Miss Mayo's book "Mother India."

Sir Sultan declared that both Mr. Singh and Mrs. Pandit could never mislead American opinion.

Mr. Qaiyum : Why take notice of them : (Laughter.)

In reply to an interruption by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, asking why the Government of India should undertake to deny the statement that there were no religious differences in India, Sir Sultan said that it was no use "shutting our eyes to the facts or denying that problems existed." Problems, he added, could not be solved by accepting them, and tackling them with a full knowledge of their magnitude and extent.

The House divided and passed the motion by a majority of eight votes.

Government's Control Policy Criticised

10th. MARCH :—The Assembly to-day passed by 59 votes to 48 the Muslim League Party's cut motion, moved by Mr. *H. A. Sathar H. Essak Sait* that the demand under the head "Post-war Planning and Development" be reduced to one rupee.

Mr. *C. P. Lawson*, speaking for the European Group, declared that members of his side of the House had supported some form of planning for the past year or more and, therefore, he was unable to go the whole way with the motion. They certainly did not wish to eliminate the Department. It had produced valuable material and extremely able reports, but that did not mean that his Group were completely satisfied with the working of the Department, and he was there to ask the Government for a specific definition of the functions of the Department. They wanted to know whether those functions consisted of planning as distinct from policy, for there seemed to be a specific difference between the two. Planning to his Group meant fixing of definite targets for the country, a certain optimum of development that the present Government considered advisable in all circumstances. If the Government avoided planning in this sense at a time like this when the war was drawing to a close, they would be failing in their duty, but his Group wanted to know definitely what planning entailed. The political constitution was inextricably mixed up with planning and that undoubtedly was worrying the Muslim League Party. That only reinforced his point that these reports should be extremely careful to avoid any impingement on the policy of Government. These reports devoted a considerable portion to State interest in industry, for instance. Was this planning or was this policy ? he asked. His Group held definite views about that question, as on the question of assistance to be obtained from abroad. Again, the report stated that the State might not hamper private enterprise, but might prevent schemes which were unlikely to succeed. Now, who was to decide whether a scheme was unlikely to succeed ? The main necessity of a debate on the subject, he suggested, was to enable the Planning Member to explain these points and others like the order of priority to be given to various development schemes.

Mr. *T. S. Avinashilingan* Chettiar (Congress) said that plans relating to industry and industrial policy were mainly guided by the profit-making motive and not that improving the lot of the villager. If money could do planning, the present Government could do it, but Mr. Chettiar pointed out, money could not do it ; what was needed was that planning should be done by persons who were in touch with the people, lived with them, and were prepared to die with them if necessary. Expert knowledge was no doubt necessary, but they could purchase that knowledge. But they could not purchase the large heart and the true sympathy which were so essential for planning. Sir Ardeshir himself had admitted, Mr. Chettiar proceeded, that only a National Government could do planning for the country. Sir James Grigg had set apart Rs. one crore for rural development, but the Auditor-Generel had to report that proper accounts were not kept for a portion of the fund. Mr. Chettiar referred to the fact that the Congress using only a quarter of that sum had been able to train a large number of workers and had carried out educational and social work of an effective kind.

Sir A. Dalal's Reply to Criticisms

Sir Ardeshir Dalal said that it appeared to him that he himself and his Department were being subjected to a pincer movement by the Congress on the one hand and by the Muslim League on the other ; but the unity of purpose of the two parties was confined to the attack on his Department. The attack was directed from ideals and points of view which appeared to be somewhat conflicting. (A voice : Mr. Amery speaking.)

The Congress position seemed to be, he said, that they alone would do the planning. "Well, Sir, I and the Government of which I happen to be a member, are not standing in the way of the Congress if they wish to do it." But until they

composed their differences and came to sit on the Government benches, this Government had to carry on. (A voice: Associate us with that work. That is in the resolution of November.) What seemed to worry the Opposition, Sir Ardeshir went on, was that, if the unpopular Government did something which would redound to the good of the country, then the credit for it would go to this Government. That was what the Congress Party did not like.

The League point of view, Sir Ardeshir continued, was different. The Government were planning on the basis of the present constitution, and the League was looking forward to fundamental changes in the constitutional position. He had, however, made it abundantly clear that the proposals made for post-war planning did not in any way affect the constitutional issues. Whatever form the constitution took, they would all benefit by the measures of economic development contemplated by the Department. The whole idea of planning was without prejudice to the idea of Pakistan. although personally he did not believe in Pakistan. Within the six months that the Department had had time to get down to work, they had set up a Technical Power Board, expanded the geological survey, were sending some 500 students for technical training to U.S.A. and U. K., established employment exchanges, appointed a committee to consider the establishment of a technological institute, and expanded the Forest Research Institute. A great deal of work had been done, he claimed, and it was only this House which seemed to take a gloomy pessimistic and antagonistic view of that work.

Sir Ardeshir refuted the suggestion that he had refused co-operation. From the day he assumed office, he had made it clear that the one thing he wanted was public co-operation ; work of this nature could not go on without public co-operation. As regards the resolution passed last November he explained that for two days he tried to negotiate with the Leader of the Opposition and a number of formulæ were suggested. He offered a Standing Committee of the House, which would be consulted at every state of formulation of plans. But every suggestion was turned down. He had again expressed a willingness to have a Standing Committee of the House and he understood that a committee of the kind would be established now after all the unnecessary bickering and ill-will. But the Standing Committee then proposed would have been more valuable from the Opposition point of view than the present one. "Want of co-operation does not come from my side , it comes from the opposite side", he declared. (Cheers). As for the question why Government did not accept the resolution moved last session, Sir Ardeshir said that they had no alternative in view of the implications of the resolution which were explained by the Leader of the Opposition. The claim had been made by the Leader of the Opposition that his side of the House would frame the plans. That, said Sir Ardeshir, meant that the legislature was trying to take upon itself executive functions which belonged to no legislature in the world.

Sir Ardeshir reiterated his view that plans of this kind could only be executed by a National Government but meantime the present Government could not sit quiet while other countries were going ahead : the present Government could not sit idle and watch the economy of the country collapse. That, he declared, was the sole justification of the post-war planning work done by the Government.

Mr. Desai's Reply to Planning Member

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, in a brief intervention, referred to Sir Ardeshir's statement that only this House seemed to be pessimistic about his Department's activities. If Sir Ardeshir imagined that the members of the Opposition and the country were far apart and that members on the Government Benches were very close to the people of the country, that was a flattering unction which might be all right in his private chamber but did him no credit in this House. (Sir Ardeshir : Not being a lawyer I have no chamber). (Laughter).

Sir Cowasji Jehangir who, at this stage, interjected a question was greeted with angry cries from the Congress and Muslim League benches. There was a tense moment when Mr. Desai refused to give way to Sir Cowasji and members on the Congress benches excitedly called Sir Cowasji to order. Sir Cowasji thereupon rose to a point of order and asked whether irrelevant interruptions were in order and if so was it only the Opposition that could indulge in such interruptions ?

The *President* remarked that whether interruptions were in order or not it was his painful duty to tell members and he would tell them when the occasion required.

Mr. *Desai* went on to give an explanation of what took place between him and Sir Ardeshir about the resolution of last November and declared that the resolution did not involve any question of the legislature undertaking executive action. It only

asserted the right of the House to prepare the plan and leave it to the Executive to carry it out. He trusted that notwithstanding the threat of dislocation of the country's economy which Sir Ardeshir had mentioned the House would carry the motion.

League Leader's Criticism

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan referred to Sir Ardeshir's description of Mr. Desai and himself (the Nawabzada) as comparable to the two Russian Generals, Marshal Zhukov and Marshal Koniev who were fighting to annihilate Hitler but who, unlike the Opposition leaders in the House, were agreed on their objective and method. "Let me tell the Hon. Member", said the Nawabzada, "that whatever our difference may be, on the fundamental point there is complete agreement; that is, to annihilate the so many apologists for Hitler sitting over there". (Laughter.) The Nawabzada referred to Sir Ardeshir's plea for co-operation and declared that co-operation did not mean servile support of whatever the Government said or did. That kind of co-operation could not be expected of any decent Indian. If the Government really wanted the assistance, help and co-operation of non-official members, then it should have given effect to the resolution passed by the House last November. The Nawabzada denied that the resolution meant any desire of the House to usurp the functions of the Executive. Sir Ardeshir said there was no legislature in the world which performed functions legitimately assigned to the Executive Government. The Nawabzada asked: Is there any Executive in the world, which goes merrily on in spite of the fact that the legislature has time and again expressed its lack of confidence? (Cheers.) This Government, the Nawabzada declared, was not fit to plan for the future economic, agricultural, industrial or educational development of the country. The Nawabzada regretted that the Planning Member should have expressed his views on the question of Pakistan in a debate like this. The matter under discussion raised the important issue that planning should be done in such a way that it would make people feel that it was for the benefit of the largest number of Indians and not to make the rich richer nor to produce a few more Tatas or other capitalists. The present Government was unfit to do the job, he reiterated, and it could only do the job if it associated with itself the real and honourable co-operation of the people of the country.

The House divided and passed the motion by a majority of 11 votes.

Governments' Attitude to Congress

22nd. MARCH:—What the Government of India and Provincial Government were hoping for was some clear indication that over the country as a whole in principle and in fact the Congress Party had abandoned the method of attempting to coerce those who did not agree with them and paralyse the administration of this country. This point was emphasised by the Home Member, *Sir Francis Mudie*, replying in the Assembly to-day to the argument that as the Congress had taken office in the North-West Frontier Provinces, it was to be assumed that all over the country the Congress had abandoned their attitude of 1942. Sir Francis asked whether that was a safe generalisation to make. Was it safe to generalise from a province where there was hardly any disturbance at all in 1942 to provinces like the U. P. Behar and the C. P., in which there were serious disturbances indeed. He wished that the Government of India and Provincial Governments could accept that generalisation. But, he thought, it was a most dangerous generalisation to make. Neither the Government of India, nor the Provincial Governments, as Lord Wavell made it clear, were asking for repentance in sack cloth and ashes. What was required was for the Congress to co-operate jointly with other parties in the Government. Sir Francis endorsed Mr. Anathasayanam Iyengar's appeal for co-operation between this country and Great Britain on the basis of equal partnership. The Home Member declared that every one on his side of the House was fully convinced that the only real solution was such co-operation. The lesson he would like to draw from what had happened in the North-West Frontier was that if the hand of friendship was extended, Government could be depended upon to grasp it.

Release of Politicals in the Frontier

Earlier, the Home Member claimed that what had happened in Peshawar fully established one point he had made in an earlier debate, namely, that with the exception of a small number of prisoners, the question of release or continued detention was one for the Provincial Governments. The new Government in the North-West Frontier was of the opinion that it could safely release the political

prisoners. That Government was entitled to its opinion. It did not concern the Home Department nor was it consulted, and if it was consulted it would have been rather embarrassed. Replying to the criticism of the working of the order regarding communal representation in the services, the Home Member explained his own personal attitude and line of approach, namely, that for good administration it was necessary to have on the staff representatives of the main communities. That he had learnt as a district officer in the U. P. He understood the point of view of the Muslim, the Indian Christian, Sikh and other communities and he considered it with sympathy.

Mr. *Ram Narayan Singh*, concluding his unfinished speech, warned the Government that all attempts to kill the Congress or obstruct the constructive programme of Mahatma Gandhi would fail. The Congress could not be killed and it would go forward by non-violent means. Referring to Dr. Ambedkar's statement that the Government had no mineral policy, Mr. Ram Narayan Singh said that since the advent of British rule, all interests in the mines had been in the hands of the British people. The coal mines in Hazaribagh had been leased out to the European concerns and in one case the period of lease extended to 999 years. As regards mica industry a conspiracy had been started to oust Indians who owned it.

Mr. *K. C. Neogy* referred to the "dramatic suddenness" of Lord Wavell's departure to London and warned the country against optimistic speculation. "All I can say is we should hope and pray that good sense may yet prevail and justice will be done to India—good sense in quarters who think they have the destinies of this country in their hands. Whatever else may happen as a result of Lord Wavell's visit, I am perfectly sure it is going to lead to a further intensification of war effort on the part of India." It would, he added, result in increasing the military burden on India. It was true that according to the existing formula, India was responsible for financing the defence activities of the country in so far as they related to what was called her local defence, but in this determination of what was local defence, only one person, namely the C.-in-C., was responsible. He laid down the law and the rest of the Government merely accepted the fatwa. Mr. Neogy cited the example of the cost of two airfields constructed outside India but within reasonable flying distance of their frontiers. The expenditure had been declared to be for the local defence of India and the Auditor-General had to accept that allocation. Referring further to the expenditure incurred on airfields for Americans, Mr. Neogy said that the Finance Member had given the impression that 1942-43 and 1943-44 witnessed the virtual completion of these airfields, but actually out of total of Rs. 50 crores provided for the purpose 26 crores had been spent after the Finance Member's statement. Was there any ceiling in regard to our obligation for expenditure on U. S. A. account ? If we were not expected to find money needed for campaigns outside India's borders, we could not be expected to provide money for services and facilities for the U. S. A. for their campaign in Burma, Malaya and China.

INDIA'S POSITION UNDER LAND-LEASE

Examining India's position under lend-lease, Mr. Neogy commented on the absence of definite information. He said that New Zealand and Australia had entered into a reciprocal aid arrangement with the U. S. A. without executing a lend-lease agreement, while in the case of Canada neither of these procedures had been followed, but by an exchange of notes Canada had accepted the underlying principle of article seven of the Lend-lease Agreement. Mr. Neogy asked what difference it would have made if a similar exchange of notes had taken place between India and U. S. A. By having agreed to the economic clauses of the Atlantic Charter, India, in her agreement with Canada, had virtually agreed to take what steps might be necessary to achieve the results aimed at in clause seven and if reduction of tariffs was one of the essential steps necessary to bring about that result, then India was by implication committed• in this matter. Mr. Neogy asked for a statement from the Finance Member explaining the circumstances in which the scope of reciprocal aid was expanded so that our obligation which was once limited to supplying U.S.A. troops with goods for their local consumption had been extended to the export of things for which we formerly received payment in the ordinary course of trade. In support of his statement, Mr. Neogy quoted from the thirteenth report of the President of the U. S. A. submitted to the Congress in 1943 in which he said: "The Government of the U. K., New Zealand and India have agreed to provide as reverse lend-lease and without payment by us raw materials, commodities and food-stuffs previously purchased within their territory by the U. S. Government agencies." What justification, Mr. Neogy asked, did the Finance Member have for such an expansion of its scope.

The *Finance Member*, intervening, explained that it was in return for something received from the other side.

Mr. Neogy wanted to know what was that something, in addition to the things which India received previously.

Mr. Neogy went on to ask whether India was represented at the periodical discussions of the details of the administration of lend-lease.

The Finance Member indicated that India was represented at these discussions.

Mr. Neogy dealt with the coal position and declared that in spite of costly organisation, coal raisings had not substantially increased. He mentioned that the organisation of the Coal Commissioner and railway collieries which last year were under the War Transport and Commerce Departments respectively, had been transferred to the Supply Department this year and were non-votable. He asked "Pandit Raisman" to explain how a department became "untouchable" as soon as the Supply Department touched it.

Dr. Khare's Reply to Debate

Dr. *N. B. Khare*, Commonwealth Relations Member, replying to criticisms of himself and his Department, and defending Indian Members of the Council against attacks by the Opposition, said if the Opposition threw out the Finance Bill it would not be on its merits but merely as a political propaganda. The Muslim League and the Congress might join in the Assembly lobby but this unity, declared Dr. Khare, was only a make-believe because while joining hands here, the Congress had thrown out the Muslim League Ministry in the N. W. F. Province, the pivot of Pakistan, and established Congrees Ministry there. If the Congress wanted to defeat the Government and occupy the treasury benches, they should give a decent burial to the corpse of "Quit India". "Thanks to the parties opposite," Dr. Khare said, "there has been no advance in the constitutional position since I accepted office and since my friends, by all accounts, are eager to step into office under the present constitution. I congratulate them and I am proud that my erstwhile leader is following in the footsteps of a humble follower like me. I take it that they have realised that, short of achieving the Independence, the present constitution does offer opportunities for rendering some service to the country, however little may be. It is exactly in this spirit that I have also accepted office under the present constitution with all its limitations. Recounting some of the Department's achievements, Dr. Khare referred to the fact that for the first time after three years and in spite of difficult war conditions arrangements had been made for 5,000 Muslim pilgrims to proceed to the Holy Land under full naval escort. Action had already been taken to implement a very large number of the recommendations of the special Haj Inquiry Officer. For the first time in history, the principle of retaliation had been adopted and enforced by the Government of India against a fellow member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. He believed that as a result of this policy, it wss now recognised by all those who took any live interest in these matters that Indian emigration and the safeguardings of the interests of Indians were being conducted much more in consonance with the wishes of the Indian public. If his efforts had not met with greater success it was not due to any lack of solicitude and exertions on this part.

Attack on Congress

Concluding, Dr. Khare referred to what he called the "Congress technique", and said that that technique was to refuse what was offered by the British Government, then after enjoying a certain period of demoralisation and frustration go abegging for something less than what was offered, accept it and delude the public that they had won. "I am afraid there is no departure from this technique this time also. When they come into power they will delude the public by calling that Government a National Government. I want to know how it will be a National Government in the proper sense of the term within the present constitutional limitations and I also want to know what magic wand they possess which will enable them to extract more good from the present constitution than the present Executive Council has done. No individual or group of individuals can dispose of the future of this country. It is not their patrimony to be so disposed of. The whole nation is concerned with it. It may be remembered that they refused the Cripps Offer when Japan's stars were in the ascendant; now they are ingratiating themselves into Great Britain's favour, as her stars are fortunately in the ascendant but I do not blame them. They have natural desire to get into power and they are angry on account of their failure and they are egoistic because they maintain that they alone are patriots".

PLEA FOR ENQUIRY INTO FINANCIAL SETTLEMENT

Mr. *Manu Subedar* (Congress) demanded the appointment of a commission to enquire into the working of the financial settlement. Mr. Subedar suggested that the commission should consist of three leaders of the opposition parties of the assembly and probably Mr. Hossain Imam from the Council of State. "I feel that if things are alright, the Finance Member should not shrink placing before these four persons all the facts. They are not people of whom you need afraid on the ground of security." Mr. Subedar estimated that even on the basis of the original financial settlement, Government would have to account for Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 crores spent during the last three years. Mr. Subedar began his speech by saying that the Finance Member had taken offence at his being described as a Jew. Although Mr. Subedar had very great respect for the Jewish race, he has no hesitation in withdrawing the word if by using it he had given offence. Referring to Government's choice of Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar as India's representative at the San Francisco Conference Mr. Subedar said: "He is being sent because he is a safe man. I hope he will be comfortable in his seat between Lord Hailey on the one side and General Smuts on the other." Dealing with the budget, Mr. Subedar quoted *The Times* as saying that "there is little doubt the load of defence expenditure weighs heavily on India." This opinion, he said, was also the considered opinion of all sane men, including Europeans, in this country. The Opposition has asked for a ceiling on defence expenditure. The Finance Member has showed himself on such subjects as sensitive and temperament as a *prima donna*. He has refused even to convey this to His Majesty's Government as the view of this House. The speaker also asked whether India got her money's worth with regard to her expenditure on the army, navy and air force. Before the war, Japan which was able to attack two or three powers at the same time, was spending only twice or three times as much as India on her armed forces. "We are spending so much to-day and where are we?" he asked. Mr. Subedar complained that the Finance Member had been in a hurry to pay charges on behalf of India. He mentioned the Chatfield debt in this connection. He next referred to the "payment" of India's contribution of about Rs. 8 crores to the UNRRA.

Continuing his speech, Mr. Subedar said: "The UNRRA, which is providing food and medicine for Greece, France and Belgium and to which this country is made to contribute, is not approached by this Government for food and medicine for this country."

The *Finance Member* asked if Mr. Subedar had not just said that the Finance Member was in a hurry to pay eight crores? Mr. Subedar was changing his tone. (Cries of "order, order" from Congress benches.)

Mr. Subedar criticised the Finance Member for not charging the Rs. 10½ crores involved in the Bombay dock explosion, to the Allied Governments and debiting it for the time being against revenue instead.

Mr. *Subedar* went on: "It is no use appealing to an Englishman's sense of justice. He always blames the other man. But there are certain permanent interests of England which are also involved."

Safeguards for British Commerce

4th. APRIL:—The Assembly passed to day, without a division, Mr. *Manu Subedar's* resolution asking that early action be taken for the removal of Sections 111 to 121 of the Government of India Act 1935. These Sections relate to Commercial Safeguards. *Sir Cowasji Jehangir* (unattached), supporting the resolution, traced the history of the sections relating to Commercial Safeguards, and said how he and other delegates to the Round Table Conferences opposed such safeguards. Now 14 years had passed since the Act was passed, and the position must be reviewed. At that time, His Majesty's Government did not even permit the word, "Dominion Status" to be included in the preamble of the Act. Now, they had promised Dominion Status to India with the right to secede. The Under-Secretary of State for India, speaking in the House of Lords, had stated that all safeguards and guarantees for special British interests were inconsistent with the offer of complete Self-Government. Sir Cowasji said that Planning was being done in India now under circumstances which would be inconsistent with the times when those plans would be put into execution. He asked for a declaration by His Majesty's Government, to the effect that the Government of India and the Governors would treat the sections as a dead letter from now on. This, he said, would meet the position and Planning could proceed on the basis of Dominion Status for this country.

Mr. *Akhil Chandra Dutta* said that, while the Safeguards sections existed, it

was not possible for the Government to undertake any planning for the establishment of new industries or for reconstructing old industries. British companies, with cent per cent British capital, and other powerful combines with international ramifications would establish themselves here to the detriment of Indian industries. India, he thought, could only plan, but could not execute those plans. He urged Government to support the resolution.

European Group Spokesman's Opposition

Sir Henry Richardson, leader of the European Group, declared that Mr. Manu Subedar based his case upon two different types of arguments. One was sentimental and the other practical. The first argument was that the existence of statutory restrictions upon India's power to plan the economic life of the country was derogatory to national dignity. That argument must command the respect of every independent people. Nevertheless, logic compelled them to recognise that any reciprocal arrangement, whether in the Act or outside it, must involve some restrictions and limitations. The remedy lay not in the removal of a particular block of sections, but in the complete re-orientation of methods. "We, in this Group, stand fully committed to the principle that India must frame her own constitution, and it is in the speedy application of that principle, rather than in tinkering with particular chapters of the Act that we see the means of satisfying India's legitimate pride", said Sir Henry. Sir Henry deplored that neither the mover nor the Planning and Reconstruction Member was explicit. Sir Henry asked for greater clarity in this matter before asking for the support of the House. Sir Henry went on to say that Mr. Manu Subedar might be right in fearing the action of great combines, but he doubted whether Mr. Subedar was right in supposing that they would necessarily be non-Indian. It might well be that Great Indian combines would be the principal menace to the growth of new Indian concerns in a self-governing India. He emphasised that the sections were purely negative in their action, and they merely prevented discrimination. He said that the Britishers claimed the right—born of their long connection with India to carry on and develop business here in fair competition with other interests. If the object of the mover was to place obstacles in the way of British business in this country and by positive discrimination against them, to give Indian business an advantage, then they would not accept the position. They claimed no commercial privileges as compared with any other community, but they did claim, and they would continue to insist, that they must be left free to carry on business in this country without discriminatory restrictions. The sections had been in the Act for ten years, and he doubted whether, with the exception of a handful of specialists and students, the vast majority in the United Kingdom or India had ever heard of them. If it was the case that those sections had been hanging round the neck of India and impending her industrial development for a decade, that contention was not true, because the great industrial progress the country had made during the last ten years provided a complete denial of the statement that those sections hampered the development of Indian industry.

League Party Supports Resolution

Mr. *Essak Sait* (Muslim League) said that he was not very happy about the time chosen for the motion, because the question of the revision of the whole Constitution, to which the Muslim League was committed, was drawing near. The matter covered by the resolution was a very small one compared to the big issue at stake. However, as it had been moved, the Muslim League Party would extend their full support to it. He was glad that Mr. Manu Subedar, the mover of the resolution, had made it quite clear that his object was not to preclude a revision of the Government of India Act. Mr. Essak Sait criticised Sir Cowasji Jehangir for stressing the words "Dominion Status", and said that Sir Cowasji might feel that Dominion Status would be a great gift to this country, but the Congress and the Muslim League were not prepared even to consider the matter (Hear, Hear). He felt that the greater questions which were at issue had to be tackled and said: "We will see to it that they are settled to the satisfaction of all sections of this country."

"Europeans Must Rely on India's Goodwill"

Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum*, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party, asked the leader of the European Group whether he was going to rely on the Safeguards provided in the Government of India Act, behind which the only sanction was the British Army of occupation in India, or on the goodwill of the people of this country.

The fact that, even to-day, the European Group was not prepared to forego all those privileges which gave them a dominant voice in Industry and Commerce in this country, showed that there was absolutely no desire on the part of Britain, in spite of her past pronouncements to the contrary, to part with power.

The so-called equality between a British company incorporated in the United Kingdom in carrying on business in India and an Indian company incorporated in British India, he went on, was really a cleverly conceived design to kill Indian enterprise and industry. Indian industries were just beginning to rise, and they could not meet on terms of equality the well-established British industries supported by political power. Mr. Abdul Qaiyum asked whether there were, in the Constitution of the self-governing British Dominions, sections similar to Sections 111 to 121 of the Government of India Act. The self-interest of the British community in India and their compatriots in England was so strong, he said, that in peace-time, on one pretext or another, India was not allowed to have large-scale industries like chemicals, automobile factories, ship-building industries, aircraft factories or even locomotives. Australia had set up a big aircraft industry during war-time, but the Central Assembly was told by the Government of India before the war that the materials which were necessary for the manufacture of aircraft in this country could not be obtained on a sufficiently economic basis. The speaker reminded the European Group that the world was becoming more and more interdependent, and said that the type of speech delivered by their leader would not help British industry or enterprise in India. They must give up reliance on Sections 111 to 121 of the Government of India Act, which he described as scandalous and pernicious sections, and rely more and more on the goodwill and spirit of co-operation of the people of this country.

Mr. *K. C. Neogy* (Nationalist) said that Sir Henry Richardson's speech indicated that there had not been the slightest change in the attitude of British interests in India from the attitude taken up by their spokesman at the Round Table Conference in 1930-31, when for the first time they put forward proposals which had resulted in the "Benthall clauses" of the Government of India Act. On that occasion, Sir Edward Benthall (then Mr. Benthall) had made it quite clear that, unless the rights of the British community were protected in the most unequivocal manner, they must reserve their consent to the transfer of power. Sir Edward Benthall also said that the commercial rights of the British in India were not a subject for negotiation, and emphasised that those rights had been won by them legitimately by years of industry and integrity. Mr. Neogy said that, in 1915, when the Industrial Commission was appointed, the Government of India contemplated the idea of Indian industries being started by Indians with the help of Indian capital and control. In 1923-24, the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee appointed by the Government of India definitely suggested coastal reservation for Indian shipping. It was a strange irony that what was contemplated seriously by the Government of India in 1923-24, was absolutely unconstitutional for us to contemplate at the present moment.

BRITISHERS MUST SHED DISTRUST

Mr. *N. M. Joshi* said that the clauses which Mr. Manu Subedar's resolution sought to remove contained so many restrictions which no free Government would support. There was no justification for these restrictions, which were founded upon the distrust of Britishers against Indians. He would, therefore, suggest to his British friends in this country and their colleagues at Home that they should shed this distrust and show their good-will towards the people of this country. The resolution, Mr. Joshi said, envisaged no discrimination against European interest. It only demanded that the Indian Legislature and the Indian Government should be free to follow whatever policy they thought best in the interest of this country. The British people must show why that freedom should not be given to the Indian Government and the Indian Legislature, when they themselves admitted that the Government and Legislatures of this country must look to the interests of this country and nobody else. The members of the European Group in opposing this resolution had not shown any argument as to why these sections should not be repealed. Referring to Mr. Neogy's remark that the British people themselves created vested interests and discrimination, Mr. Joshi said that they were not claiming to discriminate against the Britishers but if Indians wanted to develop their Industry and they felt that discrimination was necessary, Indians, like any other people of the world, were entitled to discriminate. If the British people trusted Indians, we would show our goodwill towards them, but if they continued to show their distrust, many people who had goodwill for the British people would stop

showing it. "Our freedom comes first", declared Mr. Joshi, "and our goodwill to the Britishers or any other comes afterwards." They could not show their goodwill towards people who insisted upon the retention of these clauses. Mr. Joshi warned the Planning Member against entering into a treaty under which their freedom would be as much curtailed. The treaty should be voluntary, and negotiated between two independent countries.

Europeans' Attitude

Mr. *C. P. Lawson* (European Group), commended the extremely moderate manner in which the debate had proceeded. He was anxious to avoid anything which might cause heat, but it would be idle to shut their eyes to certain evidences which constantly came before them. They had seen frequent resolutions by Chambers of Commerce urging expropriation of their interests and recently, in a debate on inland waterways in the House, the attitude of certain members was purely racial. He was confident of the goodwill of most of the members of the House, but in the light of such evidences of racial bias, the Britishers naturally felt they needed protection. The safeguards clauses referred to did not deal merely with commercial and business matters. They included the right of acquisition of property, holding of public offices, occupation, trade, profession and so on, and the clauses had a reciprocity value. He would remind the House that those clauses applied not to the Dominions or other States, but provided reciprocal treatment between Great Britain and India. Mr. Lawson referred to the evidence of the Indian Chambers of Commerce in Ceylon before the Soulbury Commission in which the Chamber had asked for the provision of safeguards analogous to those provided in the Government of India Act. The Indian commercial community in Ceylon were demanding from Great Britain precisely the safeguards which this House now required them to remove from the Act. Mr. Lawson urged the House to take a wider view of the situation.

Protection Against Unfair Competition Needed

Dr. *P. N. Bannerjee*, Leader of the Nationalist Party, mentioned that Sir N. N. Sircar, former Law Member, when introducing the Insurance Bill, had stated that a United Kingdom Company must be deemed to be an Indian company. Sir Nripendra had significantly added: "Whenever white was asked to be taken as red, white must be deemed to be red." That, said Dr. Bannerjee, was the position of the Government of India in relation to British interests. He said that Sir Henry Richardson in his speech had not only made many mis-statements but also thrown a challenge at Sir Ardeshir Dalal. It was well known, Dr. Bannerjee observed, that British capitalists in this country had resorted to many methods other than methods of fairplay in building up their industry. As late as 1926, Dr. Bannerjee went on, British interests tried to hamper the growth of the cotton industry in this country. It was clear that Indians were a generous people. Given goodwill, they would respond and would never resort to measures which would do the British any harm without doing any good to India. Dr. Bannerjee ridiculed the idea of reciprocity between Indian and British interests in Britain and India. How many industries had been built up by Indians in Britain, he asked. British people had monopolised the entire shipping industry in this country. How many ships were Indian which traded with Britain? India did require protection against unfair competition. She did not wish to hamper British industry, but wanted fair-play for herself. India was determined, Dr. Bannerjee went on, to win freedom with the goodwill of Britain if possible, and without that goodwill, if necessary. He wished that wisdom would dawn upon the European Group so that they might change their attitude, because if they persisted in this attitude of selfishness, harm must come both to Europeans and to Indians. Dr. Bannerjee declared that no harm could be done to British industry by the deletion of Sections 111 to 121 because Indian industries were yet in their infancy.

"Rights" Conferred by Force of Arms

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, Leader of the Opposition, said that the issue lay between the Opposition and the European vested interests in this country, as Government were remaining neutral. This was one of the most extraordinary situations which had arisen in the House during the time he had been a member.

Throughout this time, Mr. Desai said, he had not heard one word from the European Group in favour of India's freedom. The European Group talked of the right of free trade and free competition in this country. Forthe moment, undoubtedly that right had been conferred upon them by the force of British arms. A right was a creature of the law, and the law was a creature of legislature, which would claim the power to make laws in the interests of India. A right was, therefore, an

extremely relative affair, and Mr. Desai wished so much emphasis had not been placed upon it. The leader of the European Group had said that Sections 111 to 121 had done no harm to anyone and hence they might be left alone and when the time for Dominion legislation came, the matter could be regulated by treaty. Mr. Desai cited the rate war between P. and O. and the Scindia Steam Navigation Company to show that without repeal of these clauses, India would not be able to progress. It was consequent on the exercise of brute force, the Leader of the Opposition continued, that eleven members of the European Group, representing nobody except themselves, were in the Central Assembly. It might be that the provisions which were the subject of the resolution might not be repealed in spite of the passing of the resolution. Mr. Desai suggested to the European Group that their distrust of Indians enshrined in these eleven sections of the Act was due to their own bad conscience. If they felt that they had done no wrong to India, they had no reason to think that Indians would discriminate against them.

There was no use planning under the present conditions, Mr. Desai proceeded. If the restrictions were to continue, the plans had better be postponed. The Opposition demanded that the Government of India should be in a position to legislate in the best interest of India and if these restrictions came in their way, the House would be right in asking for the repeal of those restrictions.

SIR EDWARD BENTHALL'S SPEECH

Sir Edward Benthall, War Transport Member, tried to remove the misunderstanding which he said had been created by Mr. Neogy about his position at the Round Table Conference. At that Conference, said Sir Edward, he had favoured a commercial agreement on general principles between Britain and India, not imposed but negotiated at the Conference. When the attempt was made to translate this desire into action, legal pundits found that the political relationship between H. M. G. and the Government of India made it constitutionally inappropriate to execute such an agreement, however unanimous the consensus of opinion might have been at the Round Table Conference. They were therefore reluctantly forced back from the basis of a freely negotiated treaty to the restrictive clauses in the Act. His position now, said Sir Edward, was precisely the same as Mr. Benthall's in 1931. The Planning and Development Member had quoted the Secretary of State's statement in 1942 that any such provisions as were contained in the sections under discussion would more appropriately be a matter for negotiation with the future Government of India, There was no dispute about that at all. He did not think there need be any argument on that point, but the resolution and the speeches which had supported it pressed for earlier action largely on the ground that the Government of India were entering on a scheme of planning for industrial development. Government, Sir Edward went on, had for some time been alive to this problem. They were fully alive to it now, bnt he was not sure from certain discussions in the house particularly on the San Francisco Conference, whether members opposite really wished this Government to enter into a trade agreement with H. M. G. That was one of the difficulties. Any complete agreement between H. M. G. and India must form part of a complete political settlement. Sir Cowaji Jehangir had said that the sections could be treated as a dead letter. Sir Edward did not think the problem was quite as easy as that. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai had said that rights were a creature of law. But, said Sir Edward, these laws existed in the Act and they could be challenged in courts of law; one could not just treat them as dead letter.

Sir Cowsaji Jehangir: Then they must be repealed. Either you treat them as dead letter by executive action or repeal them.

Sir Edward reiterated that the problem was not so easy as that. The Government of India however could proceed to frame suggestions with great precision and would take up the matter with H. M. G. and as the Planning and Development Member had assured the House, the matter was certainly under consideration.

Sir Edward quoted Mahatma Gandhi's statement that he did not despair of finding a common formula to satisfy his European friends. Sir Edward said he held the same faith that with goodwill on the part of everyone concerned a happy outcome would be found. He hoped that the Government of India would be successful in securing at least a temporary understanding, if they could not, as he hoped in due course they would make progress on the principles which must form the basis of an agreement freely negotiated by the future Governments of the two countries.

MR. MANU SUBEDAR'S REPLY TO DEBATE

Mr. *Manu Subedar* (Congress), replying to the debate, said that the European Group, which had denied fairplay for a hundred years, was now appealing for fairplay. Mr.

Sudedar asserted that Sir Ardeshir Dalal was appointed because of the protests and agitation of the Indian commercial community against the appointment of Sir Edward Benthall who was a representative of the British commercial interests in the Executive Council. He hoped that Sir Ardeshir would not allow himself to be used as empty blast or empty balance, but would strive to take suitable action. When it suited him, Mr. Manu Subedar added, Sir Edward Benthall quoted Mahatma Gandhi, but on other occasions, he had no use for the Mahatma's statements. The position which Sir Henry Richardson had taken was untenable. On an ealier occasion, Sir Henry, speaking on the floor of the House, talked of changes in the Government of the country, but now he was insisting on the retention of the Safeguards sections in the Act. The European Group were threatening the Planning Member and were asking, "Do you want to discriminate against British industries ?" They were, in fact, inciting us so that we might say "yes". Mr. Manu Subedar maintained that there was no desire to discriminate against any legitimate interests in this country.

The resolution was carried without a division.

Indictment of Congress Leaders

26th. MARCH :—The Assembly threw out this afternoon by 58 votes 50 the Finance Bill of the Government of India for 1945-46, debate on which commenced on the 14th. March and continued for eight days.

The high-lights of to-day's debate were two vigorous attacks against the present composition and constitution of the Government of India by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and the enunciation of the policies of the parties with respect to the war and peace to come.

The League and War Effort

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party, commented caustically on Dr. Khare's claims in regard to the achievements of his Department and referred to Sir Sultan Ahmed's statement that, by sticking to their jobs members of the Executive Council had advanced India's freedom. He thought that the members of the Treasury Benches were deceiving themselves if they believed that, all the assistance given by India to the war effort was due to their sitting on those Benches. The War Secretary had stated that the right type of Indians were not coming forward for officers' posts especially in the Air Force. The speaker asked if the members of the House realised that this statement meant that preparation was being made by the British to deprive India of her freedom. Whether it was one India or two Indias, India could not be without her own national army and there could be no army without officers. Commenting on the Finance Member's administration, the Nawabzada said that any man in the Finance Member's position would not have been able to satisfy India even if she was free. When she was not free, the suspicion was natural despite every effort the Finance Member had made that he had not been able to do his best. But, the speaker added : "Do not care about the criticism. If you believe that you have done your duty honestly and your conscience is clear, I think that satisfaction is a sufficient reward for all your services." Referring to Sir Jeremy's remarks that some people took a detached view of the war, the Nawabzada said, it was because the Government failed to take an attached view. The Muslim League, however, was clear. It realised the seriousness of the war and in 1940, when the Government here was complacent, the League drew its attention and that of H. M. G. that the resources of the country must be mobilised in full for the defence of India. The League was not against war effort and he condemned the Government who "got into the habit of beating the Congress and the Muslim League with the same stick. This is a dishonest attitude". Replying to Dr. Khare's interruption that the League asked the Punjab Premier to leave the National efence Council, the speaker said that, it was not possible for the League which represented hundred million Mussalmans to take up responsibility without a real share in the authority and power in the governance of the country.

India and San Francisco Conference

Referring to the defence expenditure, the Nawabzada said that he realised that, in war time the defence expenditure would be high. The House was dissatisfied because it was not given any information on the subject and he urged the Finance Member to take at least the party leaders into confidence in regard to the defence expenditure. He knew it would not be in public interest to place all defence proposal openly before the House but Government must satisfy the people of the country who bore the burden of the expenditure.

Referring to India's representation in the San Francisco Conference, the speaker referred to Sir Olaf Caroe's statement in which he said that one party did

not show enthusiasm for war effort and whether the other party would represent one India or two Indias and asked: "I want to know which India do these two gentlemen represent."

Sir Jwala Prasad: One India.

The Nawabzada replied: The India which exists has not been represented at this Conference. The India that is represented is the India that is kept with the help of British bayonets. He added: "Let me tell you that the world to-day is wiser. These gentlemen may have been passed off as India's representatives a few years ago but to-day everybody knows. I am not lowering their position but I do want the world to know that the agreement which may be signed or any arrangement that may be made by these two representatives is not an agreement which India is going to accept unless it is an agreement which is approved of by the peoples of this country". The Nawabzada condemned the Food Department where, he said, corruption and nepotism prevailed. He challenged the Government to appoint an impartial committee of the house to scrutinise the working of the Department. Concluding, he emphasised that Muslims stood for the undiluted freedom of India and Pakistan meant freedom for all.

Freedom the Main Issue

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, Leader of the Congress Party, said that the issue on which he asked the vote on this occasion was the issue of India's freedom. He referred to the San Francisco Conference and said: "If any genuine friend of ours, any genuine representative of ours went to that Conference, the first and foremost thing that he will do there will be this: he will first demand that he will not remain there unless and untill India was recognised and declared by her own free will as an independent country," Great issues, Mr. Bhulabhai was told, would be decided in that Conference. The world, however, might know that there was nothing to be lost so long as India's true representatives as free people were in that place. In his message to the Allied Arms that crossed the Rhine, Mr. Churchill had said: "May God prosper our arms in the world adventure after our long struggle for King and Country, for dear life and for freedom of mankind". "For freedom of mankind indeed"! exclaimed Mr. Bhulabhai adding: "Could he ever have said that with his hand on his conscience if he had known, as he knows too well, that we have been made to fight in the name of the freedom of mankind? Unless we are recognised as men, I suppose there is no freedom for us. That is the fight for freedom of mankind! We have got to fight the war with our men, money and resources but whose war and for whose benefit? For the freedom of mankind! Then I am a man. I proclaim myself and I proclaim my country and I want any one of those gentlemen there to get up and say that I am not a man, that we are not men and we do not deserve freedom. Let us have no shibboleths. Let us be true. I hope the honourable the Leader of the House will flash a message outside this country that, what Mr. Churchill is stating is untrue, because this is not a fight for the freedom of mankind." Mr. Bhulabhai went on to say that suppose we went on and asked the Conference, for whose security they were going to make the world peaceful? If they were going to make the world peaceful in order that England and America and Russia and perhaps China (about which he was very doubtful) were going to be free countries and it was for that India had fought and bled and was asked to gloat over the victories. we could not do so. "Having made us fight for our freedom," he said, "they cannot at the end of it say that it is not a war in which we can get our freedom."

Congress Demand Re-stated

Mr. *Bhulabhai* added that the position was that if they went to the San Francisco Conference, they should only go there as free men because then only, their share in fashioning world security would be rich. Mr. Bhulabhai said that he made no apology for re-stating his case. He referred to the Congress demand for a statement of war aims and said: "The object was to find out whether at the end of the second war we were going to be exactly in the same place of subjection as we were at the end of the first war, which was also fought for the freedom of smaller nations. We had experience before and indeed we were cautious enough to find out, where we stood!" "After the last war", he said "we were taken to Geneva and after having signed the Peace Treaty on the second day by the then supposed representatives of the Indian people a proclamation came from London that, of the questions that would be brought before the Geneva meeting the only questions would be between two independent States and not between independent States and dependencies. That was

the language which the Secretary for External Affairs used. He said : 'You have assisted us in the war and therefore you go as a separate people'. Sir Olaf Caroe said : 'well, you have not participated in the war ; you cannot be our partners'. Mr. Bhulabhai went on to say: "We have that experience before and indeed, we were cautious enough to find out where we stood. If you want to fight the war get money from your own country and fight it, but don't exact it from me and expect me to be proud about it. The victory message (Mr. Churchill's message) is the victory for your freedom and my subjection, it is a victory message in which, as men, you could not be proud." Referring to Sir Henry Richardson's speech, Mr. Bhulabhai said that if they, the Europeans in India, "represent any interest that is anything like India their place is with us and not against us."

Finance Member's Reply

The *Finance Member*, Sir Jeremy Raisman, replying to the debate, recalled that in reply to a similar debate last year he had asked friends opposite whether they were agreed on anything further than voting down the Finance Bill. He still found himself wondering whether one might hope that this stage of deadlock and frustration would give way to something more satisfactory from the point of view of everybody in this country.

Speaking as an official he must admit it was no pleasure, it was not a congenial task to have to carry on one's duties in the atmosphere which now existed, and whatever might be said about his colleagues, he for one was conscious that without their courage and self-sacrifice the business of Government, which after all must be carried on for 400 millions of people, could not have been carried on and he did not know what at this moment would take the place of the present Government. He was prepared to agree that self-government was better than good government but he thought there was a prior axiom, namely, that some government was better than no government. Speaking as an administrator, the simple fact from which he could not get away was that at no time in the last few critical years has there been an option other than between 'No Government' and Government. If he was wrong, he would apologise. The Government of this country had to be carried on in circumstances of world crisis and the most tremendous difficulty, and he thought that this country would have cause to be grateful to those who undertook the burden and in many ways the thankless task of carrying on the Government.

Speaking of defence expenditure, the Finance Member reiterated that it was difficult, if not impossible, to talk on the matter when there was so little common ground as between him and some of the speakers on the other side. They were opposed to India's participation in the war, and the position was that every argument and every statement took on a novel complexion according as whether, one stood on one side or the other of the House, on the particular issue. Financing of the war, he said, could not be made so plain and clear as to appeal to the intelligence of the ordinary man ; and when in addition there were certain sections in this country whose whole object was to discredit the Government and to attempt by insinuation and innuendo to convey the impression that everything was *malafide*, there was no answer to it.

Mr. Manu Subedar represented in himself the essence of the attitude of distortion, travesty and misrepresentation which it was the Finance Member's duty to defend this Government against.

Inflation

Inflation was an inevitable accompaniment of war. (A voice ; No). There were means of counteracting it; it was a hard and difficult task ; it could only be accomplished by people who accepted extremely unpleasant but inevitable sacrifices during the war. It could not be done in any country in which there were a large number of people who went about saying ; "You must not co-operate with Government ; you must resist any attempt on their part to enlist your co-operation ; you must not lend them your money , you must not submit to controls".

It was idle to separate the economic from the political issue, the Finance Member went on. One could not get away from the fact that in the circumstances of this country, unless you could abstract India entirely from the belligerent world, you could not prevent inflation, unless friends opposite had come to a frame of mind in which they were prepared to co-operate wholeheartedly and participate in the Government.

Nobody could be more grieved than himself that during his period of office this degree of inflation and the miseries attendant on it should have been inflicted on the people of this country. But if he had to appear at any time before a

tribunal of competent and critical judges and was asked what he had to say in his own defence, he would reply on the lines of what he had said above and in addition ask the tribunal to read the debates in the House during his period of office, particularly the censure to which he was subjected because in the course of a savings drive, it was suggested that methods used amounted to compulsion. He would also draw the tribunal's attention to the fact that every Finance Bill of his was thrown out. With regard to the expenditure on the airfields referred to by Mr. Neogy, the Finance Member repeated that the Auditor General was consulted before the matter of allocation was finally decided upon and it was with his express concurrence, given after considering a very full statement of all the relevant circumstances, (and not a mere assertion that the airfields were for India's local defence) that the expenditure on these airfields was charged to India.

FINANCIAL SETTLEMENT WITH BRITAIN

Mr. *T. S. A. Chettiar*, intervening, said the question was not whether the allocation was according to the financial settlement but the question was about the settlement itself.

The Finance Member pointed out that extreme discontent with the settlement had also been expressed on the other side. If he was to be called to account, he would like at least to have the advantage of being subjected to a single trial and he wanted his accusers from both sides to come together. On one side, it was said that the settlement was an act of extortion and gross injustice to the Indian tax-payer, while there were voluble critics on the other side who called it a monstrous imposition on the British finances.

A voice: Which side are you ?

The Finance Member said he hoped he was on the side of truth and justice.

Mr. T. S. A. Chettiar: You are very dispassionate in this matter. We expected you to be attached to the Indian side.

The Finance Member said if he admitted he favoured India he would give away his case.

Dealing with Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan's references to himself, the Finance Member said that in his own conscience he was satisfied and he was prepared to meet any committee and answer all the questions which might be asked of him. His conscience was perfectly clear and in that at any rate he was happy.

The Finance Member proceeded to give figures of His Majesty's Government's share of the total defence expenditure in India. In 1943-44, the total defence expenditure was 774 crores of which H. M. G.'s share was 373 crores. In 1944-45 revised estimates, total expenditure was 896 crores of which H. M. G.'s share was 439 crores. The forecast for 1945-46 was 901 crores total, of which H. M. G.'s share was 489. Altogether his impression was that taking the last six years, India's share of the total was less than half.

LEASE-LEND AID

The Finance Member made a detailed explanation of the Lease-Lend position and said that, in 1943, an endeavour was made to enter into a formal agreement without subscribing to any formula which might affect India's post-war fiscal policy, but this was deemed to conflict with Article Seven of the Mutual Aid Agreement and the negotiations were consequently dropped. So we continued to receive Lease-Lend supplies and continued to grant reciprocal aid without any formal agreement with the U. S. A. Government and that was the position to-day. Some other Governments, he believed, were in the same position.

On the suggestion of Mr. Neogy, the Finance Member agreed to place on the table a statement on Lend-Lease and connected matters.

POST-WAR RETRENCHMENT PLANS

Passing on to refer to the idea of retrenchment after war, the Finance Member suggested it would not be that the House was thinking merely in crude terms of contraction and deflation.

Mr. Ranga: We do not want retrenchment of nation-building activities.

The Government of India, the Finance Member proceeded, ware aware of the whole complex of problems which underlay the post-war price level. He referred to the way in which after the last war attempts were made cutting down costs, reducing wages, and discharging superfluous labour, to bring about a state of affairs in which private enterprise felt it could operate profitably again. In the world to-day, the one thing on which almost everybody was agreed was that the post-war problem should not be handled in that way, and that method was towards the

expansionist philosophy which was held by distinguished thinkers and which might be said to underlie the British White Paper on employment. The Government of India was conscious of the current of word economic thought. But, a mere adoption of expansionist theory and policy would not in itself in the conditions of India suffice to neutralise the effects of the cessation of large scale war expenditure. Nevertheless, there were certain remedies which could be applied to mitigate the disadvantages of post-war reaction, the method he had in mind included regulation of demonstration, maintenance of cheap money policy and regulation of capital issues, facilitation of capital imports and industrial rehabilitation, pushing on with public works and rehabilitation of railways and guarantee of a minimum return to the cultivator. On the last point, the Finance Member pointed out that there would inevitably be some reduction in the price level and that would apply very definitely to agricultural prices. He did not think that the price of wheat in the Punjab for instance could be maintained at anything like the present level.

Referring to the "kind words" uttered about him, the Finance Member said he had endeavoured to carry out his duties. He had endeavoured to follow policies which he thougt would be most advantageous to the country. He realised many unhappy things had occurred during this stewardship. He believed he had done his utmost to mitigate them.

In relation to his Indian colleagues, he said he had worked with them for several years and they had had to tackle some of the most difficult problems which ever faced any Government. He could not imagine that any Government in this country would ever deal with problems of that character with a more concentrated and genuine intention to do the best for this country, than had been exhibited by his colleagues.

The Finance Member felt that voting down of the Finance Bill would shortly become a time-honoured institution as some of the most ancient customs of Parliament. (laughter). In fact, he suggested, if the Finance Bill were passed at this stage, it would have caused some embarrassment; but perhaps it was necessary to contemplate that improbable eventuality. (More laughter).

The motion for consideration of the Bill was pressed to a division and rejected by 58 votes to 50.

The Council of State

Indian Delegation to San Francisco

21st. MARCH :—In the Council of State to-day the resolution moved by Mr. *M. Thirumal Rao* (Congress) asking the Government of India to make a representation to His Majesty's Government to secure adequate representation of the non-official representative opinion of India at the San Francisco Conference was rejected by 24 to 15 votes.

Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyenger moved an amendment to the resolution to the effect that, to the delegation be added an elected member each of at least the two major political parties in the Central Legislature. He said that the Viceroy should have informally discussed the question with party leadars. The usual practice in India was that Government delegations to international conferences subsequently sought the ratification of the Legislature to any agreement that might have been arrived at previously. Was it not discretion on Government's part, he asked, to associate with this delegation members representing the chief political parties in the Legislature. Sir Gopalaswami read out an extract from a resolution which the All-India Congress Committee had adopted in which it was stated that, while the A. I. C. C. was primarily concerned with the independence of India, it recognised that the future peace, security and ordered progress of the world demanded a world federation of free nations. It further affirmed that an independent India would gladly join such a federation and co-operate on equal basis for the solution of international problems. In view of the war, such a federation should inevitably be confined to the United Nations. Sir Gopalaswami said that the decision at Dumbarton Oaks had been anticipated by the Congress Resolution two years ago and the author of the resolution was now languishing in jail, not for what he had done but because of the fear of the Government of what he might do if allowed freedom. If the Government of India had sufficient imagination and statesmanship in the selection of their representatives to the Conference then they ought to have released that man from detention.

Mr. *M. N. Dalal* said that in choosing Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Sir Feroz Khan Noon and Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, the Government of India had not in

any way departed from past practice in this country and he did not doubt the nationalism of these men who possessed experience of international conferences. The resolution as it stood, Mr. Dalal said, merely asked for non-official representatives to be associated with the delegation and was altogether silent as to the consequences of a difference of opinion between official and non-official members. Could the delegates, speak with two voices or were the leaders of the opposition prepared to go as delegates with a brief from the present constitutional Government ? (Voices: No). He expressed doubt whether "a National Government, if we had one, would have agreed to associate leaders of the Opposition with the official delegation ?" This, he said, "brings us to the all-important question—the crying need of the moment—to direct all energies to the formation of a National or at least a Coalition Government at the Centre, which is the only solution of our political problems."

He expressed his entire sympathy the principle of the resolution but felt it would be extremely difficult to give practical effect to it and his attitude would therefore be neutral.

Sir Olaf Caroe, External Affairs Secretary, said that he sympathised with the general feeling behind the original resolution and the amendment and hoped that a great deal of good might come from the debate. It was natural that popular opinion in India should wish to be associated with great events in the outside world. What they had to consider was how it was to be done. Referring to the appointment of the delegation from the Commonwealth and America, Sir Olaf said that the general principle in regard to the Commonwealth Delegation was that they should be Ministers of the Crown. He would be told that it was all very well because there was responsible Government there. He wished there was responsible Government here also but he would point out that there was responsible Government in the provinces where there were parties ready to work it but unfortunately they had no such Government at the Centre. It was not possible to have co-partners who did not take responsibility for office. For one reason or other they did not wish to take it.

Mr. Hossain Imam: When was it offered ?

Sir Olaf Caroe: Cripps.

It was not possible for such parties, Sir Olaf said, to come forward and say: "We had nothing to do with the governance of India but we wish to represent India on the international stage." Sir Olaf asked if they were going what were their credentials ? One of the parties had not shown any marked enthusiasm for war or for the preparation for peace. The other party might be asked whether they represented one India or two Indias. Sir Olaf referred to the presence in the United States of a member of the Council of State (Pandit Kunzru) and a 'gracious lady' who was giving her views which were to represent the views of India in certain circles. He was greatly disappointed to see that the question of entry and citizenship of Indians into the United States had been shelved and hoped that was not in any way connected with what they were saying there At least one of the representatives indulged in cheap jibes against the great fighting services of India. That was not the thing to do in foreign countries, he said. Sir Olaf reiterated that despite all he had stated he could not but feel real sympathy with the view representatives of leading parties should represent their country in foreign lands. His desire was that this country should bec me a great power. Her war effort was huge and industrial potentialities were great. Her potentialities were greater than those of China and possibly even of France. "Was it too much to hope," he asked, "that this would induce those people who suffered from frustration due to one reason or another to come in and govern this country internally ? "Was it too much to hope that all patriotic men would cast aside party differences and stand for the country and consolidate themselves into one State ? Then only would they have the right to claim to represent India abroad." In this country, Sir Olaf said, there was a great tradition. That tradition was that when foreign affairs and matters of security came up for discussion, they closed up their ranks and stood as one man before the world as a rock. So far as foreign affairs were concerned, there were no parties and when essential questions where they affected the defence of England came up for discussion, party matters faded away. He wished that should be the case with India as well. Once India adopted that attitude, then the whole approach to the political and other problems would change.

Mr. *P. N. Sapru*, referring to Sir Olaf Caroe's statement that the San Francisco Conference was a conference of the Governments of the day, argued that as a constitutional purist, as he set out to be, he could not have a case for sending any delegation at all, since the Conference was only for countries which had

sovereign status. He pointed out that both the Congress and the Muslim League were carrying on Government in some provinces at the present day and therefore they could not be dismissed as revolutionaries.

Mr. *Mohamed Padshah* (Muslim League) said that the issue under consideration was not the capacity, ability or the experience of the Indian delegation. The question was whether the delegates would have the freedom to put forward or place effectively the real Indian viewpoint before the Conference. He had apprehensions in this regard.

Mr. Padshah urged the Government to concede the demand of the House by including representatives of the two major political parties—the Congress and the Muslim League—and pave the way for the happy solution of the deadlock which hitherto had impeded every progress in the country.

Mr. *G. S. Motilal* (Congress) said that the present war was the outcome of the treaty made after the last war. India, therefore, was anxious to make her contribution to the conference to secure permanent international peace and security. Government delegates to San Francisco, Mr. Motilal said, did not represent public opinion in India. He pointed out that the United States Government had nominated eight representatives four each from the Democratic and Republican Parties respectively and asked what prevented the Government of India from adopting a like course. Government however, he said, gave the impression that they were waiting for the day when popular representatives would assume responsibility, but he asked what stood in the way of transference of power now. He did not believe that the deadlock was due to the perversity of the people but because of the reluctance of the Government to part with power. They had often said that there could be no constitutional changes during the war and why then, he asked, should the responsibility for the deadlock be shifted on to the people? If India had her own Government, she would have selected not only representatives of the two major parties but also representatives of other important interests in the country for the San Francisco Conference. Mr. *V. V. Kalikkar* insisted that India should have nothing to do with the San Francisco Conference so long as India did not enjoy sovereign rights. For India to participate in a conference of Sovereign nations while her own status was a subordinate one would be to deceive the world. The Foreign Secretary had said that the Congress had not shown any enthusiasm for war effort and hence did not merit to be consulted. Mr. *Kalikkar* asked whether Government had consulted the Hindu Mahasabha who had contributed much towards the war effort. So long as the angle of vision of Britain and the United States remained what it was, he did not think anything would come out of the Conference.

Mr. *Hossain Imam* (Muslim League) denied that his party refused to co-operate in war effort. What they did say was that such co-operation should be as between equals and not as camp followers. The present Government, he asserted, had no *locus standi* to send representatives to a conference of sovereign States. This Government was a subordinate branch of H.M.G. and must be deemed as *functus officio*, If the Government of India could take independent action, Mr. Hossain Imam asked why had the Viceroy gone to London? The Viceregal visit, he said, must be in connection with the San Francisco Conference. He wished India to remain unrepresented at the Conference rather than be misrepresented.

Sir Mohammad Usman, Leader of the House, said that we all knew that Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi had met for days together and yet they were not able to solve the deadlock and he did not believe that the deadlock would be solved by the representatives of the parties going to San Francisco. He denied that the Government of India was a "subordinate" Government, No brief would be given to the delegation in England and if any brief was to be given, it would be by the Governor-General in Council. The very fact that two of his distinguished colleagues were to go to San Francisco showed the great advance that India had made. If India had not made further progress who was responsible for it, he asked and replied that it was the political parties who refused to co-operate. Certainly there was religious differences and Lord Linlithgow tried to bring about a compromise many times and they rejected the Cripps Offer. If anybody was responsible for the deadlock, it was the Congress Party and the Muslim League. Sir Mohammed went on to say that the Executive Councillors were not subordinate to any outside authority. The Viceroy never interfered and in his department his voice was supreme. Some of the Muslim members did know that their longstanding grievances had been rectified by him in a short time. Referring to Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar's remarks that the Government suffered defeats often, Sir Mohammad said that the present Executive

Council took credit for the fact that by co-operating with the Allied powers and defeating Germany and Japan they had saved India from the horrors of war. To the question whom they represented, Sir Mohammad would say that they represented a large number of the people of India who were responsible for the raising of the biggest voluntary army in the world and they represented a Government which co-operated with other Allied nations and brought about the defeat of the Axis powers. Mr. *Thirumal Rao*, replying to the debate, said that if the Congress had not co-operated with this Government and rejected the Cripps proposals it was because of the humiliating conditions that were imposed by H. M. G. He asserted that the present Government was unrepresentative and challenged the Executive Councillors to secure even exclusively the votes of the Defence personnel in this country in their favour whom they claimed to represent. He did not think that the Indian Citizenship Rights Bill in the United States Legislature was shelved because of irresponsible propaganda but because of the prevailing racial arrogance.

The House rejected Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar's amendment without a division and the original resolution was negatived by 24 votes to 15.

Economic Sanctions against S. Africa

22nd. MARCH:—In the Council of State to-day, Mr. *P. N. Sapru* commending his resolution, recommending application of economic sanctions against South Africa and the recall of the High Commissioner said that the latest position was that the Ordinances passed by the Natal Council restricting the property right of Indians had been held *ultra vires*. The present position was as it existed when the Pegging Act was passed. India, Mr. Sapru continued, had tried methods of negotiation and submitted representations but the South African Government refused to see light. The Union Government continued to pursue a policy based on racial considerations, a policy which the leaders of the United Nations professed to denounce in the case of Nazi Germany but a policy which the Union Government emulated without any apologies in regard to their Asiatic subjects. The Union Government, Mr. Sapru said, had shown no desire to enter into friendly relations with India and appropriate steps must now be taken to retaliate. He asked what steps had been taken to apply economic sanctions.

Mr. *R. N. Banerjee*, Secretary, Commonwealth Relations Department, emphasised that there was no lack of appreciation on the part of the Government of the feelings of the country in this matter. But he would, however, counsel patience. Since the matter was last discussed in the House, there had been some developments which were rather hopeful. He refered to General Smuts' statement in which he admitted that the question of Indian acquisition and ownership of land had never been raised during the last 40 years. Mr. Banerjee said that the Government had completed their consultations with the last High Commissioner who returned to India only last month and the Government were expecting a report from the present High Commissioner on an appreciation of the latest development. There were certain symptoms which indicate that the liberal elements of the European population were now inclined to treat the Indian question less light-heartedly. Mr. Banerjee went on to say that it was not being claimed that the recent development in the Union should lead to a re-orientation of our attitude to the Pegging Act. The action already taken had brought home to the Union Government the depth and intensity of Indian resentment. He would, however, assure the House that the Government were not attaching any undue importance to those developments. Though the position had become temporarily static, signs were not wanting of better counsels prevailing. In regard to the recall of the Indian High Commissioner, Mr. Banerjee explained that perhaps it was not realised that the usual diplomatic element of reciprocity was lacking in the case of India's High Commissioner. The Union Government had no High Commissioner here. The Government held the view that the presence of their representative was of some advantage to the Indian cause and it would be unwise to deprive India of any weapon which might be of use to this country. Concluding, Mr. Banerjee said that it was comparatively easy for the Government to carry out the mandate of the House but the House must realise that the Government's responsibility did not cease with the enforcement of the resolution in a technical sense. The responsibility for a final and peaceful settlement of the Indian question would continue to rest on Government.

DR. KHARE ON GOVT'S POSITION

Dr. *N. B. Khare.* Member, Commonwealth Relations Department, said that he had not so much patience as Mr. Sapru would attribute to him. The Natal Council

passed the Ordinance on November 2, 1944 and in two days the Reciprocity Act was applied. It amply showed that the Government acted promptly when necessary. "Our difficulty is," he said, "that at present very delicate negotiations are going on between the two Governments. This is not a new question but an old sore dating back to three generations". It was not possible that the negotiations would terminate soon and he urged the House to give him some latitude. "It is a very complicated problem." Dr. Khara added. "It may have been solved very early if India had been independent or had Dominion Status." There was so much of colour prejudice. About eight months ago, he said, the U. S. Senate passed a Bill permitting Chinese to enter the U. S., and acquire citizenship rights. He thought India also would get similar treatment because we were also an ally. But unfortunately the Bill had been shelved and the member who opposed the measure had openly stated that China was independent and India was not and had made no effort about it. Proceeding, Dr. Khare said that the House should realise that India's constitutional drawback came in the way of everything and they need not blame the Government of India for it. He knew what the reactions of the people at large were to the problem. He fervently hoped that the statesmen of the world who were to meet at a conference to take preliminary steps for enduring peace,—if they were wise and if their intentions were honest—would heal the sore of colour bar and unequal treatment to the coloured people for the time to come. Dr. Khare said that the Government would not oppose the resolution.

After some discussion, it was suggested to Mr. Sapru, the mover, to amend the resolution by the addition of the words "as and when expedient," to the original text which asked for the recall of the High Commissioner and application of economic sanctions. It was explained on behalf of the Government that in matters of this kind they would remain neutral.

The resolution, without the amendment, was put to the House and declared passed without a division.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly

Budget Session—Calcutta—16th. February to 29th. March 1945

Financial Statement for 1945-46

Presenting the seventh war-time and the first "rehabilitation" budget of the Government of Bengal, to the Legislative Assembly which commenced its Budget Session in Calcutta on the **16th February 1945**, Mr. *T. C. Goswami*, Finance Minister, drew a gloomy picture of the provincial finances, which have been severely strained by the impact of the war and the famine and its aftermath to an extent of Rs 61 crores from 1943-44 to 1945-46.

He revealed an estimated revenue deficit of Rs. 8,59,72,000 for 1945-46 and a deficit of Rs. 11,34,82,000 according to the revised estimates for 1944-45.

He announced no new measure of taxation but indicated that Government had been considering further possibilities of augmenting their revenues.

Mr. Goswami revealed that the Government of India had recently agreed to advance the necessary finance in respect of procurement operations relating to the foodgrains and standard cloth.

Thanking the Government of India for their subvention of Rs. 10 crores, the Finance Minister pleaded that Bengal's claim to adequate finance assistance from the Centre was based on the irrefutable logic of facts. It was more akin to a claim for compensation in a court of law. They had not sought to avoid their responsibility, nor had they actually spared themselves in respect of exertion and self-help. The Legislature had recently passed the imposition of a tax on agricultural income and the doubling of the rates of the Sales Tax, and they hope to realise from these and other taxes an additional revenue of Rs. 8 crores in 1945-46.

Characterising the Niemeyer Award as unfair to Bengal, for it restricted their power to raise additional revenue, Mr. Goswami assured the House that the complete case of the Province had been presented to the Government of India by the Governor and himself and it was reasonable to hope for a comprehensive settlement in the near future which would be free from any taint of injustice and niggardliness.

Cloth Famine in Bengal

22nd. FEBRUARY :—An exciting two-hour debate took place in the Assembly to-day on an adjournment motion moved by the Opposition to discuss "the failure of the Government to prevent the acute and unprecedented cloth famine that has overtaken the province at the present moment." The motion was rejected by 104 to 65 votes. Mr. *Atul Chandra Sen* (Unofficial Congress), who moved the resolution, characterised the cloth famine as "devastating". In his own district, (Dacca), he had known men spending months with tattered rags tied round their bodies. He had also known cases of women not being able to come out from houses, having practically no cloth to cover themselves. He thought that the famine could have been averted by the Bengal Government to some extent. What was necessary was to point out to the Central Government the injustice that had been done to Bengal by allotting only ten yards per capita while other Provinces had got much higher quota and to sincerely try for the equitable distribution of supply through some sort of rationing and prevent a portion of it from going into the black market. Mr. *Patiram Roy* (Scheduled Caste) said that there had been cases of suicide by women on their being unable to cover themselves for want of cloth. Mr. *I. D. Jalan* (Official Congress) complained that thousands of bales of textiles which had been ordered by the Government in September and October last, still remained undelivered, adding to the acuteness of the situation. Dr. *Nalinaksha Sanyal* (Official Congress) said that in the matter of distribution of cloth which was the primary responsibility of the Provincial Government, not only had the Provincial Government failed in the discharge of their duties in these respects, but they had also set up a machinery which was corrupt from top to bottom and which should be scrapped. Black market, he said, was freely going on in almost every sphere of textiles, in which some of the Government officials were also involved. Replying to the debate, Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Minister for Civil Supplies, admitted that there was a cloth famine in the province but that was very largely due to the inadequate supply. The quota, allotted to Bengal, was very low; he had vigorously protested against that and stressed that if justice was not done to Bengal, in this regard, the province was in for a very bad time indeed. The Central Textile Board was proposing a new scheme which envisaged the freezing of cloth from the beginning and then controlling distribution. When the new scheme came into operation, the Government, he said, would be in a position, by controlling the quota-holders, to distribute whatever cloth they had got on an equitable basis. Under the new scheme, the Minister was almost certain that they would be in a position to regulate the distribution of cloth much better than before. The position taken up by the Central Government regarding the allocation of cloth to Bengal was indefensible. He intended, as far as possible, to explore all possibilities of rationing cloth but did not know if they would succeed or how long it might take to enforce it. But in the present limited supply, Mr. Suhrawardy maintained, they would be able to give only one pair of dhoti or saree per adult, which was hopelessly inadequate.

Release of Political Prisoners

23rd. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly to-day discussed a non-official resolution urging the Government of Bengal to set at liberty without further delay all political security prisoners detained in Bengal and all persons convicted of offences connected with political movements or disturbances. Moving the resolution, Dr. *Nalinaksha Sanyal* (Official Congress), said that political prisoners detained in Bengal jails, including political security prisoners and those convicted of political offences, totalled 2,500. He did not find the slightest moral or political justification for keeping these men in detention any longer. These prisoners were persons of the highest reputation and integrity; they were loved and respected by the people and their services would have been of inestimable value both to the Government and to the people in the task of rehabilitating Bengal. Several of these prisoners were in failing health and one prisoner, he added, had developed insanity. Dr. Sanyal informed the House that some time ago an order was actually passed by the Government for the release of the Chittagong Armoury Raid Case prisoners, who had been in prison for more than 20 years. But on the day previous to their release another order came suspending the order of release. The speaker was then in Alipore Central Jail. On his release he took up the matter with the Chief Minister, Sir Nazimuddin, and a highly-placed official of the Political Department told him in the presence of the Chief Minister that it was the Eastern situation which was responsible for the suspension of the order. The situation there, Dr. Sanyal said, had greatly improved in favour of the Allies and there was no justification for detaining these prisoners any longer nor was there any justification for the detention of those who were convicted or otherwise confined in jail in connection with the August 1942 disturbances. Supporting the resolution on

the 2nd MARCH. Mr. *Haripada Chatterjee* (official Congress) enquired for whose security these prisoners were being kept in detention ? They were some of their best men and their countrymen wanted their release. He challenged the Government to cite a single instance where people did not want their release. If the Government claimed to be a popular one, they must set these men at liberty without any delay. Political security prisoners in Bengal now numbered 1322. Mr. *Nishit Nath Kundu* (unofficial Congress) pointed out that the health of a large number of these prisoners had suffered by detention. Out of 18 women political security prisoners now in detention, 12 were in a bad state of health. Replying to the debate, *Sir Nazimuddin*, Chief Minister, said that the policy of the present Government was to release the prisoners at the ealiest possible opportunity. He had taken interest in this matter and the policy of his Government had always been as far as possible to effect release, and if they could not release, to treat these cases with the utmost sympathy. He said that there was a distinction between the two classes of security prisoners now in detention, namely, those who belonged to subversive organisations and those who were in detention for having taken part in All-India movements like the non-co-operation movements of 1920 and 1930 and the August disturbances of 1942. Of the latter category, there were about 50 persons in detention in Bengal at present and their number was the lowest in comparison with other Provinces. The cases of those prisoners, who belonged to subversive organisations, were reviewed periodically and wherever possible they were released. They were being detained at present only on account of the war emergency and Government could not possibly take the risk of releasing them. A certain number of these prisoners had been detained on an all-India policy basis and on certain occasions, the Government of India had to be consulted before any release was made.

Opposition Members' Walk-out

6th. MARCH :—The Opposition staged a walk-out during the consideration of the Government's supplementary estimate of expenditure for the current year (1944-45) in the Assembly to-day, complaining that there would be no opportunity for sufficient discussion of the demand. When the Opposition was called upon to move a cut motion standing in their name, Dr. *Nalinakshha Sanyal* (official Congress) said, that in view of the attitude of the Government no useful purpose would be served by their moving the motions standing in their names or participating in the debate. He added that they had got a large number of specific instances of mal-administration, corruption, bribery and practical waste of the country's resources by Government, particularly in the Department of Civil Supplies and Civil Defence Works. If a committee was appointed by the Government or a Royal Commission was set up to enquire into this matter, the Opposition would be willing to co-operate as they did in connection with the Famine Enquiry Committee. If the Government of India chose to publish the report of the Famine Enquiry Committee, it would be found that the Committee had given a most damaging report so far as administration of the Civil Supplies Department in Bengal, particularly in regard to food, was concerned. The different parties in Opposition thereupon withdrew from the House, shouting 'Down with corruption, bribery and mal-administration'. In moving his demand, Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Minister for Civil Supplies, said that if the Opposition claimed to be protagonists of a clean administration, he would remind them that the Opposition, who had hitherto supported an administration which was rotten, should be the last persons to come forward as protagonists of a clean administration.

Treatment of Politicals

14th. MARCH :—The Budget demand under the head, "Jails and Convict Settlements" was discussed in the Assembly to-day. Mr. *Nishith Nath Kundu* (Unofficial Congress) moved a cut to discuss the "failure of the Government to look into the grievances and amenities of political, security and other prisoners, lack of control over the Jail administration, lack of supervision and failure of Government to release political and security prisoners." Mr. Kundu said that the Government had not only failed to effect wholesale release of security prisoners, but had also failed to release even those prisoners who were suffering continuously from complicated diseases. He read letters from a number of ailing security prisoners, describing the state of their health and complaining about the inadequacy of the allowances sanctioned for their families. Complaining about the manner in which the censoring was done, the speaker showed before the House a letter which had been completely "blacked out". Mr. *Atul Chandra Sen* (Unofficial Congress) moved a cut motion to discuss the "continued detention of a large number of security prisoners

and detenus, though the security position of the country has admittedly improved." He said that, if there were concentration camps in Hitlerite Germany and Fascist Italy, there was no dearth of them in British India, especially in Bengal. The Home Member of the Government of India might fret and fume at Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit. But the different jails in Bengal offered the irrefutable logic of facts to world opinion. While the Government had detained a large number of men and women without trial for indefinite period, why should they fight shy of the term 'Concentration camp'? With the virtual collapse of Hitlerite Germany and the receding of the Japanese menace from India, there was no justification at the present moment for keeping a large number of men and women in detention. Replying to the debate, *Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin*, Chief Minister, said that most of the grievances of the security prisoners had been removed. So far as the criticism against jail administration with reference to Division III prisoners was concerned, he admited that there was room for a great deal of improvement. The general level of the health of prisoners in Bengal jails was good, and compared favourably with that of prisoners in other provinces. As regards prisoners, particularly security prisoners, who were suffering from various ailments—in most of these cases they had these ailments before they were admitted into the jails, and there was hardly any case, where any prisoner had contracted disease on account of infection in jail. Most of the cases of T. B. among prisoners were cases of persons, who were suffering in some form or other before they were arrested. (Cries of 'question' from opposition benches). In the matter of granting family allowances to security prisoners, the Chief Minister said that they were pursuing a policy which was being pursued by the Government of India and other Provinces. In most cases, family allowances had been granted and even where according to the policy laid down, a prisoner was not entitled to a family allowance, he had been granted family allowance on compassionate grounds. The cut motions were lost without a division, and the demands which had been moved by Sir Nazimuddin passed.

Government and Congress Organisation

21st. MARCH :—The Premier, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, replying to the debate on the budget demand under the head "General Administration" in the Assembly to-day explained the provincial Government's policy in regard to the lifting of the ban on Provincial Congress organisations, allowing detenu members to attend the sittings of the House, the release of political prisoners and the alleged excesses by soldiers in certain cases. Sir Nazimuddin explained that the ban on the A. I. C. C. and the Provincial Congress organisation was imposed in pursuance of an all-India policy. The provincial Government was given liberty of action in regard to district and sub-divisional Congress committees. He found that a ban was imposed on five district Congress Committees in Bengal in 1942. Government proposed to lift the ban on four of these committees and as regards the remaining Committee (Midnapur), Government would take some time to consider the matter. On the second point, he said that it was not possible to permit detenu members of the House to attend the sittings of the House, and added that for the same reason it was not possible to release these members, nor it was possible to permit them to come to attend the sittings of the House. It was impossible to see that they would be segregated in one corner of the Chamber without coming into contact with anybody. It might be asked, Sir Nazimuddin continued, what was the justification for detaining the political prisoners. The justification was that it was apprehended that in case the war situation on the frontier of India became bad there was likely to be considerable difficulty. It could not be denied that there was at least one Bengali with the Japanese who was broadcasting daily to the effect, "Keep yourself ready ; you will have to do this thing and that thing when I come." Members of the House who heard radio broadcasts must have heard Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose broadcasting almost daily and giving instructions. Some of these people held Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose in affection and esteem. Was Government justified in taking risks at a time like this when there was apprehension ? (interruptions from Opposition benches.) Proceeding, Sir Nazimuddin said that when he felt that the danger was so removed that Government could start on a policy of release and when he was personally satisfied on that point, he would advise His Excellency the Governor in that regard. If his advice was not accepted, he would come and tell the House that so far as these cases were concerned, that was not his responsibility but that that was the responsibility of the Governor or of somebody else. And if the political organisation to which he belonged, Sir Nazimuddin continued, the Muslim League Parliamentary Board, and the members of the Coalition Party advised him to resign on this issue he would

do so. Concluding, Sir Nazimuddin said that he was saying all this, not because of what might have been said in this House but because when he visited the political prisoners in Dum Dum jail and some other political prisoners recently, he gave them the hope that soon the policy of release would be started in Bengal. As regards alleged excesses by soldiers in certain instances, Sir Nazimuddin said that both the Bengal Government and the highest military authorities of the U. S. A. and the British Armies had been taking every possible step to reduce and prevent a commission of these outrages and crimes. He knew of a case where a soldier who stabbed three persons had been given five year's rigorous imprisonment by the military authorities.

The cut motion moved by Mr. *Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal* (Unofficial Congress) to criticise Government's failure to facilitate attendance in the Assembly of those members who have been kept in detention without trial was lost by 93 votes to 55. All other cut motions were lost without a division and the Budget Demand, moved by *Sir Nazimuddin* in connection with 'General Administration' was voted by the House. After the debate, Sir Nazimuddin, explaining his remarks regarding the question of release of political prisoners, said that, so far, Government were only releasing Congress security prisoners. What he meant was that a policy of release would start soon regarding the terrorist security prisoners.

Defeat of the Ministry

28th. MARCH :—In the Assembly, to day, the Opposition forced a division on the main budget demand under the head "Agriculture" moved by *Khan Bahadur Moazzemuddin Hussain*, Minister for Agriculture. The demand was rejected by 106 votes to 97. The result of the voting was greeted by Opposition benches with loud cheers. The European members numbering 16 voted with the Government. After the result of the voting was announced, the Chief Minister, *Sir Nazimuddin* said : "This is a snap division and we will treat it as such. To-day, I do not propose to move any further budget demand for grants. In these circumstances, I ask you, Mr. Speaker, to adjourn the House."

According to the Opposition, in the Assembly 21 Government party members crossed the floor to-day and joined the Opposition. When the House assembled all the 13 Ministers were present. Elaborate police arrangements were made round the Assembly House. After questions which took some 20 minutes, *Khan Bahadur Muazzamuddin Hossein*, Minister for Agriculture, moved the budget demand of Rs. 2,04,00,000 under the head, 'Agriculture'. After the Minister had moved the demand, Mr. *Dhirendra Nath Dutta*, Deputy Leader, Official Congress party, opposed the entire demand without any speech. The Speaker (Mr. *Syed Nausher Ali*) called out the names of members of the Opposition who had given notice of cut motions under this head, to move the motions standing in their names. The Opposition declined to move any of the cut motions standing in their names, and Dr. *Nalinaksha Sanyal*, Chief Whip, (Congress Party,) moved that the question be put to vote. He said : "We do not want to have this sham show any longer. Let the Chief Minister come to vote straight-away. There has been mishandling of the country's finances and bungling and jobbery for which Government is going to fall to-day. Let them resign." Several Government party members including Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Minister for Civil Supplies, rose in their seats and protested against the matter being put to vote now. They demanded that the Government members should be allowed to move the cut motions of which they had given notice and there should be a reasonable debate in the matter. *Sir Nazimuddin* said that there was no rule or parliamentary practice which prevented a member of the Government side from moving the cut motions he had tabled. Government members had the right to move their cut motions. He asserted that the Speaker had to decide whether there had been a reasonable discussion before the demand was put. Members of the Government side should be allowed to move their cut motions and they should also be allowed to speak on the general motion. Mr. *F. A. Stark*, Chief Whip, European Group, also pleaded amidst interruptions from Opposition benches that there should be no infringement of the right of reasonable debate. Several Government party members repeatedly rose in their seats one after another and demanded that the debate should be continued, while Opposition members demanded that the matter should be immediately put to vote. Pointing to the European benches, which had only two occupants at that time, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, Leader of the Opposition, in a ironical tone, said, "What is the use of carrying on discussion like this. Let the House be adjourned till the members of the European Group could come and then take votes." He suggested that the whole demand be put to vote and these delaying tactics should not be allowed.

The Speaker (*Mr. Syed Nausher Ali*) said that Government appeared to be not present in full strength. The Opposition hoped that it could defeat the Government now and therefore they were anxious that the matter should be put to vote immediately. But it was clear at the same time that, there could be no question of moving any cut motion from the Government side.

Mr. *Suhrawardy*: Why not ?

The *Speaker* said that convention was firmly established that Government side had never been allowed to move cut motions. So long as he had been an occupant of the Chair, cut motions had never been moved from the Government side. He did not belong to the Government or to the Opposition side. He had got to see that things were done properly in the House. If Government had not been careful to mobilise their strength, he could not help them. But that was not the reason why he should take recourse to a practice that was not authorised by law or rules of procedure.

Following further brushes with Mr. Suhrawardy, the Chair permitted Khan Bahadur Muazzamuddin Hussein, Minister for Agriculture, to speak for ten minutes. He also permitted another member from the Government side to speak generally on the demand.

At 4-30 p.m, the Speaker proceeded to put the main demand under 'agriculture' to vote.

As he proceeded to do so, Mr. *Suhrawardy* and several other Government party members went up to the Speaker's table and tried to speak on the microphone. Several Opposition members also rushed to the Speaker's table, snatched the microphone from the hands of Government party members and placed it before the Speaker's seat.

As the Division bell rang, Mr. *Suhrawardy,* using the microphone, shouted amidst continuous interruptions from Opposition benches and said that, if they were defeated to-day they would go out because there was a company of black-marketeers and profiteers on the other side. He added that the Opposition was supported by hoarders, profiteers and black-marketeers and were trading with Marwari money.

The *Chair* announced the result of voting which was 106 for Opposition and 97 for Government amidst scenes of great jubilation in Opposition benches.

Raising his voice to its highest pitch, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, leader of the Opposition, asked the Ministry to resign.

More than an hour had elapsed from the time when the opposition had demanded a vote to the time of actual voting. In the meantime, nearly 16 European members had come in.

Sequel to Ministerial Developments

29th. MARCH :—The Assembly met at 4-00 p. m. yesterday in a tense atmosphere. The public galleries were crowded and there was a very large attendance of members. At question-time, Mr. *Pramathanath Banerjee* (non-official Congress Party) rising on a point of order, maintained that as a result of yesterday's adverse vote in the House the Ministry had ceased to function. He failed to understand how yesterday's vote could be characterised as a snap vote when, out of the effective strength of 230, as many as 203 participated in the voting. He did not know of an instance in any Legislature in India or the House of Commons where the Government of the day stuck to office after a major budget demand had been rejected by the Assembly. "The position," he said, "is that the Ministry has failed to carry the Budget through the Legislature, as provided under the Government of India Act, and, therefore they were bound to tender their resignation.' He wanted a ruling from the Chair on the constitutional and legal points involved in view of yesterday's adverse vote against the Government.

Premier's Reply to Point of Order

Sir Nazimuddin, Chief Minister, reminded the House that a ruling was given by Sir Azizul Haque when he was Speaker of the Assembly in March 26, 1938, to the effect that members belonging to the Government side had the right to move cut motions. Until that ruling was revised by any subsequent rulings, he maintained, that ruling held the ground. But Government members were deprived of the right of moving their cut motions yesterday and the main demand was not allowed to be discussed by the members of the House. He as Leader of the House was not even allowed to wind up the debate. "If the members on the other side," Sir Nazimuddin continued, "claim that they have a majority, the result of the voting, if there be any to-day, will show that." The Chief Minister assured the House that the Ministry would resign if the vote went against them to-day. As regards the

point raised about the rejection of the total agricultural demand, he said, that was entirely a constitutional question and that would depend on how the other demands were dealt with to-day.

Mr. *Nalinaksha Sanyal* (official Congress) declared that the Ministry could not continue to function so far as this Legislature was concerned in view of yesterday's adverse vote.

SPEAKER'S RULING

Mr. *Nausher Ali*, Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, giving his ruling on the point of order raised by the Opposition on the effect of yesterday's adverse vote against the Ministry, ruled that the House could not function unless a new Ministry was formed. He, therefore, adjourned the House *sine die.*

Explaining his ruling not to allow the Ministry to function in the House, Mr. Nausher Ali said that the refusal by the House yesterday of supplies demanded by the Ministry for a major department, which made the administration impossible, was an unmistakable censure. Nor was it permissible under the rules to bring forward the said demand again before the House during the same session.

The Speaker said that he had grave doubts if, in the present case, he should allow any Minister, including the Chief Minister, to transact any Government business. Sir Nazimuddin might claim, he said, that the decision of the House as given on the demand for grant for agriculture, did not really reflect the opinion of the majority of the House. But he doubted if it was permissible to be dragged into the realm of speculation after the verdict of the House against the Ministry.

Recalling his previous ruling the Speaker said that the budget was an indivisible unitary document which should be carried through during the session of the Assembly, and in view of the further fact that this had now become impossible, he did not think he could or should allow the Ministry or any Minister to move any further demand for grant. He therefore thought that the House could not function any longer unless a new Ministry was formed and adjourned the House *sine die.*

Before giving his ruling, the Speaker Mr. Nausher Ali asked Sir Nazimuddin what he proposed to do with regard to the demand which was thrown out by the House on the previous day.

Sir Nazimuddin informed the Speaker that it depended entirely on how events shaped in the House to-day and that he could not at this stage say what he proposed to do.

Khan Bahadur Mohammad Ali, Parliamentary Secretary, pointed out that nine Government members came to the House shortly after the division yesterday. (A voice from the Opposition: Why did you then put away and did not move the other demand)?

The Khan Bahadur: "Let them go to vote to-day."

Mr. J. R. Walker, Leader of the European group, suggested that, instead of having this discussion, it should be left to the vote of the House to see whether the Government had got enough strength.

The Governor's Proclamation

31st. MARCH :—A proclamation under Section 93 of the Government of India Act. 1935, was issued to-day by Mr. R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal, in a Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary, assuming the administration of the Province.

The Governor of Bengal authorised the annual estimate of expenditure for 1945-46 and also prorogued both Houses of the Legislature.

GOVERNOR'S STATEMENT

His Excellency Mr. R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal, issued the following statement:

"The Bengal Ministry headed by Sir Nazimuddin was defeated in the Assembly by 106 votes to 97, and the whole Budget demand under the head 'Agriculture' was rejected.

"The Chief Minister claimed that the defeat was on a snap division and on the following day, offered to test the confidence of the House on the remaining demands, and resign if defeated.

"The Speaker of the Assembly ruled that, after its defeat on the previous day on a budget grant, the Ministry could no longer function in the House, and adjourned the Assembly *sine die* leaving the remaining grants of the Budget undisposed of one way or the other. I refrain from comment on the legality or constitutional propriety of this action, but I am bound to recognise

that a breakdown of the normal machinery of the State has taken place in this Province.

"I have, therefore, decided, with the concurrence of the Governor-General, to resort to the provisions of Section 93 of the Government of India Act. This will remove any possibility of the administration of the Province being hampered by doubts as to the propriety of incurring expenditure, whether on the day-to-day work of the Government or on urgent projects vital to the well-being of the people.

"But leaving aside technicalities, the situation as a whole in Bengal politics is one which needs careful consideration in the light of the experience of the Province and this is a matter on which I have no intention of being hustled into hasty decisions.

"The proclamation which I am issuing under section 93 will ensure that the administration of Bengal shall function as effectively as its man-power and other resources permit in these difficult times in coping with the many and urgent administrative tasks that confront us. Meanwhile, I shall give careful and unhurried consideration to the political and constitutional problems brought to a head by the events of the week."

The Punjab Legislative Assembly

Budget Session—Lahore—19th February to 19th. March 1945

Interned Assembly Member Attends

In defiance of the restrictions imposed on him by the Punjab Government, Mr. *Bhim Sen Sachar*, Leader of the Opposition, attended the Punjab Assembly which opened its budget session at Lahore on the **19th. February 1945**. Mr. Sachar was cheered by the Opposition when he entered the Assembly Chamber.

The action of Mr. Sachar caused a flutter in political circles in the Punjab. Not only Mr. Sachar, but also twelve Congress M.L,A's. were under similar restrictions ever since their release from detention. Of the twelve, five are interned within Lahore Corporation limits and restricted from attending any political meetings which, in the Punjab Government's view, include meetings of the Punjab Assembly also. These have not attended the Assembly so far. There are other eight Congress M. L. A's. who are still in jail and of the total of 33 Congress M.L.A's, only 12 are in a position to attend. This action on the part of the Leader of the Opposition is regarded as nothing beyond a protest against an injustice'.

Tributes to late Sir Chhotu Ram

The Assembly adjourned for the day without transacting any business as a mark of respect to the memory of late Sir Chhotu Ram. The Premier and Party Leaders paid glowing tributes to the deceased.

Financial Statement for 1945-46

1st. MARCH :—A current revised surplus of Rs. 139 lakhs for the year and a prospective suplus of Rs. 139 lakhs for the year and a prospective surplus of Rs. 192 lakhs for the next year were forecast by *Sir Manohar Lal*, Finance Minister, presenting his ninth budget to the Assembly to day, He said that the Punjab finances stood to-day on an ampler and surer footing than ever before.

Sir Manohar Lal pointed out that the surplus in 1943-44 would have been of the magnitude of Rs. 551 lakhs but for the transfer towards the end of the year, of Rs. 60 lakhs to the Peasants Welfare Fund ; of Rs. 40 lakhs to the Special Development Fund and of Rs. 15 lakhs to a new fund, the Forest Reconstruction Fund.

As regards the current year, the Finance Minister said that the surplus would have stood at Rs. 454 lakhs as against the budgeted figure of Rs. 386 lakhs but for a supplementary demand presented a week ago of no less than Rs. 315 lakhs for the special funds The year marks a record in the size of Punjab revenue receipts surpassing the figure of the previous year by a crore and a third.

Coming to the year 1945-46 for which the budget estimates were presented, Sir Manohar Lal said that the expenditure of beneficent departments which stood at Rs. 287 lakhs in 1936-37 had steadily risen till, in 1945-46, it was proposed to spend Rs. 559 lakhs. In other words, during the life-time of the Assembly, the beneficial

expenditure has been almost exactly doubled. Under the new expenditure on education, substantial facilities are to be secured for the teaching of science and the expansion of girls' education. And effort will also be made to establish farmers' clubs all over the province.

As for post-war reconstruction, Sir Manohar Lal said: "A definite provision has been made of a sum of Rs. 2 crores from the emerging surplus of 1944-45 but in addition to any assistance received from the Government of India, the whole strength of the finances will be available for this essential task. It is hoped that, during the next five years, it might be possible to spend a sum of Rs. 100 crores on this work directed at once to secure the enrichment of our economic resources and improvement of our mind and body."

A sum of Rs. 40 crores would be applied to irrigation and electric development, Rs. 12 crores to roads, Rs. 5 crores to agriculture and Rs. 5 crores to industries.

Analysing the debt position, the Finance Minister said that it disclosed a most happy situation. On the introduction of provincial autonomy in 1937 the net debt of the Province stood at Rs. 32½ crores and should normally have amounted to Rs. 38¾ crores on 31st March 1944 but it stood only at Rs. 27 crores. As against this debt, the Punjab has capital wealth as represented by capital expenditure upto the end of 1946 of Rs. 58¼ crores.

Dismissal of Minister—Premier's statement

8th. MARCH :—A detailed statement on the circumstances leading to the dismissal of *Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan* from the Punjab Ministry, was made by *Malik Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana*, the Premier, intervening in the debate on General Administration in the Assembly to-day. Malik Khizr Hyat Khan explained that the serious case of injustice to which reference was made in the communique on Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan's dismissal, related to the dismissal, by the Minister, of Mrs. Durga Pershad, Lady Superintendent of the Lahore Municipal Girls' Schools. He also referred to the alleged purchase of land, valued at several thousands of rupees, by Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, the funds for which, he alleged, had been obtained in the most improper manner. The Premier indicated that the matter might come before a court. Malik Khizr Hyat Khan said: "In accordance with Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan's orders Mrs. Durga Pershad was dismissed. She filed an appeal to the Commissioner, who pointed out that he was unable to intervene, since she had been dismissed by the orders of the Government. Her only remedy was a petition to H. E. the Governor and this she addressed to him. The case was brought to my notice by His Excellency. We agreed that it should be taken in Council on appeal and this was done. Sardar Hyat Khan was given ample opportunity to justify his extraordinary proceedings, but he was unable to produce any justification whatsoever, and his colleagues unanimously agreed that his conduct was quite indefensible and quite unworthy of the office which he held. His Excellency then dismissed him. On May 2 orders were issued for the reinstatement or Mrs. Durga Pershad." Proceeding, the Premier said: "Even before Mrs. Durga Pershad's case came to my notice, serious allegations had been made about Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan's abuse of his powers as Minister, and I had reasonable grounds for believing that there was considerable justification for these allegations. Subsequent inquiries have, I regret to state, confirmed the reasonableness of these grounds, and I think the House will agree with me that when there are reasonable grounds for believing allegations about the abuse of powers by a Minister and when, on top of this, there is proved a serious case of flagrant misuse of these powers, some serious action is called for." The Premier emphasised that such grounds alone, that is lack of reputation, have been considered sufficient to ask for the resignation of a Minister and when in addition a flagrant case of abuse of power is proved, it would be a scandal not to dismiss such a Minister.

ALLEGED PURCHASE OF LAND

The Premier referred to the alleged purchase of land valued at many thousands of rupees by Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, funds for which, he alleged, had been obtained in the most improper manner. "I feared," said Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, "that my Ministry might be involved in an ugly scandal, and I could not keep out of my mind my knowledge of these allegations when considering Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan's dismissal, although I must make it clear that I considered then and still consider that his attempt to dismiss and ruin the innocent Mrs. Durga Pershad merited nothing short of dismissal." Explaining the allegations, Malik Khizr Hyat Khan said: "Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan used his position as Minister in charge of the Improvement Trust, Lahore, to induce the villagers of Davisabad to sell

various plots of land to him by causing them to believe that the land was about to be acquired for the Improvement Trust at very low prices. He was unable to pay for these land purchases without assistance, and he obtained money from two prominent Lahore businessmen, who are brothers. They provided him, in all, with funds to the extent of more than one lakh of rupees and in return for this, he misused his position as Minister in charge of Transport to try to obtain for them a large share in the operation of Lahore's local bus service." Towards the end of the statement which extended over 25 foolscap type-written pages and took an hour to read, the Premier indicated that the events which he had narrated in regard to the land purchases and their finance might come before a court. He said that soon after Sardar Shaukhat Hyat Khan's dismissal some of the vendors of the Davisabad land made a report to the police, in which they alleged that they had been cheated into selling their land at a price far below its market value. "Their allegations are still under investigation. I have been careful to express no opinion on the merits of these allegations and to say nothing which might prejudice the course of justice, but it seemed to be impossible in the public interest to keep back any longer the explanation of Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan's dismissal. If anything I have stated tends to reflect on the conduct of Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan as a Minister and may possibly tend to prejudice any case or cases which may be brought against him subsequently, the responsibility lies on those of his supporters who by wild assertions and groundless accusations, have forced me to enter into this explanation of why my colleagues and I concurred in his dismissal by His Excellency."

League Leader's Criticism

Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party, in a 100-minute reply to the Premier's statement on Sardar Shaukat Hyat's dismissal, said that the Governor had flagrantly violated an act of Parliament, resorting to unconstitutional and unfair means in dismissing a Minister. The Governor had thus reduced the working of Provincial Autonomy to a force and tried to overawe the people of this Province into remaining enslaved to the bureaucracy for ever and not aligning themselves with any all-India political party. Raja Ghaznafar Ali said that Premier Khizr Hyat had played the traitor to the Muslim League by stabbing Sardar Shaukat Hyat in the back just before he was about to break away from the Muslim League in April last, when he was conducting negotiations with Mr. Jinnah. He compared this action of the Premier to the treacherous attack by the Japanese on Pearl Harbour. The reason for Sardar Shaukat Hyat's dismissal, the Raja went on, was that he had remained loyal to the League and had told the Premier that he would resign from the Cabinet rather than leave the Muslim League. But Malik Khizr Hyat thought that Sardar Shaukat would become a hero if he thus let his Ministry. That was why this lame excuse of injustice to Mrs. Durga Pershad was invented in a hurry and his resignation was not accepted. Raja Ghaznafar Ali then related details of the Cabinet meeting at which the Governor announced the case of Mrs. Durga Pershad to the Ministers which, he said, was not even on the agenda and some of the Ministers did not know what this case was about. He added that there was until then no appeal preferred on behalf of Mrs. Durga Pershad but a memorandum from her had been asked for later as a camouflage. Raja Ghaznafar Ali said that Malik Khizr Hyat during his negotiations with Mr. Jinnah had asked his non-Muslim Ministers to give him their resignations which he intended to use as a bargaining factor in arriving at a settlement with Mr. Jinnah and thus prove to him that if he (Mr. Jinnah) did not agree to his terms, there was danger of Section 93 being promulgated in the Province. Dwelling on the constitutional aspect of Sardar Shaukat Hyat's dismissal, he said that the Governor under the Constitution had no power to dismiss him. The Governor could either dismiss the entire Cabinet or the Premier, who, if he had no confidence in Sardar Shaukat Hyat, could ask him to tender his resignation, and in the event of his refusing to do so, he could tender the resignation of the entire Cabinet and form another within three minutes. Even if Sardar Shaukat was guilty of some error of judgment, the Raja said, he could not be dismissed for this paltry error, even as no judge could be dismissed for giving a supposedly wrong judgment. Sardar Shaukat, at the most, could be asked to revise his judgment but he was made a scapegoat for being loyal to the Muslim League. Continuing the debate on the next day, the *9th. March*, Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan urged His Majesty's Government to recall the Governor, Sir Bertrand Glancy, as, he said, he had by unconstitutional act in dismissing Sardar Shaukat Hyat violated the Government of India Act. There were sufficient reasons to believe that cetain Ministers had entered into an unholy conspiracy with the Governor for getting Sardar Shaukat Hyat dismissed. The Raja asked the Premier, Malik Khizar Hyat, to come forward with

a frank admission that Sardar Shaukat Hyat was dismissed because of his loyalty to the Muslim League. This, the Raja added, the Premier was afraid to do for fear of public opinion. He said the Premier had set the ball rolling and the time was nearing when the black deeds of the Ministers would be exposed to the public gaze.

Dr. *Mohd. Alam* (Unionist), speaking amid interruptions from Muslim League benches, said that the Muslim League in the Punjab was demanding unity with the Congress. He said that in the freedom movement the League had played no part with the Congress which had always suffered and made sacrifices for its great goal. The League stood for naked communalism and wanted to efface both the Hindus and the Sikhs. He said that India would reach its objective only when communalism as symbolized by the League was destroyed. He added that the Governor's only fault was to appoint a raw and inexperienced youth like Sardar Shaukat Hyat as Minister. He had certainly committed no mistake by dismissing him. *Raja Fateh Khan* (Unionist) said that the Muslim League was sowing the seed of discord among the Muslims of the Punjab only for the sake of installing themselves in office. They had no other object. H appealed to the Muslim League members to end this fratricidal strife in the interest of Muslim solidarity and asked them to come back to the treasury benches.

The Sind Legislative Assembly

Budget Session—Opening Day—Karachi—21st. Feb. 1945

Financial Statement for 1945-46

The Budget Session of the Sind Legislative Assembly commenced at Karachi on the **21st. February 1945**. After interpellations the Premier, *Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatulla* presented the budget for 1945-46 and the supplementary s atement of expenditure for 1944-45.

A net surplus of Rs. 2,57,000 for the current year and an estimated surplus of Rs. 2,60,000 for the new year are revealed in the financial estimates for 1945-46 presented by the Premier.

The figures are arrived at as follows: 1944-45 revised revenue Rs. 9,42,68,000. 1944-45 revised expenditure Rs. 8,57,37,000. 1945-46 estimated expenditure Rs. 8,58,77,000.

In addition appropriations of Rs. 1,75 lakhs for the revenue equalisation fund and Rs. 135 lakhs for the Post-war Development Fund have been made from the ordinary revenue estimated to be realised during the year.

A feature of Sind's sixth wartime budget is that it purposes no new taxation, though it foregoes none of the several taxation measures introduced in the last five years.

Armed Guard for Ministers

The fact that armed guards provided for the personal security of the Sind Ministers will be continued is shown in the budget statement. It is explained that "due to the abnormal conditions prevailing in the Province armed guards have been supplied to the Ministers and it is desirable to continue this arrangement because the circumstances have not altered." The force consists of 18 armed men and 33 unarmed constables.

In the memorandum accompanying the estimates, a note of caution is struck regarding the future finances of Sind. Stating that there is a reverse side to the present bright picture, the Finance Minister points out that, without the land sales there would have been a deficit instead of a surplus. He adds: 'Land sales are now past the peak and are expected to fall very rapidly. The most recent estimates show that our budget will be in deficit if our revenue is not developed."

The Premier, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, in the course of his budget speech to-day explained the trade policy of the Sind Government and strongly refuted the charge that Sind ever made profits from the needs of others.

Defeat of the Ministry

24th. FEBRUARY:—The Hidayatullah Ministry was defeated in the Assembly to-day by 25 votes to 19. The Opposition had challenged a division on *Sheikh Abdul Majid's* one rupee cut motion in the supplementary demand under General

Administration. Fourteen members of the Muslim League Assembly Party voted with the Opposition. Mr. *G. M. Syed*, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, declared that a majority of the members of the Muslim League Assembly Party had sent to him a petition saying that they had no confidence in the Hidayatullah Ministry.

This defeat of the Government came as a bolt from the blue for Ministerialists, especially, after the vote of confidence passed by the League Assembly Party only on Friday and there was a strong belief even among Ministerialists' opponents that Premier Ghulam Hussain had tided over the crisis.

"Sind is not fit for reforms" was the bitter remark made by *Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah*, Premier, when the League Opposition made it clear to him that the vote of confidence passed in the Premier the previous day was not going to be adhered to. "We in this House," said the Premier, "are teaching how to be treacherous. I belong to that association, the Muslim League, which passed a resolution that all our demands would be passed." The Premier said, "I depended on the word of the Provincial League. I invite him to come out and not to hide himself. If the members play traitors, I do not mind."

The first cut motion was under a revenue demand which was however withdrawn. But speaking on this, *Sheikh Abdul Majid* deplored that the Premier should indulge in outbursts and accuse even his colleagues and his own party members of treachery. "If the Premier has been a traitor to the Province. why should they not be traitors to him," asked Shaik Abdul Majid. He averted that there was no democracy in Sind. The Premier had made it a one man's raj.

League Members Vote with Opposition

Moving the cut motion under General Administration, *Sheikh Abdul Majid* referred to the appointment of Mr. Roger Thomas as Minister for Agriculture and said that the Premier at that time had not even consulted the members of his own party. Mr. *G. M. Syed* then announced that a majority of the members of the Muslim League Assembly Party had sent him a petition saying that they had no confidence in the present Ministry. He added that those who had signed the petition would vote for the cut motion. Mr. *Nichaldas Vazirani*, leader of the Hindu Opposition, said that his Party would vote for the cut motion. He said that the Hindus had been denied the right of sending their chosen representatives to the Cabinet. *Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah* said that the members had intrigued overnight to throw out the Ministry. At the meeting of the Assembly League Party even Mr. Syed had agreed to support the passing of supplementary demands. "Sind", he added, "is not fit for reforms." Referring to the appointment of Mr. Roger Thomas, the Premier said that every one had welcomed it.

Mr. *Gazdar*: "Not the Qaid-e-Azam".

Premier: "You are a disappointed man. Is this the way to deceive the House ?"

Mr. *Fraser*, a member of the European Group, said that the Premier was not being given a square deal. He warned the Opposition to think twice before taking any step.

The cut motion was passed and the supplementary demand itself was rejected.

Fourteen members of the Muslim League Assembly Party, four Opposition Muslims and seven Opposition Hindus voted for the cut motion while eleven members of the League Party, five Hindus, two Europeans and one Muslim Independent voted against it.

Governor Prorogues Session

On the Premier refusing to move further grants, the Speaker adjourned the House to consult legal opinion. On resumption, the Premier said that an Order from the Governor proroguing the House was on the way. The House was again adjourned for half-an-hour. Thereafter the Order from the Governor arrived and the House was prorogued.

New Minister Appointed

26th. FEBRUARY :—*Khan Bahadur Haji Moula Bux* was sworn in this morning, as the sixth Minister in the Hidayatullah Ministry. Khan Bahadur Moula Bux was assigned the Revenue Portfolio. He joined the Hidayatulla Ministry as the Independent Muslim, not belonging to the Muslim League. And with this entry, the Ministry ceased to be a purely Muslim League one.

It was explained in Ministerial circles that the Premier had to make a coalition with non-League elements in the Assembly in order to further strengthen the Ministry. It was also claimed that with the appointment of Khan Bahadur K,

Moula Bux, leading oppositionists, not belonging to the Muslim League, like Sheikh Abdul Majid and Pirzada Abdul Sattar, both former Ministers, will join the ministerial ranks.

New Minister's Statement

Soon after his appointment as Minister, Khan Bahadur Moula Bux said in an interview that he had joined the Ministry as an independent Muslim, and added that he would endeavour to secure purity of administration in the Province.

Khan Bahadur Moula Bux agreed to join the Ministry on certain conditions being fulfilled by the Premier. They included early release of Congress detenus; withdrawal of restraint orders on members of the Congress Assembly Party; the appointment of three anti-corruption officers to maintain the purity of administration and a change in the Government's policy in order to safeguard the interests of the producers.

League's Direction to Premier

11th. MARCH:—The Central Parliamentary Board of the All-India Muslim League called upon the Sind Premier to tender the resignation of the whole Cabinet and to reconstitute a Coalition Ministry in which there should not be any Muslim who is not a Muslim Leaguer.

The Board took this decision at an emergent meeting held this morning, following a telephone call which *Nawabzada Liaqat Ali* received from *Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah* last night. The meeting was attended by Nawabzada Liaqat Ali and Mr. Hussain Imam, two of the three members. The Nawabzada sent the following telegram to the Sind Premier on the authority of the Central Parliamentary Board :

"Reference your telephone conversation last night that Mr. Moula Bux refuses to join Muslim League under any circumstances, the General Parliamentary Board of the All-India Muslim League directs you to tender resignation of the whole Cabinet to the Governor and reconstitute the Ministry in which there should not be any Muslim who is not a member of the Muslim League. You are authorised to coalesce with non-Muslim groups provided the terms and conditions of coalition are not against the principle and policy of Muslim League. To constitute the Ministry in accordance with these directions every member of the Muslim League organisation is hereby directed to assist in the formation of such Ministry and stand by it loyally.

Resignation of the Ministry

12th. MARCH:—Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatulla met His Excellency the Governor to-day when he submitted the resignation of his Cabinet.

When the Assembly Budget session met in the afternoon, the Premier, *Sir Ghulam Hussain* asked for adjournment of the House till Wednesday. The Speaker, *Syed Miran Mohd. Shah*, who had earlier seen the Governor, read a letter from His Excellency amending the business programme of the House and postponing all the items of to-day to 14th March.

New Ministry Formed

14th. MARCH:—Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatulla reconstituted the Ministry to-day. The new Ministers took the oath of office a short time before the Assembly met. The following were the distribution of portfolios among the new Ministers :

Premier Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah: Finance and Agriculture and Post-war Development; Khan Bahadur Mir Ghulam Ali : Law and Order ; Pir Illahi Bux: Education, Excise and Forest Departments : Syed Mohamed Ali Shah : Public Works Department and Local Self-Government; Mr. Nichaldas Vazirani: Revenue, and Mukhi Gobindram : Public Health and Industries.

Statement From Govt. House

A statement issued from Government House this afternoon explained the circumstances in which His Excellency the Governor called on Sir Gulam Hussain to form a new Ministry, after calling for resignation of the old Ministry.

The statement said : "On the morning of 12th March, the Premier saw His Excellency and proposed to submit the resignation of his Cabinet and to reconstitute it in a manner that would give him an assurance of firmer support in the Assembly. Subsequently, His Excellency saw the Hon. Khan Bahadur Maula Bux who said that he would be able to form a Ministry supported by a majority if the Premier's resignation were accepted. As His Excellency required time to consider the situation so presented, and the Assembly was due to meet the same

afternoon, the hon. Speaker, at His Excellency's request, consented to adjourn the Assembly until the afternoon of the 14th instant.

The Premier was unwilling to meet the Assembly with his existing Cabinet, and unable to secure the voluntary resignation of some of his Ministers. In these circumstances, His Excellency considered it necessary on the evening of the 12th March to invite Sir Ghulam Hussain to submit his own resignation and that of his Cabinet. His Excellency at the same time informed Sir Gulam Hussain that His Excellency gave no assurance that Sir Ghulam Hussain would again be called to form a Ministry. .The resignations were submitted on the 13th morning and were accepted by His Excellency with effect from the forenoon of the 14th March."

The statement adds that the Governor spent the last two days in testing to the best of his ability the validity of the assurances of support produced both by Sir Ghulam Hussain and by Khan Bahadur Moula Bux. "At a final interview granted by His Excellency this morning, Khan Bahadur Moula Bux was not able to produce such guarantees of support as, in His Excellency's judgment, would have justified His Excellency in inviting Khan Bahadur Moula Bux to form a Government. Sir Ghulam Hussain on the other hand had, again, in His Excellency's judgment, assurances of present support which will enable him to re-form a Ministry having the support of a majority of the Assembly. His Excellency therefore thought it necessary to invite Sir Ghulam Hussain to form a Ministry. Sir Ghulam accepted the invitation and the Cabinet was sworn in this morning."

Ban on Congress M.L.A.'s Withdrawn

The first act of the newly-formed Cabinet was to pass orders withdrawing the ban hitherto imposed on the five released members of the Assembly, namely, Miss Jethi Shiphamalani, Deputy Speaker of the Assembly, Dr. Popatlal, Mr. Newandram, Mr. Narandas Bechar and Mr. Issardas Verandmal.

The Home Member who announced the above decision in the Assembly to-day also stated that the question of the release of the Congress detenus was being favourably considered by the Government.

Four Muslim League Members Resign From Party

It is understood that four members of the Muslim League Assembly Party resigned from the Party. They were : Nawab Qazi Amir Ali Lahori, Nawab Mir Muhammed Khan Chandio, Nawab Jamal Muhammad and Khan Bahadur Sohrab Khan Sarki.

In their letter of resignation, they stated that they were compelled to take this step in view of the fact that Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah had broken his promise to Khan Bahadur Moula Bux.

Opposition's Strength

With the re-formation of a full-fledged Muslim League Ministry to-day, the constitutional crisis hanging over Sind since the commencement of the budget session of the Assembly on February 21 might be said to have ended, at least for the time being. For, with a solid majority of the Muslim members and the coalition of the Hindu Independent Party, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatulla enjoyed an absolute majority in the House as it stands to-day.

The Opposition, under the leadership of Khan Bahadur Moula Bux, did not however, abandon hopes, which were further heightened by the defection from the ministerial ranks of four members, who were reported to have forwared their resignations to Sir Ghulam Hussain to-day. The former two Hindu Ministers and their supporters were also present, occupying Opposition benches. In addition, the Opposition claimed to have the support of a few Muslim members from amongst the Ministerialists.

But it was the Congress members of the Assembly, who became ultimately the deciding factor. Two members of the party, Mr. R. K. Sidhwa and Mr. Manghraj Lala, attended the Assembly to-day and occupied the front seats on the Opposition benches. After the lifting of the restriction on the Congress members in the Assembly was announced to-day, the Opposition hoped to secure the support of the Congress Party.

In the meantime, Mr. *R. K. Sidhwa*, leader of the Congress Assembly Party, was reported to have got in touch with three of these colleagues who had been externed from Sind, asking them to hurry back to Karachi. The remaining two who were now free to attend the Assembly were already there.

Shaikh Abdul Majid had, in the meantime, given notice of a one-rupee cut motion on the supplementary demand under "General Administration", which would

come up before the House on March 17. It was a similar motion by the same member that had resulted in the defeat of the Ministry on February 24.

Coalition Cabinet Minister's Statement

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, after the formation of the new Ministry, faced the Assembly this afternoon when the budget session was resumed.

For the first time since August 1942 Mr. *R. K. Sidhwa*, Leader of the Congress Assembly Party, occupied a front seat on the Opposition benches, along with Mr. Menghraj Lalla. After personal explanations by Rai Sahib Gokuldas, Sir Ghulam Hussain, Dr. Hemandas and Mr. Nichaldas, the House passed all the supplementary grants held over from the previous session, except the grant under "General Administration" on which the Ministry was defeated on February 24. This grant will come up before the House on March 17.

The terms on which the Muslim League Assembly Party under the leadership of Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and the Hindu Independent Party under the leadership of Mr. Nichaldas C. Vazirani agreed to coalesce were announced by Pir Ilahi Bux, Education Minister, in a statement in the Assembly.

The statement, which had been submitted to the League High Command for ratification, said that previous permission of the Muslim League High Command had been obtained for the coalition.

The following broad principles according to the statement were clearly understood and agreed to by the coalescing parties.

"The Provincial Government shall be run on progressive lines for the benefit of all classes of people without any discrimination and irrespective of their caste or creed or their political convictions. The legitimate interests of the minority communities shall be adequately safeguarded and the minority communities shall not only receive fair but also liberal treatment. The social customs and religious rights and feelings and usages of all communities shall be duly respected. And naturally, there can be no question of any invasion direct or indirect against the culture or education of any community. Furthermore, one of the foremost tasks to be tackled by the parties would be the complete restoration of the sense of security in the villages and needless to emphasise, every step shall be taken to ensure to the Hindu minority community, complete security of honour, life and property both in the villages and towns of Sind."

"The Coalition Ministry," added the statement, "further desired to make it publicly known that immediate steps would be taken against all the currupt public servants and officers, however highly placed, and all possible measures would be taken to control this deep-rooted crime of corruption. Further, in the matter of control of prices, and the policy of purchase and export of grains, the interests of Zamindars, Haris and local commercial concerns would be taken into account.

"It has been further definitely agreed that in the cabinet of six Ministers there shall be two Hindu Ministers enjoying the support of the majority of the Hindu Independent party."

The statement made it clear that "the coalition has been formed only for the purpose of carrying on the Provincial Government and has no connection with any All-India Constitutional or political question. In such questions each party shall act according to its own convictions."

Rai Sahib Gokaldas's Statement

After question-time, *Rai Sahib Gokaldas*, in a statement, welcomed Mr. Nichaldas C. Vazirani on the Treasury Benches and said that after the dismissal of the late Mr. Allah Bux about two and half years ago, the latter had criticised him for joining the Muslim League Ministry. Mr. Nichaldas at that time had proclaimed that he would not join any Ministry unless two conditions were fulfilled. Firstly, the Ministry should be formed on national lines, and secondly, an undertaking should be given to him that Ministers would not be dismissed without adverse votes by the Assembly. Mr. Nichaldas, added Rai Sahib Gokaldas, had now gone back on that position and accepted office without these two conditions being fulfilled in any way. Continuing, the ex-Minister said that one of the reasons that prevented him from joining the Ministry was the failure of the Premier to stand by his undertaking given in writing to Khan Bahadur Haji Moula Bux that the latter would neither be compelled to resign nor would he be called upon to join the Muslim League.

Sir Ghulam Hossain's Statement

Explaining his position, *Sir Ghulam Hussain* recalled the events of the last

month and said that Mr. Nichaldas and Khan Bahadur Moula Bux had joined hands over-night and threw out his previous Ministry.

Mr. M. A. Khoso: "What about Mr. G. M. Syed ?"

Sir Ghulam: "Yes, he too."

Continuing, the Premier said that after the defeat he consulted the remnants of the Muslim League Party, which permitted him to take in Khan Bahadur Moula Bux. This decision was communicated to the League High Command, but they sent back a mandate that the League could not associate with Khan Bahadar Moula Bux. The Premier added: "I asked the members of the Party, 'Will you stand by me?' They said: 'No'. I had, therefore, no other go. I cannot stand here for a day either as their leader or as Minister without their support. I have to obey them."

Col. Mahon (European): "Is the House to believe that the Province of Sind is going to be run by some exterior person outside the Province, or is the Cabinet proposing to run the affairs of Sind ?" (Laughter.)

FORMER MINISTER'S COMPLAINT

Dr. Hemandas Wadhwani said that though he had stood by the Premier for the last eight years, he was not even consulted before the new Ministry was formed. He asked whether the present two Hindu Ministers had agreed to the policy of the All-India Muslim League, as they were expected to do according to the second part of the mandate given to Sir Ghulam Hussain by the High Command.

Mr. *Nichaldas Vazirani* said that after the dismissal of the late Mr. Allah Bux, the Hindus did want to coalesce with the Muslim League, but they wanted some safeguards for their community. Rai Sahib Gokaldas was appointed to negotiate with the Leader of the League Party, but instead of carrying on negotiations, he changed overnight and became a Minister. The stand taken by the Hindu Party was consistent all along. Now they had agreed to coalesce on certain defined conditions, as contained in the statement read out by Pir Illahi Bux. This coalition, he added, had been formed for the Province and the provincial affairs and had nothing whatever to do with All-India questions.

Dr. Hemandas: "What about Pakistan" ?

Mr. Nichaldas: "Hindus are against Pakistan as before."

Concluding, Mr. Nichaldas said that the time had now come for the two communities to join hands and work for the welfare of the Province in an atmosphere of amity and co-operation.

Differences Among Party Leaders

15th. MARCH:—What he described as a story of broken promises was narrated by *Khan Bahadur Haji Moula Bux*, Leader of the Independent Muslim Party, in the Assembly to-day while explaining the circumstances leading to his appointment as Revenue Minister in the Hidyatullah Ministry and removal therefrom after a fortnight.

In his statement, Khan Bahadur Moula Bux said that after the death of his brother, the late Mr. Allah Bux, he had contested two by-elections and on both occasions he had been offered an uncontested seat if he would join the Muslim League, but he refused.

Mr. Syed: "Incorrect."

Khan Bahadur Moula Bux: "I have letters with me to prove it."

Proceeding, Khan Bahadur Moula Bux said that after his success in the second by-election, Sir Ghulam Hussain offered him a seat in the Cabinet in the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. M. H. Gazdar, if he joined the League. "At this time," he said, Mr. G. M. Syed, who had been carrying on vast and insistent propaganda against the Cabinet of Sir Ghulam Hussain, was not to join any group if he could thereby overthrow the Hidayatullah Ministry. An understanding was arrived at between Mr. Nichaldas' group, my group and the Syed group to defeat Sir Ghulam Hussain's Ministry at all costs when an opportunity arose, and that a change should be given to Mr. Syed to form his own Government."

Premier: "Hear, hear".

Khan Bahadur Haji Moula Bux revealed that according to the agreement arrived at, his group was to support Mr. G. M. Syed to form the Ministry without taking any office in it. If Mr. Syed failed in his effort, then Mr. Syed, along with his followers, would lend support to him, Khan Bahadur Haji Moula Bux, in the formation of a non-League Ministry on reciprocal terms. Mr. Syed agreed to this arrangement, in spite of his being the President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League and of the Hidayatullah Ministry bearing the official label of the League.

After the defeat of the Ministry on February 24, he said the three groups met, but to his great surprise he found Mr. Syed going back on his own word. He said things quite the contrary of what he had previously agreed to. Later, when Mr. Syed and his supporters sat down to decide how to distribute the loaves and fishes of office, two important members of the Syed group began to fight between themselves. The members of the Independent Party then met together to review the situation that had arisen. At this stage, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah started negotiations and entered into an agreement with the Independent Party on terms which he (Sir Ghulam) was previously reluctant to accept in consideration of the honour of the League. "Like a hermit, Sir Ghulam Hussain raised his fingers towards heaven and held out promises to stand by his own terms."

Premier: "I have never told you that."

Continuing, Khan Bahadur Moula Bux said that the Premier was even prepared to reduce everything to writing. There were conditions, according to which Congress detenus were to be released and restraint orders on those who had already been released would be withdrawn. The Premier was to agree to the proposals of the Independent Party to root out corruption. The Premier also promised to recognise the principle of Hindus electing their own representatives in the Cabinet.

The conditions, according to the Khan Bahadur, numbered 13, and the Premier had agreed to all of them.

The main conditions, apart from an expansion of the Ministry, were as follows: The Assembly to be convened more frequently than hitherto in order to keep in touch with public opinion, revision of the Government's land revenue and food policies, eradication of corruption in various Government Departments and the inclusion of one Hindu Minister from among the Hindu Independent Party at the time of the expansion of the Ministry.

After Khan Bahadur Moula Bux had been sworn in, he proceeded on a tour. While at Sukkur he received a frantic telephone call from Sir Ghulam Hussain to cut short his tour and return to Karachi immediately. After his return to Karachi, all possible persuasive measures were adopted by the Premier and Mir Ghulam Ali, Home Minister, to make him join the Muslim League. "They began to tell me that their one object at that stage should be to beat the common enemies, the reference being probably to Mr. Syed's group. I said to them that there is no question of any common enemy. The question is whether you are going to stand by your commitment or not."

Continuing, Khan Bahadur Moula Bux said that a few days later the Premier wrote to him that he had resigned. He too resigned immediately after the receipt of that letter.

Referring to the formation of the new Ministry, Khan Bahadur Moula Bux said that the Opposition was not even given a fair chance to form an alternative Ministry,

"Sir Ghulam Hussain was not out of the Ministry even for two minutes to become an ordinary member of this House as we are now. I requested His Excellency to allow me twelve hours more after the Ministry resigned and I would succeed in securing a majority and form an alternative Ministry. But on account of certain reasons, His Excellency could not allow me time."

Premier's Reply

The Premier, Sir *Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah*, replying to Khan Bahadur Haji Moula Bux, said that he had not broken any promise. He was true to his pledge—he had neither compelled Haji Moula Bux to resign nor had be forced him to join the Muslim League. He added that he had coalesced with Khan Bahadur Moula Bux under instructions from his Party which would not stand by him after the mandate from the League High Command was received.

Mr. Syed's Statement

Mr. *G. M. Syed*, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, denied the statement of Khan Bahadur Moula Bux that he had been offered the Shikarpur seat without contest if he joined the Muslim League. He said that, according to the constitution of the League, no single member, however powerful, could select a candidate for any constituency. That was the job of the Parliamentary Board. Mr. Syed added that no one had offered the Premiership to Khan Bahadur Moula Bux nor had he committed himself to support the Khan Bahadur in his efforts to form a non-League Ministry.

Move for All-Party Coalition Rejected

24th. MARCH :—The Congress Party's offer to join an all-party Ministry that might be formed in order to purify and tone up the administration was rejected by the Sind Muslim League President.

The members of the Congress Assembly Party to-day reviewed the entire situation in the Province, and a statement issued after the meeting by Mr. *R. K. Sidhwa* (Leader), says "that the Congress Party expected that the Muslim League Government established in 1942, in which a single party alone claimed a substantial majority in a House of 60, would tone up the administration. The Party have, however, found with great apprehension, sorrow and surprise that the Muslim League Government during their regime of two and a half years, have not only miserably failed, but have reduced the province to an unsatisfactory state. During the last six months, the discontent on account of maladministration grew deep within their own ranks, culminating in the defeat and reshuffle of the Ministry. After mature consideration, the Party have come to the conclusion that only an all-party Government in Sind, enjoying the confidence of various sections in the House could successfully cope up with the problem and eradicate all the evils that exist to-day. This view of of the party was conveyed to the President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, Mr. G. M. Syed, and he summarily dismissed it."

"In view of all these circumstances," the statement adds, "the Party can in no way lend their support to the present Ministry, and therefore decide to sit in Opposition. The members are aware that by their support to any other group or party in the Assembly they can break the present Ministry, but merely to become a party to the breaking of the Ministry would lead nowhere. Hence, it would prefer to wait until a good stable Ministry becomes possible."

Triumph of the Hidayatulla Ministry

27th. MARCH :—The Hidayatullah Ministry came out triumphant to-day when the Assembly passed the entire budget after one of the stormiest sessions since 1941. The Congress having decided not to be a party to the making and unmaking of Ministries, the Opposition withdrew their one-rupee cut motion on the demand under "General Administration." The Premier, Sir Ghulam Hussain, replying to the debate on the cut motion, said that by establishing the League-Hindu Coalition in Sind, he had paved the way for a Congress-League settlement. He added that the Muslim League had given to the Hindus the right of selecting their own representatives in the Cabinet. He hoped that the Congress would follow suit by giving similar rights to Muslims when they formed Ministries in the Hindu majority Provinces. The formation of Ministries in the Hindu majority Provinces by the Congress, he said, was not very far. Assuring the Assembly that he would release as many Congressmen as was possible for him, Sir Ghulam Hussain said that he had no right to keep in jail those whom the highest Government in the land had recognised to be worthy of holding office in the Frontier Province. The Congress, he said, had been declared an unlawful organisation, but now things had changed, and he promised to review the question of lifting the ban on Congress organisations in Sind. Concluding, Sir Ghulam said that in spite of his age, he was young enough to shoulder the responsibility of office till the Muslim League Party selected a younger person to replace him.

Col. Mahon, Leader of the European Group, said that his group strongly objected to outside interference in the affairs of the Province of Sind and its Government. He added, "We do not want Government under the command of outsiders, but we want to govern and rule ourselves." Welcoming the Congress Party members of the Assembly, Col. Mahon said: "The Leader of the Congress Party is running away with the idea that we are up against the freedom to run your country as we wish. We want to co-operate with you. I am an Irishman, and I feel deeply about the Sindhi youth. Every country gets the kind of Government it deserves. Ireland to-day has got the freedom which it deserves, and will go on getting what the Irish deserve. In your own case, you should have freedom, but do not forget that everybody has to live, the minority and the majority. You should call yourself Indians first and speak as Indians. I am an Irishman, but I speak English"

Dr. *Hemandas R. Wadhwani*, former Public Health Minister, said that joint responsibility was a farce inasmuch as on questions like the "Satyartha Prakash" Hindus would be on one side, while the Muslims would be on the other. Dr. Hemandas added that at a joint meeting of all the Hindu members of the Assembly (including the Congress) it had been decided that the Sind Cabinet should not be expanded, nor should posts of Advisers be created.

The N. W. F. Pr. Legislative Assembly

Budget Session—Opening Day—Peshawar—9th. March 1945

Financial Statement for 1945—46

The Budget Session of the N. W. F. Pr. Legislative Assembly commenced on the 9th. March 1945 when presenting the budget *Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar*, Finance Minister, disclosed a prospective revenue defict of Rs. 12,24,000 for the next year.

The Minister said the budget estimate of revenue receipts is Rs. 2,67,49,000 which is about Rs. 8½ lakhs less than the revised estimate for the current year and the revenue expenditure proposed for the coming year stands at Rs. 2,79,73,000, showing a drop of a little over Rs. 12 lakhs in comparison with the figures of the revised estimate for the current year.

The Finance Minister pointed out that the deficit of Rs. 12¼ lakhs was not a matter for immediate concern since the expenditure on war and dearness allowances was more than double the amount of the deficit.

Referring to the question of revision of the subvention from the Centre, the Finance Minister said that a representation was made to the Government of India on the subject that year and the Finance Secretary and he went to Delhi in the beginning of February to discuss the matter with the Finance member of the Government of India. The response from that quarter, he added, had not been very encouraging but material was being collected to make a final attempt.

10th. MARCH :—The Assembly, which met for the second day to-day, was adjourned after ten minutes on a motion of *Dewan Bhanju Ram Gandhi* (Congress) that the non-official business fixed for the day be postponed in view of the fact that the no-confidence motion against the Council of Ministers had been admitted and fixed for discussion on March 12 with the support of 23 members out of 38. *Sardar Mohd. Aurangzeb Khan*, Leader of the House, who was consulted by the Speaker, took no objection to Mr. Gandhi's motion which was carried.

No Confidence on the Ministry

12th. MARCH :—The no-confidence motion against the Aurangazeb Khan Ministry was carried in the Assembly to-day by 24 votes to 18

Following the passing of the No-Confidence motion *Sardar Aurangazeb Khan*, the Premier submitted the resignation of his Ministry to His Excellency the Governor, but was asked to continue until His Excellency has had time to make alternative arrangements.

The following communique was issued in this connection: "His Excellency the Governor to-day received the Hon'ble Sardar Mohammed Aurangazeb Khan who tendered the resignation of the Ministry. His Excellency has asked Sardar Mohammed Aurangazeb Khan and his colleagues to continue their administration until he has had time to make alternative arrangements for carrying on the Government of the Province."

H. E. the Governor invited Dr. Khan Sahib this evening to discuss with him the possible formation of a new Ministry. Dr. Khan Sahib asked for a day or two in which he would consider the question—stated a communique issued from Government House.

Dr. Khan Sahib's Indictment of Ministry

To-day's debate was the first trial of strength between the Muslim League Ministry and the Opposition, as the Congress Party had not been attending the Assembly since the formation of the Ministry in May 1943.

Sardar Aurangzeb Khan was able to form the Ministry with the assistance of certain Independent and ex-Congressite members who had joined the Muslim League Party and he claimed the support of the majority, following four by-elections, three of which were won by the Muslim League. The Congress Party however boycotted successive Budget sessions in May 1943 and March 1944, demanding the release of the ten detained Congress members, six of whom were, subsequently, released. This, coupled with two important Ministerial defections last week, enabled the Congress to table the no-confidence motion, which was carried to-day by 24 votes against 18.

Before the Assembly commenced, a large crowd gathered outside the Chamber shouting slogans. Both the Speaker of the Assembly and Dr. Khan Sahib, Leader of the Congress Party, appealed to the crowd to disperse and allow the proceedings of

the Assembly to be conducted in a peaceful atmosphere. The public was warned that if they did not disperse, the police would be summoned.

The "no confidence" motion was moved by Dr. Khan Sahib who, in the course of his speech, said that in 1939 the Congress created a deadlock which continued till May 1943. In 1942, ten Congress M.L.A.'s were arrested, but six of them were gradually released leaving four still in jail. The Ministerial strength did not exceed 22 in a House of 50. Twenty-two members, said Dr. Khan Sahib, did not constitute the majority and this precedent of a minority government was unknown in the history of any country.

Dr. Khan Sahib said that in 1944, the Autumn session was not summoned with a view to keeping the puppet Ministry in power. A requisition signed by 21 Congress M.L.A.'s was ignored. Dr. Khan Sahib alleged that during the regime of this Ministry, corruption was the order of the day, and the Ministry was responsible for it. He said that the present Ministry was not in reality a representative Government but was just like the puppet government of Poland sitting in London. Dr. Khan Sahib added that the Ministry was responsible for the fo d shortage in Peshawar. "Had I been here, it would not have occurred," Dr. Khan Sahib asserted. Continuing Dr. Khan Sahib said : "It is the duty of the Ministers to go personally to see the actual position at the spot, if you are the people's representatives. But thinking of your own interests, you merely pretend to be the representatives of the people. Before you have a clear mind and remove the ideal of possible remuneration, you cannot be a real representative of the public." Proceeding, he said that it was beyond his comprehension that they should go in cars and beg people. "Have you ever heard in the history of the people that leaders go begging unless the people want them to beg ?" He asked. Dr. Khan Sahib concluded by saying that in the last few days cars and police guards were used to influence the members of the Assembly.

Sardar Aurangazeb Khan, replying to the allegations levelled against the Ministry, said that but for the acceptance of office by the Muslim League there would have been another Bengal in the North-West Frontier Province. He reviewed the work done by the Ministry and said that the Government had deeds and not words to justify their existence. In addition to measures taken to relieve the distress caused by food shortage, they had released all but 50 of the 1,500 political prisoners who were in jail when they assumed office. "Our success in the by-elections," he declared, "shows the verdict of the people."

New Ministry Formed

12th. MARCH :—Dr. *Khan Sahib*, who was received by the Governor of the North-West Frontier, Sir George Cunningham, at Government House, this evening formally accepted the invitation to form a Ministry.

Dr. Khan Sahib submitted following two names to the Governor for inclusion in the Council of Ministers : (1) *Lala Bhanju Ram Gandhi* : (2) *Khan Mohamed Abbas Khan*. The names were accepted by His Excellency, according to a press communique issued this evening.

Both Lala Bhanju Ram Gandhi and Khan Mohamed Abbas Khan were in the Cabinet of Ministers during the previous Congress Ministry.

Earlier, *Khan Ali Gul Khan*, President of the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee, and Rai Bahadur Mehr Chand Khanna, M.L.A., who had consulted Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan in Haripur jail yesterday on the question of the formation of a new Ministry, saw Dr. Khan Sahib at his residence and communicated to him the result of their talks with Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan.

It was believed that the interview with Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan was strictly in accordance with the instructions of Mahatma Gandhi contained in the sealed letter to Dr. Khan Sahib.

Congress Assembly Party Meeting

A resolution expressing complete confidence in the leadership of Dr. Khan Saheb and giving him full authority to decide on the question of the formation of a Ministry was adopted at a meeting of the Frontier Assembly Congress Party held to-day. Twenty-one members were present. It was learnt that Mahatma Gandhi's letter to Dr. Khan Sahib and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan's message from jail were read out at the meeting.

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan's Release Ordered

16th. MARCH :—Orders for the immediate release of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and eight others, including four Congress Members of the Frontier Assembly, were issued by Dr. Khan Sahib immediately on assuming office of Premier to-day.

A special station wagon was sent to Haripur to fetch Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan who was expected to arrive in Peshawar in the evening.

The four M L. A.'s were: Kazi Attaullah, Mr. Amir Mohammed, Mr. Abdul Aziz and Mr. Keyalram.

The Oaths of office and Allegiance were administered to Dr. Khan Sahib and his two colleagues, Diwan Bhanju Ram Gandhi and Khan Abbas Khan, by the Governor at Government House this morning, after which the Ministers attended their offices.

Qazi Attaulla Appointed Education Minister

The hon'ble Dr. Khan Sahib, Chief Minister, submitted the name of Quazi Attaullah as Minister for Education and H. E. the Governor accepted it. Quazi Attaullah was sworn in as a Member of the Council of Ministers on Monday, March 19, Quazi Attaullah, who had been detained for nearly two years, was released from the Peshawar Central Jail yesterday. He was Education Minister in the first Congress Ministry.

Dr. Khan Sahib's Explanation

The reasons behind the Congress acceptance of office in the North-West Frontier Province were explained in the Assembly to-day by Dr. Khan Sahib, the Premier, and Dewan Bhanjuram Gandhi, the Finance Minister. Dewan Bhanjuram refuted the suggestion of Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, former Finance Minister, that the Congress in the Frontier had acted against its principle by accepting office and said : "We act in accordance with instructions of the High Command. If once again we are asked to leave office as in 1939, we would not hesitate to do so."

Dr. Khan Sahib said, "We were compelled to accept office by the people of the Frontier Province and if we are unable to serve them properly, we would resign." He said that he would see that corruption was eradicated, though he had ideological differences with others, so far as he was concerned, he would act as a no-party man. He was there, he said, to discriminate "between the good and the bad and between the honest and the corrupt." He appealed to all members of the House to co-operate with him to put an end to corruption in the province.

Guardian's Comment

The possibility of resumption of constitutional Provincial Governments in India as a sequel to acceptance by Dr. Khan Sahib of the invitation to form the Government in the North-West Frontier Province was discussed in a *Manchester Guardian* leader this morning.

The paper wrote : Something important has happened on the north-west frontier of India. We do not know the exact circumstances which induced the Governor of the Frontier Province to ask the local Congress Leader to form a Government based on the elected majority in the Legislative Assembly.

Nor do we know yet what secret instructions from Mr. Gandhi allowed Dr. Khan Sahib to accept the invitation.

But it is plain that the first attempt is being made in this unexpected quarter to restore normal political conditions in India and if it succeeds, we may soon see the revival of genuine self-government in other provinces.

The Governor's offer to local Congress leaders could have hardly been made without a decision on broad policy in the highest British quarters.

The Frontier Province is in the peculiar position of having a solidly Mohammedan population, but a large Congress majority. Encouragement of those Muslims who are not members of Mr. Jinnah's Muslim League and are not supporting his claim to a separate Moslem State in India suggests that the Pakistan idea is receding in Government's mind.

The greatest repercussions will doubtless be felt in the provinces where the Congress is the largest party but has not so far taken part in Government. If it is correct to assume that Dr. Khan Sahib was only able to form a Government after the national leadership of the Congress had decided to suspend the threat of civil disobedience and try co-operation, then the chief obstacle to resumption of constitutional governments in other provinces will have disappeared.

A few days ago Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, told an Indian journalist, that the condition for a new political start was 'some indication' that the Congress was willing to co-operate in the war effort and work out a peaceful evolution of the Indian political situation. The indication has come sooner than many people expected. Let us hope the foundation will grow firm enough in time to support a settlement.

The Assam Legislative Assembly

Budget Session—Opening Day—Shillong 1st. March 1945

Financial Statement for 1945-46

Mr. *Abdul Matin Chaudhuri*, Finance Minister, presenting the budget to the Assam Legislative Assembly at Shillong on the 1st. March 1945, forecast a deficit of Rs. 2,31,000 for 1945-46 and a surplus of Rs. 29,09,000 for 1944-45 according to the revised estimates as against an estimated deficit of Rs. 10,40,000 in the original estimates.

The year 1943-44 closed with a revenue surplus of Rs, 69,95,000.

Mr. Chaudhuri said that allowances had been increased from time to time during the current year and total cost during the full year of dearness allowances, war allowance, free rationing and rice concessions were estimated at over Rs. 73 lakhs. The forest income had grown from year to year and in the current year it was estimated to be five times the normal surplus of about Rs. 6 lakhs.

Dealing with education, the Finance Minister said that a Tibbia College would be established at Sylhet and the ayurvedic classes would be opened at the Manikul Ashram. The mass literary scheme would be permanently retained at total recurring expenditure of Rs. 91,660.

Mr. Chaudhuri revealed that several post-war reconstruction schemes involving a total expenditure of Rs. 76 crores were under the consideration of the Government.

Dealing with jails, he said that the number of security prisoners which was 164 on April 1, 1944, had been reduced to 95 by the middle of February 1945.

Formation of New Ministry

23rd. MARCH :—*Sir Mohamed Saadulla* resigned this afternoon, following the resignation of one of his colleagues in the Cabinet, Mr. *Nabakumar Dutta.*

In view, however, of the agreement reached between himself and the Opposition leaders, Messrs. *Gopinath Bardoloi* and Mr. *Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri,* he was reconstituting the Cabinet with 50 per cent representation to non-Muslims who would be elected under the supervision of the Opposition leaders by the members of the Cabinet, Hindu, Scheduled Caste and Tribal communities.

The Muslim members of Sir Saadulla's Party met to-day and debated to retain all the existing Muslim Members in the reconstituted Cabinet.

Clarifying the attitude to the proposed Ministry, Mr. Bardoloi said : We are making an experiment, the success of which will be judged by the results. We are experimenting upon bringing a new era in Assam. To-day we are not in a position to insist on some of our own principles on account of which we could not, in the past, be associated with certain Parties to which we are opposed hitherto. Particular problems demand particular views on things at particular times and it is with this end in view that we have decided to support the new Ministry.

Distribution of Portfolios

The new Cabinet which Sir Mahomed Saadulla proposed to form included the following: Sir Mahomed Saadulla (Premier and Minister in charge of Home and Supply portfolios): Khan Bahadur Saiyedur Rahaman (Education); Mr. Munwar Ali (Forest); Mr. Abdul Matin Choudhury (Reconstruction and P. W. D.); Khan Saheb Muddabbir Hussain Choudhury (Civil Defence, Medical and Public Health); Mr. Rohini Kumar Choudhury (Revenue, Judicial and Jail); Mr. Baidyanath Mukherjee (Finance, Transport and Publicity); Mr. Akshoykumar Das (Industry and Co-operation); Mr. Surendranath Baragohain (Excise, Labour and Local Self-Government); Mr. Rupnath Brahma (Agriculture and Veterinary).

The distribution of the portfolios was made, at a meeting which Sir M. Saadulla had with his proposed colleagues in the new Cabinet this evening. The new Ministry took the oath of allegiance on the next day.

Terms of Agreement

The following were the main terms of the agreement signed by Sir M. Saadulla, Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi and Mr. Rohini Kumar Choudhury, representing the principal parties in the Assam Assembly. (1) Restoration of civil liberties; (a) two-third of Security Prisoners now detained in jail to be released before April 30, 1945. All M. L. A.'s and prominent Congressmen shall be released forthwith. The remaining Security Prisoners shall be released as early as possible but not later than June 1945. (b) Convicted political prisoners shall also be released forthwith, except

those convicted for offences of a grave and heinous nature such as sabotage, but their cases shall be reviewed. (c) There shall be no ban against meetings, assemblies and processions, etc., in connection with elections to local bodies and Legislatures. (d) The ban, if any, against Congress Committees in the Province shall be withdrawn. (e) All restriction orders on M. L. A.'s shall be forthwith withdrawn as also in case of other political prisoners, save in a few cases requiring security.

(2) As regards the terms of the procurement and supply, the policy of Government is to be reviewed and revised with a view to providing adequate supplies to the people removing corruption and securing more popular support and co-operation.

Sir M. Saadulla said in the Assembly yesterday that if the spirit in which negotiations had been carried on for an All-Party Government could be kept up, it would usher in a new era in the political history of Assam.

Mr. *Gopinath Bardolai*, Leader of the Congress Assembly party, associating himself with the remarks made by Sir M. Saadulla, said that his party would stand by the side of the Government. The enunciation of a new policy, he hoped, would go a great way in removing discontent and ill-feeling and promoting better relationship among all communities.

"ASSAM CONGRESS COALITION"

The members of the different parties hitherto working in opposition to Sir Mahomed Saadullah in the Assembly at a combined meeting held to-day under the presidency of Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, Leader of the Congress Party, formed a Coalition Party to be styled 'Assam Congress Coalition', the independent Muslim Party members whereof had pledged themselves in writing to carry out the Party programme and abide by all its rules and regulations and discipline. They pledged further to remain loyal and faithful to the party and do nothing against the Party's interest or its programme.

PARLIAMENTARY BOARD FORMED

The meeting also constituted a Parliamentary Board of this Party consisting of Mr. Bardoloi, Mr. Arunkumar Chanda, Mr. Ali Hyder Khan, Mr. Deveswar Sarma and Fakruddin Ahmed.

All the non-Muslim Ministers of the newly-formed Saadulla-Choudhury Cabinet contributed by the Opposition Parties and Groups signed this pledge.

The Congress Coalition and Independent Muslim Party have now a membership of 54, an absolute majority in the Assembly.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S ADVICE

In a letter to Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, ex-Premier of Assam who sought his advice on the Congress Party supporting the Assam Ministry under certain conditions, Mahatma Gandhi said : "Do what is best, cost what it may. Kill corruption. Adopt that alternative which is the best under the circumstances. I know that the difficulties will be many but we have to cut our way through.

The Behar Government Budget for 1945-46

A surplus of Rs. 2,33,93,000 is revealed in the Budget estimates of the Bihar Government in the Financial Statement for 1945-46 issued from Patna on the 22nd. March 1945. No new measures of taxation have been included in the budget.

The total revenue for 1945-46 is put at Rs. 11,30,39.000 ; expenditure on revenue account is expected to amount to Rs. 8,96,96,000 including Rs. 964,000 on account of repayment of loan to the Central Government and fifty lakhs transferred to the Post-war Reconstruction Fund.

Expenditure outside the revenue account has been estimated at Rs. 72,77,000 of which Rs. 73 lakhs represent net provision for the grain supply scheme and standard cloth scheme and the balance for other purposes.

Under war conditions, says the memorandum attached to the Budget, the probable amount to be added to the budget on account of expenditure in the supplementary statement is large, and at a rough guess between Rs. 1 and 2 crores can be expected on this account. This expenditure will obviously involve a reduction in the closing balance.

The U. P. Government Budget for 1945-46

23rd. MARCH :—A surplus of Rs. 15 lakhs, as compared with a surplus of Rs. 450 lakhs in the current and Rs. 498 lakhs in the past year, was anticipated by *Sir Tennant Sloan*, Financial Adviser to the U. P. Governor in his note on the budget

for 1945-46 issued from Lucknow on the **23rd. March 1945.** The estimates of revenue receipts and charges in the next financial year are Rs. 2752 lakhs and Rs. 2737 lakhs.

Sir Tenant expects that at the end of the budget year at least about 1300 lakhs will be available for post-war development schemes.

Sir Tennant announced that, in pursuance of the policy of taxing intoxicants so as to give the maximum of revenue with the minimum of consumption, excise duties will be further increased from April 1. The duties on plain and spiced spirits will be raised by 15 and 10 per cent respectively, the duty on Indian-made foreign liquor from Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 per gallon and the duty on bhang by 20 per cent. The issue price of opium will also be raised from Rs. 180 to Rs. 185-10 per seer consequent on an increase by the Government of India of the cost price of raw opium supplied by them. These increases are expected between them to yield additional receipts to a total amount of about Rs. 46 lakhs while certain unfavourable factors will reduce the net increase under excise to 18 lakhs.

The outstanding feature of the provincial finances, adds the Adviser, as presented in the revised estimates of the current and the budget estimates for the next year, can be summed up as further expansion of revenue receipts, increased expenditure on dearness and war allowance, increased expenditure on schemes for the development of the rural areas of the province and large revenue surpluses.

Sir Tenant stated: "The surplus shown in the estimates is Rs. 15 lakhs, but the real surplus is very much more. After making provision for all the previous commitments and the new expenditure to the amount of Rs. 49 lakhs and of Rs. 35 lakhs for extraordinary grants to local bodies for repairs and the maintenance of roads, we had a surplus of Rs. 426 lakhs. This has been disposed of as follows: Revenue Reserve Fund Rs. 261 lakhs; the U. P. Road Fund, Rs. 50 lakhs; the Hospital Fund Rs. 50 lakhs; the Sinking Funds Rs. 50 lakhs and the surplus Rs, 15 lakhs.

As regards funds for post-war developments, Sir Tennant says that in carrying out the post-war development schemes which Government at present have under their consideration, the reserve funds will have to be supplemented from additional taxation, grants from the Centre, etc. The most obvious form of fresh taxation is a Sales Tax which Government, however, does not propose to introduce at present partly because of the difficulty of finding the large staff necessary to administer it, and partly because of a feeling that such a tax could best be imposed and administered on an all-India basis.

Referring to the financial year 1944-45, the Adviser says that, since the budget was framed a year ago, there has been a further large expansion in revenue receipts. The original estimate was 2,429 lakhs and the revised is 2,753, an increase of 324. Revenue expenditure has been put at 2,738 leaving a revenue surplus of 15 lakhs; when the revised estimates were considered, there was a surplus of 110 lakhs.

The total outlay on supply schemes has been considerably less than was anticipated when the budget was framed and is expected to fall still further next year. The estimate in the current year's budget for all these schemes was 4,758 lakhs, the revised is 2,799, and the budget estimate for next year is 2,680, the difference of 1,959 between the original and the revised estimate is made up of reduction of 677 under foodgrains, 254 under cloth, 744 under gur etc. The net result of all transactions during the year is expected to be an outgoing of 273 lakhs, leaving a closing balance of 61 lakhs.

Concluding, Sir Tennant points out that besides being the seventh, this is the last Provincial budget which he will have to deal with and expresses his gratitude to the officers and staff of the Finance Department for their assistance in the preparation of the annual estimates.

The C. P. Government Budget for 1945-46

A small surplus of 1.57 lakhs is anticipated in the budget estimates of the Government of C. P. and Berar published from Nagpur on the **24th March 1945.** The total revenue for 1945-46 is estimated at Rs 948,14 lakhs and expenditure in the revenue account 740.27 lakhs. Out of the difference, 16.30 lakhs representing the excess of land revenue collections over the standard figure will be transferred to the deposit head appropriation for reduction or avoidance of debt" and Rs. 190 lakhs will be transferred to the Post-war Reconstruction and Development Fund.

A Press Communique on the budget says that no fresh taxation is proposed for 1945-46 but existing taxation measures with surcharges and enhancement due to expire

at the end of the current year are being extended for another year, "the need for combating inflation being as acute as ever", and large funds are needed to implement the provincial post-war development plan.

The Madras Government Budget for 1945—46

A net surplus of Rs. 80,15,000 is expected in 1945-46, according to the budget estimates published at Madras on the 20th. March 1945 by the Government of Madras. Revenue is estimated at Rs. 41,25,29,000 and Expenditure at Rs. 40,45,14,000.

The revenue of 41 crores does not take credit for the tax on agricultural incomes that the Government hope to bring into effect for the year 1945-46, nor does it take into account their decision to assign the entire proceeds of the Entertainment Tax to local bodies, as the necessary legislation in regard to these two proposals are yet to be enacted.

Provision for new scheme of expenditure take up Rs. 210.57 lakhs.

Out of this provision, Rs. 133.59 lakhs go to local bodies. They get Rs. 101.17 lakhs as additional compensation for loss of revenue from tolls, including Rs. 74 lakhs to be paid as the first instalment towards the arrears of toll compensation (about Rs. 296 lakhs) due to them in respect of the period prior to 1941-42.

Rs. 55.43 lakhs is provided for new schemes in the Education Department, out of which Rs. 20 lakhs are earmarked for the introduction of free, compulsory, elementary education in selected areas in every district and another Rs. 20 lakhs for free midday meals to poor pupils in selected areas of each district.

The provision for capital remunerative expenditure includes Rs. 62.5 lakhs for the Tungabhadra project and Rs. 37 lakhs for Electricity Schemes.

The finances of the past year have been marked by a big increase in Excise Revenue to the tune of about Rs. 5½ crores and in General Sales Tax of about Rs. 1.24 crores over the budget estimate.

The Bombay Government Budget for 1945-46

A small surplus of Rs. 20,000 without fresh taxation is revealed in the Budget estimates of the Bombay Government for 1945-46 published at Bombay on the 28th March 1945. The Revenue receipts have been estimated at Rs. 2,909.19 lakhs and revenue expenditure at Rs. 2,908.15 lakhs.

The major proposals in the Budget fell under three categories, viz., post-war reconstruction, debt redemption and nation-building services. The post-war reconstruction fund will stand at Rs. 7 crores at the end of the current year. It is proposed to add Rs. 4 crores to the Fund during 1945-46 making the total Rs. 11 crores. A sum of Rs. 2 crores has been provided in the Budget to be transferred to the Debt Redemption and Avoidance Fund meant for liquidation of the loans of the Government taken from the public and from the Government of India.

Allotments under the second category include those for education, medical, public health, minor irrigation works, agriculture, veterinary and other nation-building departments. The Government propose inaugurating a "Greater Bombay" scheme for which Rs. 3.65 lakhs has been provided in the Budget. A start with rural broadcasting will be made during the current year and 805 radio sets have been obtained from the United States of America on lease-lend basis. The cost of the scheme during 1945-46 is estimated to come to Rs. 1.06 lakhs.

The Orissa Government Budget for 1945-46

The Orissa budget estimates for the year 1945-46 published in a Gazette Extraordinary at Madras on the 28th. March 1945 reveal a deficit of Rs. 8,68,000. The total revenue in 1945-46 is estimated at Rs. 2,94,33,000 compared with the revised estimate of Rs. 3,13,02,000 in 1944-45 and expenditure charged to revenue in 1945-46 is expected to amount to Rs, 3,03,01,000, inclusive of a sum of Rs. 59.15 lakhs provided for new expenditure in 1945-46 compared with the revised estimate of 1944-45 of Rs. 3,11,14,000.

The year 1945-46 which is expected to open with an overall deficit of Rs. 28,000 likely to close with an overall surplus of Rs. 75,000. Receipts other than revenue are estimated at Rs. 7,31,51,000 and expenditure not charged to revenue at Rs. 7,21,79,000, the net receipt being Rs. 9,71,000. This, taken with the revenue deficit of Rs. 8,68,000, will raise the opening balace of Rs. 28,000 to Rs. 75,000 at the close of the year.

Proceedings of

The Working Committee

The All India Congress Committee

OF

The Indian National Congress

AND

Provincial Political Conferences

January—June 1945

The Indian National Congress

Summary of Proceedings of the Working Committee

Wardha—July 6—14, 1942

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha from 6 to 14 July, 1942. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided. The members present were Shrimati Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Shanker Rao Deo, Govind Ballabh Pant, Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Syed Mahmud, Asaf Ali and J. B. Kripalani.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Jairmdas Doulatram and Narendra Deo attended the meeting by special invitation.

Gandhiji was present at the afternoon sittings of the Committee.

The minutes of the last meeting of the Working Committee held at Allahabad from April 27 to May 1, 1942 were confirmed.

The Committee passed the following resolutions:

(1) Fresh Elections

Resolved that a general election of the delegates to the Congress which has been postponed for two years be held this year by October 31, 1942. For the purpose the last date of enrolmost is August 31. As soon as the delegates' election is completed the delegates should meet in order to elect the A. I. C. C. members from the province. The time-table for the various congress elections will be issued by the General Secretary. Resolved also that the Provincial Congress Committees do take necessary steps to arrange new elections of the Subordinate Congress Committees on the basis of the new register.

(2) Compensation for Lands etc. seized for Military Purposes

Whereas complaints have been received from various places regarding Government orders for evacuation of villages, lands and buildings without due notice and proper compensation, seizure and destruction of country boats, even where life is impossible without them, requisition of cycles, motor vehicles and carts without proper compensation and without regard for the needs of the civil population, the Working Committee deem it necessary to issue the following instructions for the guidance of the people concerned and hope that the Government will take immediate and necessary steps to remove the grievances and that the people will carry out their instructions as circumstances demand, provided that in all cases before the final decision to disobey an order or resist any measure is taken, all possible avenues of negotiation and relief through negotiation shall be thoroughly explored.

With regard to evacuation and other orders involving loss, either temporary or permanent of landed property of any kind full compensation should be demanded. In fixing the compensation the factors to be taken into consideration are the value of the land and the crops, the inconvenience and expense likely to be caused to the holder of the land by having to move to another place and the difficulty and delay likely to be involved in obtaining other land where the dispossessed landholder could settle.

Wherever possible arrangement should be made for providing other land to agriculturists where their agricultural land is acquired. Where this is impossible compensation in money should be paid.

Value of trees, water channels, and wells etc. taken over or destroyed should be included in the compensation.

In case of temporary acquisition of agricultural land the full value of the crop plus 15 per cent of it should be paid for each crop lost and when the occupation by Government terminates compensation should be paid for restoring the land to its previous condition for agricultural purposes.

Where the bulk of the land of an agriculturist is acquired and the balance left over is so small that it may not be worth cultivating, the balance too should be acquired.

Houses where acquired should be fully paid for. Where the whole or bulk of the agricultural land of an agriculturist is acquired and only his house is left over, the house should also be acquired by paying full compensation if the agriculturist so desires.

Where a house is to be occupied temporarily for Government purposes fair rent should be paid and the owner compensated for the inconvenience and discomfort caused.

No one should be required to vacate his house without arrangement being made elsewhere for his residence, and full compensation should be paid for transport of the evacuee's belongings and for his maintenance for a reasonable period to enable him to find suitable occupation in his new surroundings.

Compensation should in all cases be paid promptly and on the spot by a responsible officer and not at the headquarters of a district. In case no agreement is reached between the authorities and the evacuee regarding the amount of compensation and the matter has to be referred to a tribunal for decision the amount of compensation proposed by the authorities should be paid forthwith and should not be withheld pending the adjudication of the claim.

There should be no interference with the use or disposal of private property except with the consent of the owner or on payment of adequate compensation.

In case of requisition of boats full compensation should be demanded and no boats should be surrendered till the question of compensation is settled. In areas surrounded by water where boats are indispensable for normal everyday life they should not be surrendered at all.

Fishermen who depend upon their boats for earning their livelihood should be compensated for loss of their employment in addition to the price of their boats.

In case of requisition of cycles, motor vehicles, carts etc. full compensation should be demanded and until the question of compensation is settled they should not be parted with.

In view of scarcity of salt and apprehended famine of it due to war conditions facilities should be provided for collection, preparation and transport of salt on sea coast and in inland areas free of duty by individuals. People may manufacture salt for their own consumption and that of their cattle.

With regard to restrictions on organisations for self-protection the Committee is of opinion that it is the inherent right of all to protect their own life and property and those of their neighbours and therefore all restrictions on them should be disregarded.

(3) National Demand

Events happening from day to day, and the experience that the people of India are passing through, confirm the opinion of Congressmen that British rule in India must end immediately, not merely because foreign domination, even at its best, is an evil in itself and a continuing injury to the subject people, but because India in bondage can play no effective part in defending herself and in affecting the fortunes of the war that is desolating humanity. The freedom of India is thus necessary not only in the interest of India but also for the safety of the world and for the ending of nazism, fascism, militarism and other forms of imperialism, and the aggression of one nation over another.

Ever since the outbreak of the world war, the Congress has studiedly pursued a policy of non-embarrassment. Even at the risk of making its satyagraha ineffective, it deliberately gave it a symbolic character, in the hope that this policy of non-embarrassment, carried to its logical extreme, would be duly appreciated, and that real power would be transferred to popular representatives, so as to enable the nation to make its fullest contribution towards the realisation of human freedom throughout the world, which is in danger of being crushed. It has also hoped that negatively nothing would be done which was calculated to tighten Britain's stranglehold on India.

These hopes have, however, been dashed to pieces. The abortive Cripps proposals showed in the clearest possible manner that there was no change in the British Government's attitude towards India and that the British hold on India was in no way to be relaxed. In the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps, Congress representatives tried their utmost to achieve a minimum, consistent with the national demand but to no avail. This frustration has resulted in a rapid and wide spread increase of ill-will against Britain and a growing satisfaction at the success of Japanese arms. The Working Committee view this development with grave apprehension as this, unless checked, will inevitably lead to a passive acceptance of aggression. The Committee hold that all aggression must be resisted, for any submission to it must mean the degradation of the Indian people and the continuation of their subjection. The Congress is anxious to avoid the experience of Malaya, Singapore, and Burma and desires to build up resistance to any aggression on or invasion of India by the Japanese or any foreign Power.

The Congress would change the present ill-will against Britain into goodwill and make India a willing partner in a joint enterprise of securing freedom of the

nations and peoples of the world and in the trials and tribulations which accompany it. This is only possible if India feels the glow of freedom.

The Congress representatives have tried their utmost to bring about a solution of the communal tangle. But this has been made impossible by the presence of the foreign power whose long record has been to pursue relentlessly the policy of divide and rule. Only after the ending of foreign domination and intervention, can the present unreality give place to reality, and the people of India, belonging to all groups and parties, face India's problem and solve them on a mutually agreed basis. The present political parties, formed chiefly with a view to attract the attention of and influence the British Power, will then probably cease to function. For the first time in India's history, realisation will come home that princes, jagirdars, zamindars, and propertied and monied classes, derive their wealth and property from the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere, to whom essentially power and authority must belong. On the withdrawal of British rule in India, responsible men and women of the country will come together to form a Provisional Government, representative of all important sections of the people of India which will later evolve a scheme whereby a Constituent Assembly can be convened in order to prepare a constitution for the Government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. Representatives of free India and representatives of Great Britain will confer together for the adjustment of future relations and co-operation of the two countries as allies in the common task of meeting aggression. It is the earnest desire of the Congress to enable India to resist aggression effectively with the people's united will and strength behind it.

In making the proposal for the withdrawal of British rule from India, the Congress has no desire whatsoever to embarrass Great Britain or the Allied Powers in their prosecution of the war, or in any way to encourage aggression on India or increased pressure on China by the Japanese or any other Power associated with the Axis group. Nor does the Congress intend to jeopardise the defensive capacity of the Allied Powers. The Congress is therefore agreeable to the stationing of the armed forces of the Allies in India, should they so desire, in order to ward off and resist Japanese or other aggression, and to protect and help China.

The proposal of withdrawal of the British Power from India was never intended to mean the physical withdrawal of all Britishers from India, and certainly not of those who would make India their home and live there as citizens and as equals with the others. If such withdrawal takes place with goodwill, it would result in establishing a stable Provisional Government in India and co-operation between this Government and the United Nations in resisting aggression and helping China.

The Congress realises that there may be risks involved in such a course. Such risks, however, have to be faced by any country in order to achieve freedom and, more especially at the present critical juncture in order to save the country and the larger cause of freedom the world over from far greater risks and perils.

While, therefore, the Congress is impatient to achieve the national purpose, it wishes to take no hasty step and would like to avoid, in so far as is possible, any course of action that might embarrass the United Nations. The Congress would plead with the British Power to accept the very reasonable and just proposal herein made, not only in the interest of India but also that of Britain and of the cause of freedom to which the United Nations proclaim their adherence.

Should however this appeal fail, the Congress cannot view without the gravest apprehension the continuation of the present state of affairs, involving a progressive deterioration in the situation and weakening of India's will and power to resist aggression. The Congress will then be reluctantly compelled to utilise all the non-violent strength it might have gathered since 1920, when it adopted non-violence as part of its policy for the vindication of political rights and liberty. Such a wide-spread struggle would inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhiji. As the issues raised are of the most vital and far-reaching importance to the people of India as well as to the peoples of the United Nations, the Working Committee refer them to the All India Congress Committee for final decision. For this purpose the A.I.C.C. will meet in Bombay on August 7, 1942.

KERALA

The Committee considered a representation from Kerala P. C. C. about fresh elections and arrived at the following decision.

In view of the fact that the elections in the Kerala Province took place in April 1942, the Working Committee decide that there shall be no further elections this year in Kerala.

DISCIPLINARY ACTION

Representations from Tamil Nadu, Andhra, Karnatak to take disciplinary action against Shri Rajagopalachariar for carrying on propaganda contrary to the policy of the Congress were considered. The Committee decided that the Tamil Nadu P. C. C. was competent to take disciplinary action against Shri Rajagopalachariar if his activities constitute a breach of Congress discipline.

The letter from Shri Sambamurti, speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly, in connection with the resolution of the Andhra P. C. C. which asked him to show cause why disciplinary action should not be taken against him for carrying on propaganda contrary to the accepted policy of the Congress was considered. The Committee decided that the Andhra P. C. C. was within its right in passing the resolution it did about Shri Sambamuri. Shri Sambamurti is bound by the pledge he took when he sought election to the Assembly on the Congress ticket. The fact that Shri Sambamurti was the speaker did not absolve him from allegiance to the Andhra P. C. C. It is strange that while Shri Sambamurti on the one hand claimed, as a speaker, the privilege of being above party politics, he should on the other hand engage himself in active controversial politics and carry on propaganda prejudicial to the Congress policy and programme.

VISIT TO TRIBAL AREAS

• Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan gave an account of conditions in the N. W. F. Province. He explained that the Government was making it difficult for him and his companions to carry on even the constructive programme of the Congress. The Government refused him and his colleagues permission to visit the Tribal areas and work among the people there with a view to weaning them from anti-social activities. The Working Committee agreed to Khan Sahib's visiting the Tribal areas even if the Government refused him the necessary permission.

BUDGET FOR THE YEAR 1941-42

The budget for the financial year ending September 30, 1942 for the A. I. C. C. is sanctioned.

The expenditure incurred by the A. I. C. C. from October 1, 1941 to June 30, 1942, in anticipation of the sanction of the budget is sanctioned.

LOAN TO ASSAM P. C. C.

Resolved that in view of the financial condition of the province the loan of Rs. 2,500 to the Assam be treated as a grant and be written off.

TRANSFER OF SECURITIES IN THE NAME OF NEW TREASURER

The Treasurer is authorised to get a transfer of all securities and investment held on behalf of the A. I. C. C. by Seth Jamanlal Bajaj either in his own name or that of Bachchraj and Co., Bombay.

GANGA HARI DISTRESS FUND

Resolved that the interest accrued so far on the above fund be sent to the Sind P. C. C. for relief of distress.

AUDITED BALANCE SHEET FOR 1940-1941

Considered the balance sheet of the year 1940-1941. Since it was received today it could not be considered in the absence of necessary explanations to the auditors' queries by the Accountant. Resolved that the Balance Sheet be considered at the next meeting.

SHRI K. B. RAMAKRISHNAIAH

The Committee considered the application of Shri K. B. Ramakrishnaiah the ex-accountant of the A. I. C. C. and resolved that a gratuity of Rs. 1,000 be sanctioned and paid to him in view of his past services.

Working Committee Meeting—August 5 to 8, 1942

A meeting of the Working Committee was held in Bombay from August 5 to 8, 1942. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided. The members present were Shris Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Shankar Rao Deo, Govind Ballabh Pant, Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Asaf Ali, Syed Mahmud and J. B. Kripalani, Shris Narendra Deo, Harekrishna Mehtab and Satyamurti were present by special invitation. Gandhiji was present at most of the sittings of the Committee.

The Committee passed what has since been popularly called the 'Quit India' resolution. For the text of the resolution see proceedings of the A. I. C. C.

This was the only resolution recommended by the Working Committee for adoption by the A. I. C. C.

The A. I. C. C. Meeting—August 7 and 8 1942

A meeting of the A. I. C. C. was held in Bombay on August 7 and 8, 1942. The following resolution recommended by the Working Committee was passed by an overwhelming majority, only 13 members dissenting.

QUIT INDIA

The All India Congress Committee has given the most careful consideration to the reference made to it by the Working Committee in their resolution dated July 14, 1942, and to subsequent events, including the development of the war situation, the utterances of responsible spokesmen of the British Government, and the comments and criticisms made in India and abroad. The Committee approves of and endorses that resolution and is of opinion that events subsequent to it have given it further justification, and have made it clear that the immediate ending of British rule in India is an urgent necessity, both for the sake of India and for the success of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule is degrading and enfeebling India and making her progressively less capable of defending herself and of contributing to the cause of world freedom.

The Committee has viewed with dismay the deterioration of the situation on the Russian and Chinese fronts and conveys to the Russian and Chinese people its high appreciation of their heroism in defence of their freedom. This increasing peril makes it incumbent on all those who strive for freedom and who sympathise with the victims of aggression, to examine the foundation of the policy so far pursued by the Allied Nations, which have led to repeated and disastrous failure. It is not by adhering to such aims and policies and methods that failure can be converted into success, for past experience has shown that failure is inherent in them. These policies have been based not on freedom so much as on the domination of subject and colonial countries, and the continuation of the imperialist tradition and method. The possession of empire, instead of adding to the strength of the ruling Power, has become a burden and a curse. India, the classic land of modern imperialism, has become the crux of the question, for by the freedom of India will Britain and the United Nations be judged, and the peoples of Asia and Africa be filled with hope and enthusiasm. The ending of British rule in this country is thus a vital and immediate issue on which depend the future of the war and the success of freedom and democracy. A free India will assure this success by throwing all her great resources in the struggle for freedom and against the aggression of nazism, fascism and imperialism. This will not only affect materially the fortunes of the war, but will bring all subject and oppressed humanity on the side of the United Nations, and give these Nations, whose ally India would be, the moral and spiritual leadership of the world. India in bondage will continue to be the symbol of British imperialism and the taint of that imperialism will affect the fortunes of all the United Nations.

The peril of today, therefore, necessitates the independence of India and the ending of British domination. No future promises or guarantees can affect the present situation or meet that peril. They cannot produce the needed psychological effect on the mind of the masses. Only the glow of freedom now can release that energy and enthusiasm of millions of people which will immediately transform the nature of the war.

The A. I. C. C. therefore repeats with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of the British Power from India. On the declaratioh of India's independence, a Provisional Government will be formed and Free India will become an ally of the United Nations, sharing with them in the trials and tribulations of the joint enterprise of the struggle for freedom. The Provisional Government can only be formed by the co-operation of the principal parties and groups in the country. It will thus be a composite government, representative of all important sections of the people of India. Its primary functions must be to defend India and resist aggression with all the armed as well as the non-violent forces at its command, together with its Allied powers, to promote the well-being and progress of the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere, to whom essentially all power and authority must belong. The Provisional Government will evolve a scheme for a Constituent Assembly which will prepare a constitution for the Government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. This constitution, according to the Congress view, should be a federal one, with the largest measure of autonomy for the federating units, and with the residuary powers vesting in these units. The

future relations between India and the Allied Nations will be adjusted by representatives of all these free countries conferring together for their mutual advantage and for their co-operation in the common task of resisting aggression. Freedom will enable India to resist aggression effectively with the people's united will and strength behind it.

The freedom of India must be the symbol of and prelude to the freedom of all other Asiatic nations under foreign domination. Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, the Dutch Indies, Iran and Iraq must also attain their complete freedom. It must be clearly understood that such of these countries as are under Japanese control now must not subsequently be placed under the rule or control of any other colonial Power.

While the A. I. C. C. must primarily be concerned with the independence and defence of India in this hour of danger, the Committee is of opinion that the future peace, security and ordered progress of the world demand a World Federation of free nations, and on no other basis can the problems of the modern world be solved. Such a World Federation would ensure the freedom of its constituent nations, the prevention of aggression and exploitation by one nation over another, the protection of national minorities, the advancement of all backward areas and peoples, and the pooling of the world's resources for the common good of all. On the establishment of such a World Federation, disarmament would be practicable in all countries, national armies, navies and air forces would no longer be necessary, and a World Federal Defence Force would keep the world peace and prevent aggression.

An independent India would gladly join such a World Federation and co-operate on an equal basis with other nations in the solution of international problems.

Such a Federation should be open to all nations who agree with its fundamental principles. In view of the war, however, the Federation must inevitably, to begin with, be confined to the United Nations. Such a step taken now will have a most powerful effect on the war, on the people of the Axis countries and on the peace to come.

The Committee regretfully realises, however, that despite the tragic and overwhelming lessons of the war and the perils that overhang the world, the governments of few countries are yet prepared to take this inevitable step towards World Federation. The reactions of the British Government and the misguided criticisms of the foreign press also make it clear that even the obvious demand for India's independence is resisted, though this has been made essentially to meet the present peril and to enable India to defend herself and help China and Russia in their hour of need. The Committee is anxious not to embarrass in any way the defence of China or Russia, whose freedom is precious and must be preserved, or to jeopardise the defensive capacity of the United Nations. But the peril grows both to India and these nations, and inaction and submission to a foreign administration at this stage is not only degrading India and reducing her capacity to defend herself and resist aggression, but is no answer to that growing peril and is no service to the peoples of the United Nations. The earnest appeal of the Working Committee to Great Britain and the United Nations has so far met with no response, and the criticism made in many foreign quarters have shown an ignorance of India's and the world's need, and sometimes even hostility to India's freedom, which is significant of a mentality of domination and racial superiority which cannot be tolerated by a proud people conscious of their strength and of the justice of their cause.

The A. I. C. C. would yet again, at this last moment, in the interest of world freedom, renew this appeal to Britain and the United Nations. But the Committee feels that it is no longer justified in holding the nation back from endeavouring to assert its will against an imperialist and the authoritarian Government which dominates over it and prevents it from functioning in its own interest and in the interest of humanity. The Committee resolves, therefore, to sanction for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence, the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale, so that the country might utilise all the non-violent strength it has gathered during the last twenty-two years of peaceful struggle. Such a struggle must inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhiji and the Committee requests him to take the lead and guide the nation in the steps to be taken.

The Committee appeals to the people of India to face the dangers and hardship that will fall to their lot with courage and endurance, and to hold together under the leadership of Gandhiji, and carry out his instructions as disciplined soldiers of Indian freedom. They must remember that non-violence is the basis of this movement.

A time may come when it may not be possible to issue instructions or for instructions to reach our people, and when no Congress Committees can function. When this happens, every man and woman, who is participating in the movement must function for himself or herself within the four corners of the general instructions issued. Every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide urging him on along the hard road where there is no resting place and which leads ultimately to the independence and deliverance of India.

Lastly, whilst the A. I. C. C. has started his own view of the future governance under free India the A. I. C. C. wishes to make it quite clear to all concerned that by embarking on mass struggle it has no intention of gaining power for the Congress. The power, when it comes, will belong to the whole people of India.

Note: As the members of the Working Committee were all arrested in the early hours of August 9 and as all Congress Organisations were banned it is not possible to give any further details of the proceedings of the Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. held in August, 1942.

Summary of Proceedings of the Working Committee Meeting

Bombay,—June 21 and 22, 1945

A meeting of the Working Committee was held in Bombay on June 21 and 22. Moulana Abul Kalad Azad presided. The members present were Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Psasad, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Shankar Rao Deo, Govind Ballabh Pant, Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Asaf Ali and J. B. Kripalani. Gandhiji was present at most of the sittings of the Committee.

The Committee met after a period of three years during which its members were in detention. Their release was announced by the Viceroy. in his Broadcast on June 14. The Viceroy set forth his proposals for the formation of an Interim Government at the Centre and the normal functioning of the provincial governments in provinces ruled under Section 93 of the Government of India Act. The Working Committee met principally to discuss the Viceroy's proposals and to decide whether the Congress should participate in the Conference proposed to be convened at Simla on August 25, 1945.

The Committee considered the Viceroy's Broadcast of June 14 and the statement of the Secretary of State in the House of Commons made the same day. It had also before it the correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and the Viceroy, wherein Gandhiji had sought clarification of certain points arising out of the Viceroy's Broadcast. The Committee decided that Congress as an organisation should participate in the Simla Conference. All the invitees to the Conference were therefore asked to accept the invitation and attend the Simla Conference. This decision of the Working Committee was conveyed to the Viceroy in the following telegram sent to him by the Congress President.

> "Congress Working Committee authorises me to accept your invitation to Simla Conference on twenty-fifth. Hope reach Simla twenty-fourth. Would be grateful if you can conveniently see me before Conference.

Other Congress invitees similarly informed the Viceroy that they had been authorised by their organisation to attend Conference.

Before the Working Committee met Gandhiji as stated above had correspondence with the Viceroy seeking clarification of certain points arising from the Viceroy's announcement. This correspondence was kept before the Working Committee. *For correspondence see 'Simla Conference', poste.*

The Working Committee issued the following instructions for the guidance of congressmen attending the Simla Conference.

1. It must be clearly understood that the suggested arrangements are being considered on an interim and temporary basis only, especially in regard to communal parity. The principle of such parity is not acceptable. Also no such communal parity is applicable in the provinces and present suggested arrangements relate to the Centre only.

2. While communal parity, in the limted and temporary sense as indicated above, is being agreed to, it must be clearly understood that this does not mean that all the Muslim members of the National Government will be nominated by the Muslim League. The Congress cannot recognize the sole right of such nomination by a communal organization, nor it can reduce itself as a consequence to a limited communal field. The Congress therefore is of opinion that names may be proposed for Hindus, Muslims, Scheduled Castes, etc., by all groups in the Conference and to be adopted by the Conference as a whole.

3. While the Working Committee is anxious to help in finding a way out of

the present deadlock which leads to Indian Freedom, and will work to that end, it must be remembered that any decision taken by it has to be confirmed and ratified by the A. I. C. C. The fact that the A. I. C. C. and other Congress Committees are still banned is an obstacle in our way.

4. Further the fact of large number of detenus and Congress prisoners.

5. Clarification to be sought from the Viceroy or in the Conference in regard to:

(*i*) External Affairs Department.

(*ii*) Financial implications of defence.

(*iii*) How far it is possible to give a nationalist character to the Indian Army without at present changing its status or organization in any way. The Indian Army officers and men should have the same freedom of meeting people as the British army has in England. The present barriers isolating them to go.

(*iv*) After the present war in South-East Asia is over it must be clearly understood that the Indian Government cannot support any policy aimed at the continuation of imperialist control of any of the countries of S. E. Asia, nor can it allow the use of Indian resources for the deprivation of freedom of any of these countries.

(*v*) In regard to the Indian States, while recognizing that, during the interim period, the powers of the Crown Representative coutinue, it is clear that the National Government will have to deal with many matters which overlap and have concern with the States in regard to trade, industry, labour, etc., etc. The government may, when it cosiders this necessary, make suggestions and recommendations in regard to other State matters also to the Crown Representative. Further the barriers between the States Peoples, the Princes, and members of the National Government and their associates should be removed, so as to help in mutual discussions and consultations and the consideration of common problems, thus leading to the solution of these problems and even amalgamation with Federal India.

(*vi*) Provincial coalitions would depend on the particular conditions of parties and groups in each particular province.

(*vii*) The question of recruitment for higher services and the commitments in regard to foreign recruitments cannot be accepted, though the National Government will, whenever it considers it necessary, welcome and engage foreign experts.

The President will add to these matters requiring elucidation whenever he considers this necessary and give such other directions as may be required. He may also make such alterations as he considers necessary.

The Committee passed the following resolution :—

WORLD ORGANIZATION AND SYRIA

The Working Committee, meeting after nearly three years of enforced isolation, have to consider numerous national and international problems which have taken new shape and form. The Committee will meet again in the near future for this purpose. Meanwhile, while recognising the efforts being made to establish a new world order, the Committee regret that these efforts are being obstructed and vitiated by the ambitions and fears of the Great Powers who are often moved by motives of retaining their dominion over colonies and dependencies and preventing or delaying the freedom of these countries. The Committee are convinced that world peace and any new international order can only be based on the recognition of the freedom of all these countries and the elimination of all traces of imperialist control by whatever name it may be called. The Committee reiterate the policy in regard to this matter laid down by the A. I. C. C. on August 8, 1942.

The Committee have noted with deep regret and resentment the recent attacks on Syrian and Lebanese independence which are a violation not only of the specific pledges given to the Syrians and Lebanese but also a negation of the principles proclaimed by the United Nations.

Summary of Proceedings of the Working Committee

SIMLA—JULY 3—15, 1945

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Simla from July 3 to July 15. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided. The members present were Shris Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Shankar Rao Deo, Govind Ballabh Pant, Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Asaf Ali and J. B. Kripalani. Gandhiji was present at some of the sittings of the Committee.

The Congress invitees to the Simla Conference were often called for consultation to the Committee meetings.

The Working Committee heard from the Congress President an account of his conversations with the Viceroy and the stand he had taken at the conference in regard to matters that came up for elucidation and discussion therein. The Committee then proceeded to frame a list of the names they would suggest for the Executive Council. They decided to suggest names for the entire Executive. In suggesting names they tried to give representation to as many minority communities as possible. The list was sent to the Viceroy along with a covering letter which explained the principles that had guided the committee in selecting names for the proposed Executive Council.

The Working Committee passed the following resolution:

San Francisco

The Working Committee welcome the efforts that have been made by the United Nations to build up an international order to maintain peace and security and to develop friendly relations among the nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. While appreciating the work of the San Francisco Conference in this respect and realising that any world organisation must of necessity be related to the realities of today, the Committee regret that the position allotted to the smaller nations in the Charter is one lacking all effectiveness and the Great Powers not only dominate and completely control the new organization but are placed above and beyond the law they have themselves helped in framing. These Great Powers have indeed strengthened and consolidated their own position in the world and have shown no inclination to give up their colonial possessions and the special powers and privileges they enjoy at the expense of dependent peoples. According to the Charter as framed, the world organization will only be effective when none of the Great Powers are interested in the dispute. Where there is such an interest, as there is likely to be in most international disputes, a Great Power veto will prevent any action being taken.

The Committee especially regret that the declaration regarding non-self-governing territories is vague and unsatisfactory and is little better than the old mandate system of the League of Nations which was a signal failure in the past. The discussion in the San Francisco Conference on the object of trusteeship, and in particular, the strenuous objections raised by some Powers to the use of the word independence, are evidence of the fact that imperialist Powers are still functioning in the old imperialist way and intend to retain and exploit their colonial possessions. The Committee are of opinion that a full and frank recognition of national independence, within the framework of the international order of colonial territories is necessary to give reality to the purposes and objectives of the new organization and to lay the foundations of a stable peace.

The Committee have noted that the delegates from India to the San Francisco Conference represented the alien government and in no way the people of this country, and their attitude towards problems affecting India and other dependent and colonial territories was often opposed to the policy of the Indian people. Such representation at international conferences is an affront to India and is likely to mislead foreign nations. The fact of dependence on foreign authority has resulted in giving her an anomalous and degrading position in an organization of sovereign States and deprived her of a permanent seat in the Security Council of the new organization, which is her rightful due. Both for national and international reasons, India must attain the status of an independent and sovereign State, having a place in the highest councils of the nations, and in a position to contribute to the maintenance of peace, security and freedom.

Dr. Mahmud and His Letter to the Viceroy

The question of the continuance of Dr. Mahmud's membership of the Working Committee was considered and the following decision reached:

"The question of the conduct of Dr. Mahmud in connection with his letter to the Viceroy, written from Jail, was considered by the Working Committee. It was decided that the President call for an explanation from Dr. Mahmud for his conduct and if Dr. Mahmud so desires, he be given an opportunity to personally appear before the Committee to offer such explanation."

Note: We are sorry we are unable to give here the text of correspondence which passed between the Congress President and Lord Wavell in connection with the Simla Conference. Lord Wavell as Chairman of the Conference expressed a desire that the correspondence be regarded as confidential. The Congress President in deference to this decided to withhold the correspondence from the press and the

public. This correspondence however could not be withheld from members of the A. I. C. C. The Working Committee therefore at its meeting in Poona dated September 12, 1945 decided that the correspondence be circulated exclusively among members of the A. I. C. C. with the express instruction that no part of it should find its way to the press. This was duly done at the Bombay meeting of the A. I. C. C.

Summary of Proceedings of the Working Committee

Poona, Sep. 12 to Sep. 18 and Bombay, Sep. 21 to Sep. 24

A meeting of the Working Committee was held in Poona from September 12 to September 18 and again in Bombay from September 21 to September 24, 1945. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided. The members present were Shris Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Pattabhi Sitaramyya, Shankar Rao Deo, Govind Ballabh Pant, Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Asaf Ali and J. B. Kripalani.

Gandhiji was present at the afternoon sittings of the committee.

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Bhulabhai Desai, Rajagopalachariar, Gopinath Bardoloi, Kiran Shankar Ray were present by special invitation.

The following resolutions were recommeded for adoption by the A. I. C. C.

(1) Condolence. (2) The struggle of 1942 and after. (3) Congress Policy. (4) Viceregal proposals and Elections. (5) National Army. (6) Financial Commitments made by the present Government not binding. (7) Assembly Elections Committee. (8) Election Manifesto. (9) Sterling Balances. (10) Revision of Congress Constitution. (11) China and South-East Asia. (12) Indian Interests in Burma and Malaya. (13) Affiliation of the Anjuman-e-Watan of Baluchistan. (14) Constructive programme. (15) Indian States.

(*For text of the resolutions see A. I. C. C. Proceedings.*)

The Committee passed the following resolution :

United India and Self-Determination

As some misapprehensions have arisen in regard to certain resolutions of the A. I. C. C. and of the Working Committee passed in 1942 relating to the further constitution of India, the Working Committee restates the position as follows :

In accordance with the August 1942 resolution of the A. I. C. C. it will be for a democratically elected Constituent Assembly to prepare a constitution for the government of India, acceptable to all sections of the people. This constitution, according to the Congress view, should be a federal one, with the residuary powers vesting in the units. The fundamental rights as laid down by the Karachi Congress, and subsequently added to, must form an integral part of this constitution. Further, as declared by the A. I. C. C. at its meeting held in Allahabad in May, 1942, the Congress cannot agree to any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component State or territorial unit to secede from the Indian Union or Federation. The Congress, as the Working Committee declared in April, 1942, has been wedded to Indian freedom and unity and any break in that unity, especially in the modern world when people's minds inevitably think in terms of ever larger federations, would be injurious to all concerned and exceedingly painful to contemplate. Nevertheless, the Committee also declared, it cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will. While recognising this principle, every effort should be made to create conditions which would help the different units in developing a common and co-operative national life. The acceptance of the principle inevitably involves that no changes should be made which result in fresh problems being created and compulsion being exercised on other substantial groups within that area. Each territorial unit should have the fullest possible autonomy within the Union, consistently with a strong national State.

(*1*) *Correspondence between the Congress President and the Viceroy* :

Publication of the correspondence that passed between the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Lord Wavell during and after the Simla Conference was considered. It was decided that in view of the desire of Lord Wavell, Chairman of the Simla Conference, that correspondence relating to the Simla Conference should be treated as confidential, the correspondence be circulated as a confidential document among members of the A. I. C. C.

(*2*) *Disciplinary action and the Communist party.*

Complaints received in the A. I. C. C. Office regarding the hostile activities of the Communist Party during the August struggle and their open defiance of the Congress Policy as embodied in the August Resolution were placed before the

Committee. It was decided that a committee consisting of (1) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (2) Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and (3) Pandit Govinda Ballabh Pant be formed to go into the charges of indiscipline brought against the Congress members of the Communist Party. The Committee was required to submit its report, if possible, before the A. I. C. C. meeting.

(3) *Constitution Sub-Committee* :

In view of the events which happened in the country since August, 1942, temporary revision of the Congress constitution to meet the present contingency was called for. The Working Committee appointed a Sub-Committee consisting of Babu Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant to suggest necessary changes and amendments of articles in the constitution, to facilitate fresh elections in the near future.

(4) *The A. I. C. C. Office* : The budget for the A. I. C. C. office was presented and sanctioned.

(5) *Confiscated Funds.*

The General Secretary reported to the Committee that the A. I. C. C. funds amounting to about Rs. 70,000 were confiscated by the Government of Bombay in 1942 after the declaration of the A. I. C. C. as an illegal body. It was decided that Shri Bhulabhai Desai should take necessary steps legal or otherwise for the restoration of the confiscated funds.

(6) *Desai-Liaquat Pact* :

The General Secretary placed before the Committee the letter he had addressed to Mr. Bhulabhai Desai in regard to the statement which Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan had issued to the press in connection with Desai-Liaquat Pact. The Working Committee concurred in the view expressed in the letter that Nawabzada's statement was at variance, in material particulars, with the facts as placed before the Committee by Shri Bhulabhai about the Pact. Shri Bhulabhai told the Committee that he would issue a statement setting forth the correct facts.

(7) *The A. I. C. C. Fee* :

The following decision was taken on the subject :

In terms of the constitution members of the A. I. C. C. are required to pay a fee of Rs. 10 annually. This fee has not been paid since 1942. In view of the abnormal political conditions during the last three years the Working Committee has decided to remit fees for these years. The A. I. C. C. members will however be required to pay the A. I. C. C. dues for the current year.

(8) *Dr. Mahmud's Resignation* :

Dr. Mahmud's resignation dated September 10, 1945 was placed before the Working Committee. The Working Committee accepted the resignation.

The Working Committee met again in Bombay from September 21 to September 24.

THE NEW PROPOSALS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE ELECTIONS :

The Committee had passed a resolution on Assembly Elections at its meeting in Poona. After the broadcast of Lord Wavell and the British Prime Minister on the steps proposed to be taken by the British authority in India after general elections this resolution of the Working Committee needed to be recast and revised. A fresh resolution was therefore adopted by the Working Committee for recommendation to the A. I. C. C. The Poona Resolution on Elections was consequently withdrawn.

(*For text of the resolution see A. I. C. C. proceedings*)

The Committee passed the following resolutions :

DEMOBILISATION AND USE OF CAMPS ETC.

The end of the war has suddenly brought many problems to the forefront, among them being the provision for suitable employment of demobilised soldiers. It is not only necessary to find gainful employment for them in such a way as not to throw others out of employment, but also to use their services, as trained men and women, for work of national reconstruction. This work, as all other large-scale activity, requires careful planning and adjustment. The resettlement policy and programme of the present Government are unsatisfactory. They have to be shaped in such a way as to fit in with other schemes of national development, and to afford the persons concerned an opportunity to be absorbed harmoniously in the national life of the country.

While the demobilisation of the armed forces has yet to begin, the demobilisation of labour, especially employed for war work, has already started. Involving as this does millions of workers, there is danger of large-scale unemployment, and

injury to the economic structure, unless immediate steps are taken to absorb these workers, as they are released, in works of national importance. From the social and economic view-point also it is harmful and wasteful of the nation's resources not to use trained and skilled workers.

Further the large number of well-equipped hospitals, built all over India under the lend-lease system or otherwise, will not be required for military purposes. As hospitals are urgently needed in India for civilian use, all these hospitals should be handed over to suitable civilian authorities and public organisations, as soon as the military vacate them.

During the past five years of war, large numbers of training camps, transit camps, rest camps, farms and dairies, storesheds, factories and workshops have been constructed all over the country, with good roads, bridges and sometimes railway lines leading up to them. They are situated on healthy sites and their sanitation and drainage system have been carefully attended to. A vast sum of money amounting to hundreds of crores of rupees, has been spent on them, and every effort should be made to utilise these buildings, camps etc. for objects of public benefit. In particular, these buildings, etc. can be used, with suitable alterations, for educational establishments, hospitals, libraries, reading rooms, co-operative societies, village panchayats, sanatoria, health centres, recreation rooms, gymnasia, granaries and innumerable other purposes. They could also be used for housing purposes. In these and other ways they can be of great help in improving village life and rehabilitating many of our villages.

In order to use these camps and buildings to the best advantage and to prevent any deterioration in them, in case they are left vacant, the Working Committee are of opinion that immediate steps should be taken to consider this question in all its aspects.

DEFENCE COMMITTEE FOR I. N. A.

In view of the forthcoming trial by court martial of some officers and men belonging to the Hindustan Azad Fauj (Indian National Army) formed in Burma and Malaya, the Working Committee resolves that a defence committee consisting of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Shri Bhulabhai Desai, Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Asaf Ali (convenor) and Shri Raghunandan Saran with powers to co-opt, be formed to take all necessary steps for the defence of the officers and men and women of the I. N. A., or of like forces, who may be brought up for trial.

Summary of Proceedings of the All India Congress Committee

Bombay—September 21 to September 23, 1945

A meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held at Bombay from September 21 to September 23 in a special Pandal erected for the purpose at Gwalia tank, the place where the last meeting of the A. I. C. C. had been held in August, 1942. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided. Two hundred and eighty three members were present.

Provincewise Attendance

Ajmer	5	Maharashtra	20
Andhra	25	Mahakoshal	16
Assam	3	Nagpur	4
Bihar	25	N. W. F. P.	2
Bengal	29	Punjab	16
Bombay	5	Sind	5
Delhi	4	Tamilnadu	21
Gujrat	16	U. P.	47
Karnatak	14	Utkal	14
Kerala	5	Vidarbha	5

The General Secretary announced that no accurate minutes of the A. I. C. C. could be prepared and presented to the A. I. C. C. as he together with his colleagues of the Working Committee were arrested in the early morning of August 9, 1942 a few hours after the A. I. C. C. concluded its session on the night preceding. The A. I. C. C. accepted the explanation of the General Secretary and proceeded to business.

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had scarcely begun his speech, when owing to the failure of loud-speakers he found himself obliged to close it.

The following resolutions recommended by the Working Committee with some minor amendments proposed by the members of the A. I. C. C. and accepted were passed.

(1) *Condolence*:

The following Condolence resolution was moved from the chair and passed, all members standing.

This meeting of the A. I. C. C. expresses its deep sense of sorrow and loss at the deaths of

Shri Vijayaraghavachariar, Srimati Kasturba Gandhi, Begum Azad, Sri Mahadeo Desai, Sri Satyamurti, Sri Shiv Prasad Gupta, Sri R. S. Dutt. Dr. P. C. Ray, Mr. Allah Bux, Babu Ram Dayal Singh, Sri Charu Ghosh, Sri Kamdar Khan, Sri Ramdas Pantalu, Sri Hem Chandra Barua, Sri Sarla Devi Chowdharani, Dr. T. Kesram Rasul, Sri K. S. Gupta, Sri Chandrabhal Javeri, Sri Nivasrao Kaujalgi, Sri Khedanlal, Sri Hanmantrao Kaujalgi, Sri Hardyal Nag, Maulana Abdul Kadir Qasoori, Lala Dunichand, Ram Kishan, Sachindra Nath Sanyal, Sushila Bai Nayar, Narayanrao Joshi, Dondu Narain Raju.

The General Secretary, J. B. Kripalani then moved the resolution on Constitutional Changes. The resolution was passed unanimously.

TEMPORARY CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION

I (*a*) In vew of the fact that the Congress has not been able to hold its annual session after the Ramgarh Session held in March, 1940, and in view of the fact that events have happened during the past five years which require that the constitution of the Congress be considered in its entirety, it is resolved that a Committee consisting of the following persons with power to co-opt two more be formed to consider the whole question and to make proposals for such amendments and additions to the Congress constitution as may appear necessary. In particular the committee is authorised to consider the question as to how the Congress committees should be related to other independent organisations and to groups within the Congress Committees themselves. The committee is also authorised to consult Provincial Congress Committees and such other persons or bodies as it may consider necessary. The Committee shall submit its report to the Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee by December 31 to be considered by the Working Committee and submitted to the open session of the Congress.

Names of the members of the Committee :—

1. Shri Rajendra Prasad. 2. Shri Narendra Deo. 3. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. 4. Shri R. R. Diwakar, and 5. Shri J. B. Kripalani.

In as much, however, as it is not possible at present to reorganise Congress Committees in strict compliance with the provisions of the Congress constitution the following temporary and transitory amendments are made to enable delegates to the next session of the Congress to be elected and a new All-India Congress Committee, and new Provincial Congrees Committees to be formed by members to be enrolled now.

For purposes of Article III (*f*) the year of membership of persons enrolled in the year 1945 shall continue upto December 31, 1946.

Note: This refers to enrolment by Congress Committees and not to enrolment by other organisations formed by Congressmen since 1943.

There shall be no renewal of membership in terms of article IV (*a*) this year, but everyone who wants to become a member shall apply for the purpose in form A prescribed in the constitution and pay four annas as his membership fee. The operation of article IV (*a*) is accordingly suspended.

From article V 'in which shall be noted . . . not' shall be omitted.

Substitute for Article VII(*a*) the following :—"No member shall be entitled to exercise his vote unless he has been enrolled as a member on or before November 30, 1945."

The operation of Article VII (*c*) is suspended.

In Article IX (*a*) substitute 'December 15' for 'September 15' and 'December 20' for 'September 23.'

In IX (*b*) substitute 'December 25' for 'September 30'.

In Article IX (*c*) substitute "January 4, 1946" for "the 10th October".

In Article X (*a*) substitute 'by January 15, 1946' for the words 'a date to be fixed by the Working Committee.

Time table :

Last date for enrolment of members		November 30, 1945.
Publication of Rolls		December 15, 1945.
Time for inspection of rolls	upto	December 20, 1945.

Last date for objection to entries in rolls	December 25, 1945.
Last date for decision of objections	Januaary 4, 1946.
Final Publication of rolls	January 10, 1946.
Rolls to be submitted to the A. I. C. C. by	January 15, 1946.

XI The dates proposed may be varied and dates for election of delegates and election of the A. I. C. C. members and the President of the next session of the Congress may be fixed by the Working Committee.

Vacancies in committees other than the A. I. C. C. may be co-option by the existing members of such committees provided that only such persons may be co-opted as have actively furthered the A. I. C. C. resolution of August 1942; provided further that the person co-opted need not necessarily have been a member of the Congress in 1942.

Note: A strenuous effort was made up to set the loud-speakers right but it proved unavailing. Except for the passing of the Working Committee resolution on constitutional changes no other business was transacted that day.

September 22: The A. I. C. C. ment again on September 23 at 2 p.m. *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru* moved the following resolution. It was seconded by *Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel* :—

The Struggle of 1942 and after

The A. I. C. C., at its first meeting after more than three years of wanton suppression by the British Government, desires to convey its greeting and congratulation to the nation for the courage and endurance with which it withstood the fierce and violent onslaught of the British Power, and its deep sympathy to all those who suffered during these three years of military, police and ordinance rule. The Committee regrets that in some places the people forgot and fell away from the Congress method of peaceful and non-violent action, but realises that the provocative action of the Government in effecting sudden and widespread arrests of all well-known leaders, and brutal and ruthless repression of peaceful demonstrations, goaded them to rise spontaneously to resist the armed might of an alien Imperialist Power which was trying to crush the spirit of freedom and the passionate desire of the Indian people to gain independence. The earnest appeal made by the A. I. C. C., at its last meeting held on August 8, 1942 for creating conditions necessary for full co-operation with the United Nations in the cause of world freedom was ignored and the suggested attempts to solve the Indian problem by negotiation were answered by the Government by an all-out attack on the Indian people and by subjecting an unarmed India to many of the horrors of war which accompany an invasion. Three years of frightfulness have left their long trail behind them, of death and agony and suffering and avoidable man-made famine which took its toll of millions of lives, and an administrative system which is full of corruption and incompetence, totally incapable of handling or solving India's problems. Yet these years have also demonstrated the courage of the Indian people to meet governmental repression and have steeled and hardened them in their resolve to gain freedom and deliverance from foreign rule.

The World War is happily over but its long shadow still darkens the world and prospects of future wars are being considered. The appearance of the atom bomb as a weapon of war, with its frightful and horrible powers of destruction has brought to a crisis the immortal and self-destructive elements of the present-day political, economic and spiritual structure of the world. Civilization is likely to destroy itself unless it gives up its Imperialist and acquisitive tendencies and bases itself on the peaceful co-operation of free nations and on the maintenance of the dignity of man. The end of the war has brought no freedom to the colonial and dependent countries, and the Imperialist powers are again engaged in the old contest for dominion over others.

The A. I. C. C., reiterates its national and international objectives, laid down in its resolution of August 8, 1942, and its conviction that the independence of India is essential for world peace and must be the basis for the freedom of Asiatic and other dependent nations. The independence of India must be unequivocally recognised and her status among the United Nations must be that of an independent nation, co-operating with others on an equal basis for the establishment of a world order of peace and freedom.

Shri *J. B. Kripalani* then moved the following resolution which was seconded by Dr. *Rajendra Prasad*. The resolution was passed unanimously :

Congress Policy

The Congress, from its earliest beginning sixty years ago, has tried to win Swaraj for all the people of India. But the content and implication of the word

'Swaraj' have progressively varied with the march of time as also the people towards their goal. So have the means. Thus Swaraj at one time meant self-government of the people under the tutelage and fostering care of the British Government in India. The means were strictly legal and constitutional. As efforts so circumscribed proved insufficient, violence was resorted to from time to time, but this was sporadic, unorganised and secret. As each stage the Government of India responded reluctantly and in a niggardly manner with some sort of reform accompanied by repression, leaving behind on every occasion a legacy of increasing discontent.

In 1920 the Congress became a mass organization, basing its methods of action on peaceful and legitimate means, and adopted a revolutionary programme of progressive non-co-operation, including civil disobedience, which was confined in certain circumstances to individuals or groups or areas and to the redress of certain grievances. At each stage more and more people began to join the struggle for freedom. In 1929-30 the Congress finally defined Swaraj as complete independence for India, and ever since 1930, January 26 has been observed as Independence Day when the pledge for independence is reaffirmed.

In August 1942, the urgency of the situation and the perils that confronted India led to a programme of immediate severance of the British connection being conceived, and this was to be adopted if the method of negotiated settlement failed. The resolution to this effect had hardly been adopted by the A. I. C. C. late at night, when in the early hours of the following morning, the members of the Working Committee, the A. I. C. C. and other Congressmen and Congresswomen were arrested in Bombay and all over India and other repressive measures were adopted by the Government. The people stunned, leaderless and incensed gave vent to their just anger in the manner they thought best, both violently and non-violently, but the governmental violence in every case put the popular acts of violence into the shade. As a result, military rule on a scale never before known in India became an established fact and sought to choke the voice and liberty of the people.

In June 1945 the British Government in India released the members of the Working Committee and convened a small and, what was intended to be, a fairly representative conference for the purpose of forming an interim National Government. It was understood that any decision arrived at by the conference would be acted upon by the Government. Suddenly, however, the chairman of the meeting, in the person of the Viceroy, brought the proceedings to an end, not because there was no general agreement among the members but because one of the participant groups would not co-operate in the formation of an interim government. No charge, veiled or open, has been or can be brought against the Congress for the break-up.

The noteworthy fact is that throughout all these events the yearning of the people for Swaraj has increased; they have become more and more awakened to the need for freeing themselves from the foreign yoke; and the distrust of the foreign government, in spite of its professions to the contrary, has increased. It was hoped, as would now appear, against hope that although the conference broke up, as it did, the Government would carry out the promise read into the Viceregal declarations that an Indian National Government, giving effect to the voice of the people, would soon take the place of the anarchical one nominated by the Government. If that hope had been well founded, the Government would have, without mental or other reservations, released all political prisoners, whether detained without trial or convicted under farcical procedure. Some releases have undoubtedly taken place but not in answer to popular demand and expectation. Many still remained behind the the prison bars. Bans on some organizations and restrictions and disabilities on individuals have not yet been removed and civil liberties are restricted. The continuance of section 93 rule in the provinces and the recent dissolution of the Legislatures in a number of provinces are significant and outstanding instances of the Government, which is determined to hold on to its authoritarian power and to exercise it arbitrarily and autocratically. It is not possible to derive any hope for the future in the shape of frank co-operation on the part of Government with the people in bringing them their long overdue freedom and independence.

The method of negotiation and conciliation which is the keynote of peaceful policy can never be abandoned by the Congress, no matter how grave may be the provocation, any more than can that of non-coperation, complete or modified. Hence the guiding maxim of the Congress must remain: negotiation and settlement when possible and non-coperation and direct action when necessary.

September 23. The A. I. C. C. met again at 2 p.m. on September 23. The following resolutions were moved from the chair and passed unanimously.

(1) Sterling Balances, (2) Commitments of present Government not binding,

(3) China and South-East Asia, (4) Indian interests in Burma and Malaya, (5) Affiliation of the Anjuman-e-watan of Baluchistan.

STERLING BALANCES

The A. I. C. C. has noted that enormous credit balances due to India have accumulated and are kept in London in sterling. These balances are not available for utilisation, for India's own immediate needs of industrialisation and general economic development. They have arisen out of the supply of goods and services provided by this country for Britain's war effort. The goods and services, which these balances represent, were obtained from India mostly at controlled prices and the suggestions made in certain British quarters that the amount of these balances is inflated is contradicted by the actual facts, as recorded and admitted by a British Parliamentary Committee which recently investigated the subject. The British demand, therefore, for a scaling down of the amount is wholly unwarranted, and India cannot submit to any settlement of this problem which involves a sacrifice of her just claims and great injury to her future development. The A. I. C. C. is of opinion that every effort must be made for an early settlement of the question of India's sterling balances so that they may be utilised for the planned economic development of the country.

COMMITMENTS OF PRESENT GOVERNMENT NOT BINDING

As it appears to be the policy of the British Government to obstruct and delay the formation of people's National Government in India, it may take some time for such a government to function. During this period the present unrepresentative and irresponsible Government may enter into various kinds of commitments on behalf of India, which may not be in the interests of the Indian people and which may create shackles preventing growth and development. The A. I. C. C., therefore, informs the United Nations and all others concerned that the present Government of India derives no power and authority from the people of India and in no way represents them. It is imposed on the Indian people by alien power and authority and can in no way commit India to any agreement affecting the vital interests of the people. Should any such agreement be entered into, the people's representative government, on assuming power will have the right and duty to examine it and, in the event of this being injurious to the interests of the Indian people, to refuse to be bound by it.

CHINA AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA

The A. I. C. C. sends its greetings to the people of China and to the peoples of the countries of South-East Asia and expresses its deep satisfaction at the conclusion of the war which has ravaged these countries and caused enormous suffering and loss to their peoples. The Committee earnestly trusts that the people of China who have faced unflinchingly and with heroic steadfastness and courage over eight years of horrible war and disaster, will rise to even greater heights in the years of peace to come and build up a nation united and strong of purpose for peace and freedom and closely allied to India and the other countries of Asia.

The A. I. C. C. views with anxiety the attempts that are being made to maintain the political and economic subjection of Burma, Malaya, Indo-China and Indonesia. To continue imperialist domination over these countries, under whatever name or guise, would be a denial and repudiation of the professions made by the United Nations during war time and would sow the seeds of future wars. India, desiring the freedom of all Asiatic, as well as other countries would deeply resent the continuation of an imperialist policy in South-East Asia. In particular, the A. I. C. C. would take strong objection to the use of Indian troops in maintaining imperialist domination over any of these countries of South-East or Western Asia.

A free India will inevitably seek the close and friendly associations with her neighbour countries, and would especially seek to develop common policies for defence, trade and economic and cultural development with China, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia and Ceylon as well as the countries of the Middle East.

INDIAN INTERESTS IN BURMA AND MALAYA

The A. I. C. C., believing as it does in the right to freedom of all countries, hold that the people of each country have the further right to develop their own resources in such manner and with such means as they think fit. Where Indian labour has been employed and Indian capital invested, the Committee considers that their just interests should be properly safeguarded with due regard to the primary claims and interests of the people concerned. All such problems should be considered by the representatives of those countries and of India on a basis of mutual

adjustment. No concessions should be given or new vested interests created by British authorities in favour of foreign capital in Burma and Malaya, which curtail the peoples of those countries or which injure existing Indian interests there. Trade relations of an enduring character, and problems relating to the movement of population can only be properly considered and settled by representatives of free India, free Burma and free Malaya.

Affiliation of the Anjuman-e-Watan of Baluchistan

The A. I. C. C. having considered the application of the Anjuman-e-Watan of Baluchistan for affiliation to the Congress, resolves that under Article XIX (*b*) of the Constitution, the Anjuman-e-Watan be affiliated. The Working Committee is authorised to consider and determine the terms and conditions for such affiliation and the representation to be granted in the A. I. C. C. and the annual session of the Congress.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru then moved the resolution on the Indian National Army. It was seconded by Dr. Profulla Chandra Ghosh. The resolution was passed unanimously.

The Indian National Army

The A. I. C. C. has learnt with concern that large numbers of officers and men and women of the Indian National Army formed in Malaya and Burma, in 1942, as well as some Indian soldiers from the western fronts, are at present in various Indian and foreign prisons awaiting trial or other decision of the authorities. In view of all the circumstances prevailing in India, Malaya, Burma and elsewhere at the time of the formation of this army and subsequently, and further in view of the declared objects of this army, these officers and men and women should have been treated as combatants and prisoners of war and discharged at the conclusion of hostilities. The A. I. C. C is, however, strongly of opinion that for other additional reasons of far-reaching consequences and in view of the termination of the war, it would be a tragedy if these officers, men and women were punished for the offence of having laboured, however mistakenly, for the freedom of India. They can be of the greatest service in the heavy work of building up a new and free India. They have already suffered heavily and any additional punishment will not only be unjustified but will cause sorrow in innumerable homes and to the Indian people as a whole, and will widen the gulf between India and England. The A. I. C. C. , therefore, earnestly trusts that these officers, and men and women of this army will be released, and those who are in confinement to be set at liberty.

The A. I. C. C. also trusts that the Indian Civilian population of Malaya, Burma and elsewhere who joined the India Independance League will in no way be harassed or subjected to any penalty.

The A. I. C. C. further trusts that any sentence of death already passed on any Indian soldier or civilian in connection with any activities connected with the war will not be carried out, and the cases of all those conducted by various military courts will be reviewed by a judicial tribunal.

Sardar Vallabhbhai then moved the following resolution which was seconded by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant. The resolution was passed unanimously.

The New Proposals of the British Government and the Elections

The A. I. C. C. has carefully considered Lord Wavell's and the British Prime Minister's broadcasts on the steps proposed to be taken by British authority in India. These proposals repeat, with unimportant variations, the offer made in March, 1942 by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the British Government, an offer which was not accepted by the Congress. Neither the end of the War nor the change of Government in Great Britain appears to have resulted in any real change in British policy towards India, which seems to be based on delaying every advance and in attempting to create new problems and fresh complications. It is significant that there is no mention in these broadcasts of the independence of India. Nothing short of independence can be acceptable to the Congress and the country. The proposals now made are, in the opinion of the A. I. C. C., vague, inadequate and unsatisfactory.

The announcement that general elections will be held for the Central and Provincial Assemblies has been made in a manner and in circumstances which arouse suspicion. The sudden dissolution of the legislatures in some provinces has emphasised the hostility of the present governmental authorities to even the possibility of popular government in the meantime, and is totally indefensible. The Central

Assembly is still governed by the Act of 1919. To continue such an impotent and undemocratic Central legislature, constituted on a franchise of less than one percent of the population, can have no justification in the context of Indian freedom. If elections for the Central Legislature are to be held they must at least be on a properly revised register, even though this might involve some little delay. In spite of assurances, the electoral rolls for the Central and Provincial Assemblies are not being properly revised.

Further, free and fair elections are hardly possible when several organisations, like the Congress Socialist Party, the Forward Bloc, and Kisan organisations are still under ban ; when thousands are still held in detention without trial, or are undergoing sentences of imprisonment in connection with political activities or are subjected to restrictions regarding their free movement when in many places prohibitory orders regarding entry of the public are still maintained and public meetings cannot be held without previous permission of the authorities ; and when many persons are labouring under disqualifications arising out of their conviction for political offences.

It has been notorious that the present Government in India is responsible for the widespread corruption that prevails in the country, for the gross mismanagement of the food and cloth problem, and for the supreme tragedy of the Bengal famine. Yet it is declared that, pending elections, and for many months at least, this incompetent and corrupt administration shall continue its misrule. The proposals of the British Government, become, in this context, still more significant indications of their desire to hold on to power in India as long as they possibly can and with all the means and methods at their disposal.

In spite of the handicaps that the Congress will labour under, as related above, and in order to demonstrate the will of the people, especially on the issue of the immediate transfer of power, the A. I. C. C. resolves that the forthcoming elections be contested, and directs the Working Committee to take all necessary steps in this behalf. The Committee is confident not only that people will respond to the call of the Congress on this vital and urgent issue, but will also, with the added strength and assurance that the past years have given them, carry the struggle for the independence of India to a successful issue in the near future.

The resolutions on (1) Constructive Programme, (2) Indian States, (3) Assembly Elections Committee, (4) Election Manifesto were moved from the chair and passed unanimously.

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

With a view to making the masses of India politically self-conscious, economically self-sufficient and capable of running the government of a free and independent India, it is necessary that they should be organised in all spheres of life on the widest possible scale. Such organisation can be effectively advanced through the fifteenfold constructive programme of Mahatma Gandhi and an enlightened recognition of non-violence. This Committee therefore calls upon all subordinate Congress Committees and Congressmen to go on with the constructive programme and take such steps as may be necessary to give effect to it.

INDIAN STATES

The A. I. C. C. offers its congratulation to those people of the State who have participated in the movement that followed the Resolution of August, 1942, and have faced with courage and the spirit of sacrifice the repression that followed.

The Committee notes with regret the continuance of repression even now in some of the States and hopes that the Governments concerned will take all necessary steps to release all political prisoners and detenus, withdraw all pending prosecutions and warrant of arrests and all restrictive orders of externment and other repressive laws, return confiscated properties and restore normal conditions.

ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS COMMITTEE

Resolved that an Assembly elections sub-committee be constituted to take such steps as may be necessary for selection of candidates and for organising elections to the legislatures. The Committee shall consist of the following persons with powers to co-opt members from provinces for dealing with matters relating to their respective provinces. The Committee shall report to the Working Committee from time to time and be guided by its directions. The Committee will consist of the following members of the Working Committee :

1. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. 2. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. 3. Dr. Rajendra Prasad. 4. Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant. 5. Mr. Asaf Ali. 6. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. 7. Mr. Shanker Rao Deo.

Election Manifesto

As it is desirable that a manifesto containing the policy and programme of the Congress be issued for the information of the public and the guidance of Congress candidates in the forthcoming general elections for the legislatures, resolved that such a manifesto be prepared by the Working Committee and placed before the A. I. C. C. for consideration and adoption at a subsequent meeting. In the event of the elections for the Central Assembly taking place before this meeting of the A. I. C. C., the Working Committee may issue a brief manifesto for these elections, the principal manifesto being isued later for the Provincial elections.

Non-Official Resolutions

The President in his concluding remarks expressed his inability owing to shortness of time and other difficulties to take up the consideration of non-official resolutions. He however assured the A. I. C. C. that the non-official resolutions would receive the careful consideration of the Working Committee at an early date.

The All India Congress Committee

Circular No. 1 Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad
P-1/145 *October 5, 1945.*

To All Provincial Congress Committees

Dear Friend,

I am sending you herewith copies of the resolutions passed by the Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. at their last meetings held in Poona and Bombay.

The resolutions lay down the policy and programme of the Congress and express the considered opinion of the Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. on some of the problems, national and international which confront us. They are our guide in the activities we undertate in the near future for vitalising and strengthening the Congress and educating our people.

The resolution on the "Struggle of 1942 and after" is our humble tribute to the nation for the 'courage and endurance with which it withstood the fierce and violent onslaught' of the British Imperialism for full three years. The struggle our people waged during these years for the liberation of the motherland and the fearful and terrorist repression they suffered deserve to be recorded. We have in our office a skeleton report of the happenings in various provinces and States in India, but it is not complete. We owe it to our people and to posterity to prepare a full and comprehensive record of this historic struggle. You will please therefore immediately take in hand the preparation of the record for your province of the happenings of these fateful years and send it to our office. To facilitate the preparation of this document we shall be shortly sending you a questionnaire ; but you need not wait for this questionnaire to prepare your report.

The resolution on Congress Policy is self-explanatory. It reiterates our objective, our policy and our method. There have policy yielded rich fruit in the past and hold a rich promise for the future. Non-violent non-co-operation and the constructive programme are our surest sheet anchor in our struggle for national liberation.

The resolution on 'The New Proposal of the British Government and the Elections' relates to the immediate present and demands prompt action. Elections in a country, under foreign military rule have no great importance and yet in the present context the country may not neglect them. These elections are contested primarily to keep away traitors and quislings from posing as the true representatives of the country. The Congress has therefore decided to contest the forthcoming elections in the centre and the provinces even though conditions for fair and free elections are wanting. The resolution states some of the handicaps under which the Congress will have to fight the forthcoming elections. You will please take all possible steps to see that the handicaps are removed. Even if they cannot be removed you will see to it that their effect is neutralised by public support and enthusiasm. You will please send us a full report of the handicaps under which you have to contest the elections, and the steps you propose to take to nullify their effect. You will give us, in particular, information on (1) the number of political prisoners in your province, (2) bans and restrictive orders, (3) the number and the names of disqualified candidates, (4) errors, omissions and false entries in electoral rolls. A copy of this report may also be sent to the Convener, Assembly Elections Board, Bombay.

Constitution Committee: The resolution appointing a committee to recommend changes in the constitution is designed to make the Congress organisation compact, effective and disciplined. The last struggle demonstrated the looseness of our

organisation. We must so frame the Congress constitution as would make our organisation effective in peace and war. We may not waste the strength we have gained, especially during the last three years, in internal squabbles and controversies. These weaken our ranks and divert the public mind from the chief task before us. You will please send to this office such suggestions about the changes in the Congress constitution as would best advance the object in view. Suggestions made should not be of a general character. They must be so framed as to fit in the constitution.

The temporary changes embodied in the constitution at Bombay are designed to bring in our fold as many as possible of the new workers that the 1942 movement brought to the front.

Constructive Programme: The importance of this resolution may not be judged by the economy of words used. This economy is of the essence of the constructive programme which is more concerned with doing than talking. The resolution is a fresh reminder of the Central place the constructive programme occupies in our organisation. The Congress has in its ranks thousands of eager and patriotic workers. The constructive programme alone can profitably occupy them all. Through it, more than through anything else, will the nation gain strength, character, discipline, efficiency and a spirit of service and sacrifice. The different items of the programme are not only useful in themselves but are designed to organise the nations in terms of a peaceful struggle for national liberation. Mere enrolment of members and fighting elections cannot organise it. Only day to day work done in mutual co-operation can organise it. Such day to day work is supplied by the constructive programme. Its range and scope makes it suitable for all kinds of ability. The young and the old, man and woman, the rich and the poor, can participate in it. The monthly report of Congress activities that this office expects from the provincial organisations must give an account of the constructive activities. You may rely upon this office to render all possible help in the prosecution of this programme.

Great tasks lie ahead of us, as also fresh tests and trials. There can be no rest or relaxation of effort so long as the objective of complete independence is not achieved. The strength and resources at our disposal have to be used with care and skill to enable us to meet the varied demands of a developing situation. We may not forget that only by themselves are nations made.

It would be some time before our Inspectors undertake inspection of the provinces. In the meantime, you will please keep us in touch with your work through regular monthly reports.

Yours sincerely,
J. B. KRIHALANI
General Secretary

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Before August '42.

(1) General repression before August 1942.

(2) Special military measures that worked hardships on the people.

(3) Treatment of the Civilian population specially women by the military.

After August '42

(1) The circumstances attending the arrest of principal Congress workers in your province on August 9. The number and if possible, names of persons arrested on August 9. Any significant incidents in this connection.

(2) The immediate reaction of the people to the arrest of Gandhiji and the members of the Working Committee and principal workers in the province. The nature of the peaceful and other demonstrations. How did the government seek to suppress popular demonstrations?

(3) Were popular demonstrations guided or inspired or were they spontaneous reactions to governmental action. How long did these demonstrations last?

(4) The part played by students in the popular upheaval. What action did the authorities take to curb the students' movement.

(5) What was the share of industrial labour in the people's struggle. Were there any labour strikes?

(6) How was the news of Gandhiji's arrest and that of other leaders received by the country-side? Were the happenings in the country-side a reaction to what happened in cities or were they spontaneous and independent? As full an account of the activities of the peasantry as possible should be given.

(7) How did the people in general apart from the peasantary, industrial labour and the student community react to happenings in the country? What was

the contribution of the various professions, such as lawyers, teachers, doctors, commerce and industry.

(8) How did the various civil services react ? If there were any protests, resignations, dismissals etc., these must be recorded.

(9) How did the various sections of the press, Indian and Anglo-Indian, react to the situation.

(10) Special contribution of women ?

(11) The varieties of repression practised by the Government both in towns and the country-side. In particular, all information about arrest under (*i*) the ordinary law of the land, (*ii*) D. I. R., (*iii*) Ordinances be given.

(*ii*) Lathi, gas or bayonet charges in the province and the casualties, fatal or otherwise resulting therefrom.

(*iii*) Shootings and bombings from air in your province or State.

(*iv*) Attempts to coerce respectable people to do menial jobs such as to clean streets, gutters and carry out their insulting orders.

(*v*) Outrages on women.

(*vi*) Devastation in the country-side: burning down of villages, destruction of houses, crops and other property, police loot of grain, valuables and cattle and other excesses. The extent of police and military raids and the composition of the raiding parties.

(*vii*) Collective fines and the manner of realising them.

(*viii*) Treatment of political prisoners in jails and lock ups. Was torture used to extract information and extort confessions? How many died in prison and out of prison as a result of complaints developed in jail. Any lathi-charges and shootings in jails.

(12) Political or Semi-political non-government organisations used by the authorities for discrediting Congress leaders and suppressing the movement and the people.

(13) Were there cases of refusal by the police to use force? When and to what extent was the military brought in? What was the proportion of the while element in the military? Were any special precautions taken to keep the police and the military under proper control?

(14) Were civic guards used in your province for putting down the people? Did they commit any excesses? Was any special force recruited from criminal elements for suppressing the people?

(15) Was police force of a different province lacking knowledge of local conditions, language etc. drafted on to your province ?

(16) The steps taken by the government to suppress the press ; disabilities imposed on editors, publishers, printers and press correspondents.

(17) Steps taken by the government to prevent publicity and propaganda by Congress and other workers. Were presses suppressed and seized. Repression in connection with press activity.

(18) Official interference with the national course of justice. How did the special courts function ? The extent of suppression of civil liberties. The struggle, if any, between the executive and the judiciary.

(19) Protests from organised bodies against Government lawlessness. What effect had such protest on authority.

The questionnaire is illustrative and not exhaustive. You may add to it. You will please send a copy of this circular to Congress or Praja Mandal committees in States in your province and ask them to send us reports in terms of such parts of the circular as are applicable to them.

You will please take special pains to see that the account your office prepares, make the closest possible approximation to truth. We have nothing to hide. Wherever under provocation our people fell away from our policy of peaceful and non-violent action, it has to be recorded in full, and without any attempt to minimise it. It is our desire to present to the world an accurate and truthful picture of the historic struggle of 1942.

The Simla Conference

British Plan for India's Political Freedom

In his Broadcast speech on June 14, 1945, the Viceroy announced his decision to convene a Conference at Simla on June 25, 1945. The following gentlemen were invited in their representative capacity.

"Those now holding office as Premiers in a Provincial Government, or, for Provinces now under Section 93 Government, those who last held the office of Premier.

"The Leader of the Congress Party and the deputy Leader of the Muslim League in the Central Assembly; the leader of the Congress Party and the Muslim League in the Council of State; also the leader of the Nationalist Party and the European Group in the Assembly.

"Mr. *Gandhi* and Mr. *Jinnah* as the recognised leaders of the two main political parties.

"*Rao Bahadur N. Siva Raj* to represent the Scheduled classes.

"*Master Tarasingh* to represent the Sikhs."

The Conference assembled at Simla at 11 a.m. on June 25. The Viceroy made a short opening speech.

He was followed by the Congress President who explained the Congress position with regard to the Conference and the proposals of Lord Wavell.

The Conference then took up discussion of the general principles of the British Government's proposals.

Following is the text of the Viceroy's speech :—

"Before we begin on the agenda ot this Conference, the outcome of which will have a momentous influence on the destiny of India, I feel there are a few words I should say to you.

First, I welcome you all as men who by character and ability have risen to leadership in your provinces and parties. I have called you together from all parts of India, at this critical moment in her history, to advise and help me in advancing India towards prosperity, political freedom and greatness. I ask you to give me that help in a spirit of broad co-operation towards the good of India as a whole.

It is not a constitutional settlement, it is not a final solution of India's complex problems that is proposed. Nor does the plan in any way prejudice or prejudge the final issue. But if it succeeds, I am sure it will pave the way towards a settlement and will bring it nearer.

The statesmanship, wisdom and goodwill of all of us is here on trial, not merely in the eyes of India but before the world.

I said in my broadcast that on all sides there was something to forgive and forget. We have got to rise above the level of old prejudices and enmities, and of party and sectional advantage and think of the good of India, the good of 400 million people and how we can best combine to implement these new proposals made by His Majesty's Government of the advancement of India, now and in the future.

It will not be easy, and unless we can place our deliberations at a high common level, we shall not succeed.

You must accept my leadership for the present. Until there is some agreed change in the constitution, I am responsible to His Majesty's Government for the good and tranquillity of India. I ask you to believe in me as a sincere friend of India. I will endeavour to guide the discussions of this conference in what I believe to be the best interests of this country.

On the column which stands is front of the Viceroy's House crowned by the Star of India, are engraved these words: 'In Thought Faith, in Words Wisdom, in Deed Courage, in Life Service, so may India be Great.' They will make a good guide for our conference."

The *Congress President* then explained to the Conference the Congress position with regard to the proposals of the British Government. A gist of his speech is given here :—

1. While fully bearing in mind the fact that the present arrangement is purely temporary and interim, and should not possibly be regarded as a precedent for the permanent arrangement of the future, I should like to emphasise and make it perfectly clear that the Congress is essentially a national organisation, and it cannot possibly be a party to any arrangement, however interim and temporary it may be, that preju-

dices its national character, tends to impair the growth of nationalism or reduce it directly or indirectly to a communal body.

2. I attach considerable importance to the declaration that the provisional plan is intended as a preliminary step towards the achievement of the cherished goal of independence of India and to facilitate and expedite its achievement.

3. The Congress Working Committee wishes to co-operate in every reasonable way with a view to resolving the present deadlock, and we have accordingly, in spite of adverse circumstances, come here to participate in this conference, but whatever decision the Working Committee may take, it would require to be confirmed and ratified by the All India Congress Committee. The fact that the All India Congress Committee and other Congress Committees are still under ban, and a large number of Congressmen are in internment, detention or imprisonment is creating serious obstacles in our way.

4. In order that a correct picture of the proposed plan in all its details may be clearly seen, it is necessary that further light should be thrown on the following points:

(*a*) The scope and function of the proposed External Affairs Department.

(*b*) Every possible effort should be made to give a national character to the Indian Army and to bring about cordiality between the National Army, the National Government and the people. The present barriers isolating them will of course hεve to go.

(*c*) After the present war in South East Esia, it must be clearly understood that the Indian Government cannot support any policy aimed at the continuation of imperialist control of any of the countries of S, E. Asia, nor can it allow the use of Indian resources for the deprivation of freedom of any of these countries.

(*d*) In regard to the Indian States, while recognising that during the interim period, the powers of the Crown Representative will contiuue, it is clear that the National Government will have to deal with any matters which overlap and have concern with the States in regrrd to trade, industry, labour etc. Further, the barriers between the States peoples, the Princes and members of the National Government and their associates should be removed, so as to help in mutual discussions, consultations and consideration of common problems and their solution.

The Conference met again on Wednesday. It lasted for two hours. Since the delegates expressed a wish to confer among themselves, the conference was adjourned till Friday.

In this interval there were efforts made to bring about a mutual agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League. The efforts proved abortive.

Failure of the Conference

The Conference met again on June 29, 1945. It war adjourned for a fortnight to enable the Working Committee of the Congress and the League and representatives of other parties to submit lists of names for the proposed Executive Council. The Viceroy adjourning the cônference said that before making the final choice about the personnel of the central executive he would consult the leaders of the parties.

The Congress President then called a meeting of the Working Committee at Simla to help him in dealing with the issues that had arisen in the Conference.

The adjoured Conference met on July 14. The Viceroy made a statement in which he announced the failure of the Conference to achieve the object for which it was called.

THE VICEROY'S STATEMENT

Following is the text of his statement:

"I must give the conference an account of what has happened since we adjourned on June 29. As you know my original intention was that the Conference should agree upon the strength and composition of the Executive Council, and that thereafter parties should send me lists of names. Unfortunately, the conference' was unable to agree about the strength and composition of the Executive Council, and on June 29, I undertook, with the approval of the conference, to endeavour to produce a solution not based on any formula agreed in advance. I asked the parties to let me have lists of names, and said I would do what I could to produce a solution acceptable to the leaders and the conference.

I received lists from all parties represented except from the European Group, who decided not to send a list, and the Muslim League. I was however determined that the conference should not fail until I had made every possible effort to bring it to a successful ending. I therefore made my provisional selections including certain Muslim League names, and I have every reason to believe that if these

selections had been acceptable here they would have been acceptable to His Majesty's Government.

My selections would, I think, have given a balanced and efficient Executive Council whose composition would have been reasonably fair to all parties.

I did not find it possible, however, to accept the claims of any party in full. When I explained my solution to Mr. Jinnah he told me that it was not acceptable to the Muslim League and *he was so decided that I felt it would be useless to continue the discussion.* In the circumstances, I did not show my selections as a whole to Mr. Jinnah, and there was *no object in showing them to the other leaders.* The conference has therefore failed. (Italics are ours).

I propose to take a little time to consider in what way I can best help India after the failure of the conference. You can help best by refraining from recrimination. The war against Japan must be carried on and law and order must be maintained; and until I see my way more clearly than I do now, it may be difficult, perhaps impossible, to suggest any new move. No Government can carry on under the daily prospect of change or dissolution. I have to secure the stability and day to day efficiency of my Government and it should be impossible to enter upon continuous or even frequent political discussions of this kind. Whatever decisions His Majesty's Government may take in the near future, must, therefore, in all probability, hold good for some little time."

Congress President's Statement

After the Viceroy's statement *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad* addressed the Conference.

Replying to the Viceroy the Congress President said that he very much appreciated Lord Wavell's efforts for the solution of the political deadlock. It was courageous of the Viceroy to have taken upon himself the responsibility for the failure. But the responsibility was really not the Viceroy's but of others. When the question of strength and composition of the interim Government came up before the Conference, Lord Wavell rightly adjourned the Conference to enable parties to come to terms but the Muslim League claimed the sole right to nominate all the Muslim representatives on the new Executive Council. This claim was untenable and unsustainable and the Congress could not accept this position. The Congress was not a Hindu body. It could not wipe out its history of 50 years.

"I, a Muslim," said Maulana Azad, "would not tolerate the Congress becoming a purely Hindu body." The Congress had a right to claim a share for the welfare and responsibility of Muslims.

Maulana Azad continuing said that the Viceroy had said repeatedly that the Muslim League's claim to represent all Musalmans could not be accepted in its entirety. It was, therefore, clear who was responsible for the failure of the Conference. The communal question had taken the upper hand and had become a stumbling block in the path of the progress of India.

The Viceroy had to take as much responsibility in solving the communal question as the Indian parties themselves because the British Government could not absolve itself of its responsibility for the position that had arisen. The existence of the third party was greatly responsible for the present position. A firm attitude on the part of the Viceroy, which was logical and based on the principle of justice and fair play, alone could bring about a settlement of the communal problem. The Viceroy's present wavering and vacillating attitude was neither correct nor helpful. Hesitation and weakness could not bring about a solution.

The Conference ended on July 14.

Maulana Azad at Press Conference

At a Press Conference the Congress President explained the Congress stand with regard to the Wavell proposals at some length.

He said: "Two points arise out of the present position; the first is that the attitude of the Muslim League is responsible for the failure of the Conference, and the second point which emerges from the situation is that after the refusal of the Muslim League the question naturally came before the Viceroy whether a forward step should be taken or not. The Viceroy decided to stop for the present.

"In this connection I would say what I said at the Conference to-day. For the communal situation in India as it is today, the British Government cannot shirk responsibility. So long as the third party exists in India the same position will continue." Maulana Azad further said, "that he made it clear to the Viceroy that the Congress was prepared to go forward and if a certain group wished to keep out, it might be left out."

"With a faltering step and a wavering mind, we cannot reach our destination. It is good to think twice before taking a step forward. But when a step has already been taken, hesitation is not a virtue but a weakness. If the British Government wishes to give shape to things they should have relised the communal situation. They should have been prepared not to surrender the right of veto to any group and thus block the path of progress."

The Congress President explained the difficulties in the way of the Congress participation in the Conference. "The proposals were presented to us suddenly. On June 15, I and my colleagues were released and we had to take a decision straightaway on the plan. You can realise our difficulties. We were thrown into a new world and despite the difficulties the Working Committee decided to participate in the Conference. We realised that vast changes had taken place in the international sphere and those changes had undoubtedly repercussions on the Indian problem. The inevitable result of those changes has been to bring to the forefront the question of Indian freedom and that of the freedom of the Asiatic countries.

"During the course of his interviews with the Viceroy" said Maulana Sahib, "he emphasised the national character of the Congress organisation and said that he attached considerable importance to the declaration that the provisional plan was intended as a preliminary step towards the achievement of our cherished goal of independence of India. He had also made it plain to His Excellency that the Congress Working Committee wished to co-operate in every reasonable way to help to resolve the present deadlock and the Congress had accordingly, in spite of adverse circumstances, come to Simla to participate in the Conference. But whatever decision the Working Committee might take, it would require to be confirmed and ratified by the All India Congress Committee."

Amplifying his observation on the South East Asiatic countries, the Congress President said that so far as the present situation was concerned, if the new arrangement had been successfully reached the war against Japan would have become not Britain's war against Japan, but India's war against Japan. There could not be two opinions as regards the question of liberating countries in South East Asia. It would be the duty of the new Government of India to carry on the war against Japan ceaselessly till those countries were liberated, but if it was the desire and intention of the powers that those countries should be restored to *status quo*, then surely the new Indian Government would not be a party to it. They would not permit a single Indian soldier or the expenditure of a single pie for the *status quo* of the South East Asia countries.

On the question of caste Hindu-Muslim parity which formed the basis of the new proposals Maulana Sahib said that he had impressed on the Viceroy that in the constitution of the new Government the criterion should be the political views held by the parties and not religious belief. The Congress did not wish to attach undue importance to the fact of a few more Muslims being in the Government or there being a few less Hindus. All these issues, he said, he had raised at the conference.

After the settlement of those fundamental issues the conference came to consider the strength and composition of the new Executive Council. The Conference was adjourned to enable private and informal talks to be carried on amongst the parties for a settlement. "The conversations led to no results," said Maulana Sahib. "In the course of these informal talks the position taken up by Mr. Jinnah was that the Muslim League on behalf of the Muslims should nominate Muslim members in the new Executive Council. The Congress found that such a position would be inconsistent with its basic national character.

"You must remember that as far as we are concerned it is not merely a question of seats, but one affecting a fundamental principle. We were prepared to accommodate the Muslim League but Mr. Jinnah took up an uncompromising attitude."

Further, the Congress President said that the Viceroy asked the various groups to submit lists of names from which His Excellency would choose after consultation with party leaders. Mr. Jinnah refused to submit names. "In the interview I had with His Excellency on July 12, he told me that so far as the Muslim seats were concerned, he had endeavoured to prepare a list and seek Mr. Jinnah's approval. The Viceroy further told me that he did his best but failed to persuade Mr. Jinnah who insisted that the Muslim nominees should be nominated by the League Working Committee. The Viceroy was unable to agree to it and felt it was not profitable to proceed with the proposals at present."

"Two points arise out of the present," the Congress President said. "The first is that the attitude of the Muslim League has been responsible for the failure of the Conference. The second point which emerges from the refusal of the Muslim League is that it is for Lord Wavell to decide whether to go forward or not. His Excellency has decided not to proceed for the present. In this connection I must say what I said at the Conference. The British Government could not absolve themselves of the responsibility for the communal problems here. So long as the third party remains in India these difficulties will remain as pawns on a chess-board and will continue to move in the fashion. Whether it is to-day or tomorrow they must take up a firm stand on a just and fair basis. There is no other alternative but to do that. And once a decision is taken, we must move forward. Those who are prepared to go forward and those who wish to be kept out should be left out. Without determination nothing could be done. Wavering minds and faltering steps will never carry us forward in the path of progress. We must think before we take a step. And once we decide, hesitation is no virtue but a sign of definite weakness. There is nothing new in this so-called problem."

"I have no regrets whatsever for the Congress stand in this conference," Maulana Saheb emphasised. He added that apart from what he had told there were certain details about the proceedings of the conference and there was certain correspondence which he had exchanged with the Viceroy. He was not at liberty just then to reveal them, but the country must know all about it to have a correct picture of the situation. He had written to His Excellency for their release and he hoped that these might be published shortly.

In reply to a question, the Congress President contested the claim that the Muslim League was the sole representative and authoritative organisation of the Muslims of India. In the provinces where Muslims were in a majority, there was no League Ministry. There was a Congress Ministry in the Frontier Province. In the Punjab it was a Unionist Ministry. In Sind Sir Ghulam Hussain depended on Congress support and the same position was in Assam. It could not, therefore, be claimed that the Muslim League represented all the Muslims. There was a large bloc of Muslims who had nothing to do with the League.

The Gandhi-Viceroy Correspondence.

Following is the text of the Correspondence betweeen Gandhiji and the Viceroy following the latter's broadcast on June 14, 1945

Gandhiji's Telegram to Viceroy: *June 14, 1945.*

Have read in Viceregal broadcast my name mentioned as an invitee. I have repeatedly made clear that I represent no institution. Therefore I must not attend as representing Congress. The function belongs to the Congress President or whomsoever he nominates. I send earliest information in order to avoid misunderstanding or misconception.

Viceroy's telegram to Gandhiji: *June 14, 1945.*

You may have heard my broadcast this evening. The text and that of the Secretary of State's simultaneous announcement in Parliament will appear in the newspapers tomorrow.

I hope you will agree to attend the conference which I have proposed. I have suggested 11 a.m. on June 25 at Viceregal Lodge, Simla for the first meeting.

If you accept my invitation I should welcome a discussion with you before the opening of the conference and suggest subject to your convenience 3 p.m. on June 24 at Viceregal Lodge, Simla.

I have arranged to make a bungalow called "Armsdell" availale for you in the hope that you will accept.

Viceroy's Telegram to Gandhiji *June 15, 1945.*

Thanks for your telegram of 14th. Whatever the technical position may be I shall value your help and hope you will accept invitation which was telegraphed to you last night. As regards representation of Congress perhaps you will kindly let me have your final views after further consideration and any consultations you think necessary. I know you will appreciate the importance and difficulty of the task I have undertaken and do all you can to help.

Gandhiji's Telegram to the Viceroy: *June 15, 1945.*

Received kind wire of invitation. For reasons given in my wire sent you last night I have no place in your conference. As an individual I can only tender advice. May I then say that there are no caste and casteless Hidus who are at all politically-minded. Therefore the word rings untrue and offensive. Who will

represent them at your table? Not Congress which seeks to represent without distinction all Indians who desire and work for independence. Hence the existence of Hindu Mahasabha claiming to represent Hindus as such. I apprehend that even that body will disclaim representing Caste Hindus.

Moreover broadcast seems religiously to exclude use of word Independence. Accordingly, it seems to me to demand revision to bring it in line with modern Indian thought. I suggest publication your wires.

Viceroy's Telegram to Gandhiji: *June 16, 1945.*

Many thanks for your telegram of June 15. I have also seen your statement in to-day's newspapers.

As regards your attendance at the conference I will await your letter referred to in your telegram of June 16 which I have just received.

I assure you term "Caste Hindus" was not used with offensive intention. Meaning is that there should be equality between Muslims and Hindus other than members of the Scheduled Castes. Subject to this exact composition of Council would of course have to be decided after discussion at conference.

On the question of independence I invite your attention to the Secretary of State's speech to Parliament on June 14 as published in the Indian press. Following is relevant passage—The offer of March, 1942 stands in its entirety. That offer is based on two principles: First no limit is set to India's freedom to decide her own destiny whether as a free partner in the Commonwealth or even without it. Second that this can only be achieved under a constitution or constitutions framed by Indians to which the main elements are consenting parties.

It would not be practicable to modify the terms of my broadcast. It is only a simple statement of the proposals approved by His Majesty's Government, and my intention is to deal at the conference itself with any points requiring clarification. I do not think it advisable to enter into detailed discussion before the conference which I hope as you do yourself will be held in a friendly atmosphere and without party bitterness."

As you suggest I am releasing our telegrams to the press."

Gandhiji's letter to the Viceroy: *June 16, 1945.*

Dear Friend,

I thank you for your telegram of yesterday received at 3-45 p.m. My second telegram, acknowledging your kind telegraphic invitation, evidently crossed yours. I am sending you this letter in reply, instead of wiring, because I am anxious that you should understand my position thoroughly. However, I am sending you a wire intimating the despatch of this letter. For ready reference, I am enclosing herewith a copy of my press message which was issued yesterday in the morning. I would like you to go through it. (*For press message see page 246,*)

While it is true that my position is technical, the reality of it is truer. My official and legal connection with the Congress was deliberately, and with the consent of the All India Congress Committee, severed in order to enable me all the better to serve the common cause. This position, therefore, cannot be changed at will. In the forthcoming official conference, I can have no official position. My presence in it will change the official colour, unless I became an official representative of the Congress. But if you think that my help is desirable and that without being a member of the Conference I am likely to be useful, I shall make it a point to be at your service before, and even during, the conference proceedings, assuming, of course, that the Working Committee wishes likewise.

I want to cite an analogy. You may have known the late Deenabandhu, as C. F. Andrews was affectionately called by us. He severed his official connection with the Cambridge Mission and the Church in order to serve religion, India and humanity better. The position he occupied as a valuable link between India and England, whether official or non-official, and between all classes and parties, grew as days went. If I can, I would love to occupy such a position. It may never come to me. Man can but try.

You have suggested further consideration and consultation, both of which I have done. I am within an easy distance of Yeravada Central prison, where Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Shri Shankarrao Deo were recently transferred from Ahmednagar Fort. Almost immediately after their discharge from jail yesterday, they motored to Panchgani and are still with me. I have shown them all the necessary papers and they concur with me in what I am writing.

In the task you have undertaken, of which I hope I fully appreciate the difficulty and delicacy, you certainly need the assistance and good-will of all the

parties you can. The Congress help you, naturally, cannot have without the Congress being officially represented at your table. The first, and also perhaps the main, purpose of the discharge of the remaining members of the Working Committee will be frustrated unless you secure the presence, at your table, of the President of the Congress or whomsoever he and his Committee may appoint for the purpose. If my supposition is correct, my immediate advice is that you should invite the President of the Congress. I expect that the ban on the Congress has been, or will be, lifted to the extent it still exists.

Telegram dated June 17, 1945 from the Viceroy to Mahatma Gandhi:

Thank you for your letter of June 16. I understand your position. I am looking forward to seeing you on the 24th and hope that means may be found for you to take part in the proceedings of the conference. I shall be grateful if you will communicate the following message to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad from me:—

"I invite you to attend, or to nominate a duly authorised representative, to attend the conference at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, at 10-30 a.m. on Monday, June 25. Accommodation will be arranged for the representative if required."

I have not released your letter or this telegram to the press, but I have no objection to their being published.

Telegram dated June 17, 1945 from Mahatma Gandhi to the Viceroy:

I deeply appreciate your wire received yesterday evening. In order to regularise the procedure and facilitate despatch of work without disturbing the number of members to the conference, I suggest immediate invitation to the Congress President to attend the conference or depute a Congress nominee.

The fixity of parity between the Caste Hindus and Muslims as an unchangeable religious division will become officially stereotyped on the eve of independence. Personally, I can never subscribe to it, nor the Congress if I know its mind. In spite of having an overwhelmingly Hindu membership, the Congress has striven to be purely political. I am quite capable of advising the Congress to nominate all non-Hindus, and most decidedly non-Caste Hindus. You will quite unconsciously, but equally surely, defeat the purpose of the conference if parity between Caste Hindus and Muslims is unalterable. Parity between the Congress and the League is understandable. I am eager to help you and the British people, but not at the sacrifice of fundamental and universal principles. For it will be no help. If you desire the text of yesterday's letter earlier, I can telegragh its contents.

Telegram dated June 17, 1945 from Mahatma Gandhi to the Viceroy:

Many thanks for your prompt reply to letter of June 16. But in the absence of a reply to my wire of even date, you will admit the Congress position and mine remains uncertain. Hence I must not even, on your behalf, invite the President without the acceptance of my necessary amendment. You will not, and cannot, according to your wire of 16th, let the conference discuss the question. Therefore, to my great regret, I have taken no action on your wire under reply.

The Working Committee has not been still called. Private telegraphic communication is tardy. Time appears to be against the date fixed by you. With all my willingness to help, I hope you will appreciate unavoidable delay. I suggest your altering the date and clarifying the issue raised by me, and if clarification is satisfactory sending your invitation directly for avoiding delay.

I should inform you that Congress Premiers are held up pending the Working Committee's decision. I am not releasing these communications pending final decision. But in this you shall be the judge.

Telegram dated June 18, 1945 from the Viceroy to Mahatma Gandhi:

I thank you for your two telegrams of yesterday. I think Maulana Abul Kalam Azad should have my invitation as soon as possible, and have accordingly telegraphed it to him at Calcutta.

Mr. Amery's statement in Parliament and my broadcast constitute the terms of reference to the conference which I still hope will assemble at Simla on the 25th. I clearly cannot change my broadcast and I have already told you I do not think it desirable to discuss its details before the conference. None of the persons or parties concerned is expected or required to accept or reject the proposals now. The only immediate question is whether the proposals are worth discussing at the conference and it is to that question that an answer will be most helpful.

I still think the conference should assemble on the 25th. It may last some time and a delay before it begins will not improve the prospects of success.

I am releasing your letter of June 16, my telegram of June 17 and this telegram to press.

Gandhiji's Telegram to the Viceroy : *June 18, 1945*

"Grateful for your prompt, frank and full reply also for directly inviting Maulana Saheb. Members being free at conference to accept or reject proposals clears ground for invitees to attend conference. This leaves them free to discuss pros and cons at conference. My objection to inevitability of parity between Muslims and caste Hindus stands. If that view incapable of being altered by the British Government my advice to Congress will not be to participate in formation of Executive Council. Congress has never identified itself with caste or non-caste Hindus and never can even to gain independence which will be one-sided, untrue and suicidal. Congress to justify its existence for winning independence of India must remain for ever free to choose best men and women from all classes and I hope always will. That it has for sake of conciliating minorities chosen men to represent them though they have been less than best redounds to its credit but that can never be pleaded to justify or perpetuate distinction based on caste or creed. The Hindu Mahasabha is the body claiming to represent solely Hindu interests. Subject to Working Committee wishes, I shall hope to present myself at Simla on the 24th instant but owing to my strong views you cancel the engagement without least offence. I expect this wire and reply if any will be published. Leaving for Poona Tuesday 2 P. M."

Viceroy's Telegram to Mahatma Gandhi : June 19, 1945

"Thank you for your telegram of June 18. I am glad you think ground is clear for invitees to attend conference. I shall expect to hear further immediately after the meeting of June 21. I am sure you appreciate that success of conference depends on a spirit of goodwill and co-operation among all concerned. As you suggest I am releasing these telegrams to the press."

Gandhiji issued the following Statement to the Press on the Viceregal Broadcast of June 14, 1945.

On the purely political aspect of the Viceregal broadcast, I prefer to say nothing. Now that the members of the Working Committee of the Congress are free, I can only give them my advice, and it is they who have to shape the policy of the Congress and speak and act with authority. As soon as I read the broadcast, I sent a wire to his Excellency the Viceroy drawing his attention to the fact that I have no locus standi as the 'recognised representative of the Congress.' The function belongs to the President of the Congress or whoever is appointed to represent the Congress on a particular occasion.

For several years, I have acted unofficially as an adviser to the Congress whenever required. The public will remember that I went with the same unrepresentative character for my talks with Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, and I can take up no other position with the British Government, in this instance, represented by the Viceroy.

There is one aspect of the Viceregal broadcast which certainly offends my ears and, I hope, will offend that of every politically minded Hindu. I refer to the expression 'caste Hindus'. I claim that there is no such person, speaking politically, as a 'caste Hindu', let alone the Congress which seeks to represent the whole of India which is yearning after political independence. Does Veer Savarkar or Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee of the Hindu Mahasabha represent caste Hindus ? Do they not represent all Hindus without distinction of caste ? Do they not include the so-called untouchables ? Do they themselves claim to be caste Hindus ? I hope not. Of all politically minded Hindus, I know that even revered Pandit Malaviyaji, though he observes caste distinctions, will refuse to be called a caste Hindu, as distinguished from the other Hindus. The modern tendency in Hinduism is to abolish all caste distinctions and this I maintain in spite of my knowledge of reactionary elements in Hindu society. I can only hope, therefore, that the Viceroy has allowed himself to make use of the expression in utter ignorance. I want to acquit him of knowingly wounding the susceptibilities of Hindu society or dividing it. I would not have dwelt on the matter but for the fact that it touches the political mind of the Hindus in its sensitive spot and carries with it political repercussions.

The proposed conference can do much useful work if it is put in its proper political setting and is at the very outset rendered immune from any fissiparous tendency. Undoubtedly, all invitees might appear as Indians conjointly bent on achieving India's natural goal and not as persons representing several sections of Indian society.

This is how I have viewed the Bhulabhai-Liaquat Ali understanding which I suppose laid the foundations for the forthcoming Viceregal conference. Sri Bhulabhai

Desai's proposal has no such colouring as the Viceregal broadcast would seem to have. I am not ashamed of the part I have played in advising Shri Bhulabhai Desai when he consulted me about his proposal. Shri Bhulabhai Desai's proposal, as I understood it, attracted me as one interested in solving the communal tangle, and I assured him that I would use my influence with the members of the Working Committee and give reasons for acceptance of his proposal, and I have no doubt that, if both parties to the proposal correctly represent their constituents and have the independence of India as their common goal, things must shape well.

At this point I must stop and the Working Committee has to take up the thread. It is for its members to declare the Congress mind on the impending questions.

Broadcast Speech by the Viceroy at Delhi on June 14, 1945

I have been authorised by His Majesty's Government to place before Indian political leaders proposals designed to ease the present political situation and to advance India towards her goal of full self-government. These proposals are at the present moment being explained to Parliament by the Secretary of State for India. My intention in this broadcast is to explain to you the proposals, the idea underlying them, and the method by which I hope to put them into effect.

This is not an attempt to obtain or impose a constitutional settlement. His Majesty's Government had hoped that the leaders of the Indian parties would agree amongst themselves on a settlement of the communal issue, which is the main stumbling-block; but this hope has not been fulfilled.

In the meantime, India has great opportunities to be taken and great problems to be solved, which require a common effort by the leading men of all parties. I therefore propose, with the full support of His Majesty's Government, to invite Indian leaders both of Central and Provincial politics to take counsel with me with a view to the formation of a new Executive Council more representative of organised political opinion. The proposed new Council would represent the main communities and would include equal proportions of Caste Hindus and Muslims. It would work, if formed, under the existing constitution. But it would be an entirely Indian Council, except for the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, who would retain his position as War Member. It is also proposed that the portfolio of External Affairs, which has hitherto been held by the Viceroy, should be placed in charge of an Indian Member of Council, so far as the interests of British India are concerned.

A further step proposed by His Majesty's Government is the appointment of a British High Commissioner in India, as in the Dominions, to represent Great Britain's commercial and other such interests in India.

Such a new Executive Council will, you realise, represent a definite advance on the road to self-government. It will be almost entirely Indian, and the Finance and Home Members will for the first time be Indians, while an Indian will also be charged with the management of India's Foreign Affairs. Moreover, Members will now be selected by the Governor-General after consultation with political leaders; though their appointment will of course be subject to the approval of His Majesty the King Emperor.

The Council will work within the framework of the present constitution; and there can be no question of the Governor-General agreeing not to exercise his constitutional power of control; but it will of course not be exercised unreasonably.

I should make it clear that the formation of this interim Government will in no way prejudice the final constitutional settlement.

The main tasks for this new Executive Council would be:

First, to prosecute the war against Japan with the utmost energy till Japan is utterly defeated.

Secondly, to carry on the Government of British India, with all the manifold tasks of post-war development in front of it, until a new permanent constitution can be agreed upon and come into force.

Thirdly, to consider, when the Members of the Government think it possible, the means by which such agreement can be achieved. The third task is most important. I want to make it quite clear that neither I nor His Majesty's Government have lost sight of the need for a long-term solution, and that the present proposals are intended to make a long-term solution easier.

I have considered the best means of forming such a Council; and have decided to invite the following to Viceregal Lodge to advise me:

Those now holding office as Premier in a Provincial Government; or, for

Provinces now under Section 93 Government, those who last held the office fo Premier.

The Leader of the Congress party and the deputy leader of the Muslim League in the Central Assembly; the leader of the Congress Party and the Muslim League in the Council of State; also the leaders of the Nationalist Party and the European Group in the Assembly.

Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah as the recognised leaders of the two main political parties.

Rao Bahadur N. Shiva Raj to represent the Scheduled Classes.

Master Tara Singh to represent the Sikhs.

Invitations to these gentlemen are being handed to them today and it is proposed to assemble the Conference on June 25 at Simla where we shall be cooler than at Delhi.

I trust that all those invited will attend the Conference and give me their help. On me and on them will lie a heavy responsibility in this fresh attempt to make progress towards a final settlement of India's future.

If the meeting is successful, I hope that we shall be able to agree on the formation of the new Executive Council at the Centre. I also hope that it will be possible for Ministries to re-assume office and again under-take the tasks of government in the Provinces now administered under Section 93 of the Constitution Act and that these Ministries will be coalitions.

If the meeting should unfortunately fail, we must carry on as at present until the parties are ready to come together. The existing Executive Council, which has done such valuable work for India, will continue if other arrangements cannot be agreed.

But I have every hope that the meeting will succeed, if the party leaders will approach the problem with the sincere intention of working with me and with each other. I can assure them that there is behind this proposal a most genuine desire on the part of all responsible leaders in the United Kingdom and of the British people as a whole to help India towards her goal. I believe that this is more than a step towards that goal, it is a considerable stride forward, and a stride on the right path.

I should make it clear that these proposals affect British India only and do not make any alteration in the relations of the Princes with the Crown Representative.

With the approval of His Majesty's Government, and after consultation with my Council, orders have been given for the immediate release of the members of the Working Committee of the Congress who are still in detention. I propose to leave the final decision about the others still under detention as the result of the 1942 disturbances to the new Central Government if formed, and to the Provincial Governments.

The appropriate time for fresh elections for the Central and Provincial legislatures will be discussed at the Conference.

Finally, I would ask you all to help in creating the atmosphere of goodwill and mutual confidence that is essential if we are to make progress. The destiny of this great country and of the many millions who live in it depend on the wisdom and good understanding of the leaders, both of action and of thought, British and Indian, at this critical moment of India's history.

India's military reputation never stood higher in the world than it does at present, thanks to the exploits of her sons drawn from all parts of the country. Her representatives at International Conferences have won high regard for their statesmanlike attitude. Sympathy for India's aspirations and progress towards prosperity was never greater or more widespread. We have thus great assets if we can use them wisely. But it will not be easy, it will not be quick; there is very much to do, there are many pitfalls and dangers. There is on all sides something to forgive and forget.

I believe in the future of India, and as far as in me lies will further her greatness. I ask you all for your co-operation and goodwill.

Statement made in Parliament on June 14, 1945 by the Secretary of State for India

During the recent visit of Field-Marshal Viscount Wavell to this country His Majesty's Government reviewed with him a number of problems and discussed particularly the present political situation in India.

Members will be aware that since the offer by His Majesty's Government to

India in March, 1942 there has been no further progress towards the solution of the Indian constitutional problem.

As was then stated, the working out of India's new constitutional system is a task which can only be carried through by the Indian peoples themselves.

While His Majesty's Government are at all times most anxious to do their utmost to assist the Indians in the working out of a new constitutional settlement, it would be a contradiction in terms to speak of the imposition by this country of self-governing institutions upon an unwilling India. Such a thing is not possible, nor could we accept the responsibility for enforcing such institutions at the very time when we were, by its purpose, withdrawing from all control of British Indian affairs.

The main constitutional position remains therefore as it was. The offer of March, 1942 stands in its entirety without change or qualification. His Majesty's Government still hope that the political leaders in India may be able to come to an agreement as to the procedure whereby India's permanent future form of government can be determined.

His Majesty's Government are, however, most anxious to make any contribution that is practicable to the breaking of the political dead-lock in India. While that deadlock lasts not only political but social and economic progress is being hampered.

The Indian administration, over-burdened with the great tasks laid upon it by the war against Japan and by the planning for the post-war period, is further strained by the political tension that exists.

All that is so urgently required to be done for agricultural development and for the peasants and workers of India cannot be carried through unless whole-hearted co-operation of every community and section of the Indian people is forthcoming.

His Majesty's Government have therefore considered whether there is something which they could suggest in this interim period, under the existing constitution, pending the formulation by Indians of their future constitutional arrangements, which would enable the main communities and parties to co-operate more closely together and with the British to the benefit of the people of India as a whole.

It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to introduce any change contrary to the wishes of the major Indian communities. But they are willing to make possible some steps forward during the interim period if the leaders of the principal Indian parties are prepared to agree to their suggestions and to co-operate in the successful conclusion of the war against Japan as well as in the reconstruction in India which must follow the final victory.

To this end they would be prepared to see an important change in the composition of the Viceroy's Executive. This is possible without making any change in the existing statute law except for one amendment to the Ninth Schedule to the Act of 1935. That Schedule contains a provision that not less than three members of the Executive must have had at least 10 years' service under the Crown in India. If the proposals I am about to lay before the House meet with acceptance in India, that clause would have to be amended to dispense with that requirement.

It is proposed that the Executive Council should be reconstituted and that the Viceroy should in future make his selection to the Crown for appointment to his Executive from amongst leaders of Indian political life at the Centre and in the Provinces, in proportions which would give a balanced representation of the main communities, including equal proportions of Moslems and Caste Hindus.

13. In order to pursue this object, the Viceroy will call into conference a number of leading Indian politicians who are the heads of the most important parties or who have had recent experience as Prime Ministers of Provinces, together with a few others of special experience and authority. The Viceroy intends to put before this conference the proposal that the Executive Council should be reconstituted as above stated and to invite from the members of the conference a list of names. Out of these he would hope to be able to choose the future members whom he would recommend for appointment by his Majesty to the Viceroy's Council, although the responsibility for the recommendations must of course continue to rest with him, and his freedom of choice therefore remains unrestricted.

The members of his Council who are chosen as a result of this arrangement would of course accept the position on the basis that they would whole-heartedly co-operate in supporting and carrying through the war against Japan to its victorious conclusion,

The members of the Executive would be Indians with the exception of the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, who would retain his position as War Member. This is essential so long as the defence of India remains a British responsibility.

Nothing contained in any of these proposals will affect the relations of the Crown with the Indian States through the Viceroy as Crown representative.

The Viceroy has been authorised by His Majesty's Government to place this proposal before the Indian Leaders. His Majesty's Government trust that the leaders of the Indian communities will respond. For the success of such a plan must depend on its acceptance in India and the degree to which responsible Indian politicians are prepared to co-operate with the object of making it a workable interim arrangement. In the absence of such general acceptance existing arrangements must necessarily continue.

If such co-operation can be achieved at the Centre it will no doubt be reflected in the Provinces and so enable responsible Governments to be set up once again in those Provinces where, owing to the withdrawal of the majority party from participation, it became necessary to put into force the powers of the Governors under Section 93 of the Act of 1935. It is to be hoped that in all the Provinces these Governments would be based on the participation of the main parties, thus smoothing out communal differences and allowing Ministers to concentrate upon their very heavy administrative tasks.

There is one further change which, if these proposals are accepted, His Majesty's Government suggest should follow.

That is, that External Affairs (other than those tribal and frontier matters which fall to be dealt with as part of the defence of India) should be placed in the charge of an Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive so far as British India is concerned, and that fully accredited representatives shall be appointed for the representation of India abroad.

By their acceptance of and co-operation in this scheme the Indian leaders will not only be able to make their immediate contribution to the direction of Indian affairs, but it is also to be hoped that their experience of co-operation in government will expedite agreement between them as to the method of working out the new constitutional arrangements.

His Majesty's Government consider, after the most careful study of the question, that the plan now suggested gives the utmost progress practicable within the present constitution. None of the changes suggested will in any way prejudice or prejudge the essential form of the future permanent constitution or constitutions for India.

His Majesty's Government feel certain that given goodwill and a genuine desire to co-operate on all sides, both British and Indian, these proposals can mark a genuine step forward in the collaboration of the British and Indian peoples towards Indian self-government and can assert the rightful position, and strengthen the influence, of India in the counsels of the nations.

History of the European War

September 1939—May 1945

When the Japanese Army began the seizure of Manchuria in September, 1931, Adolf Hitler was still contesting elections. At the Septemeber, 1930 elections, the Nazis had won 107 seats in the Reichstag and rose to the position of Germany's second largest party. At the July, 1932 elections, the slogan "All power to Adolf Hitler" won 230 seats for the Nazis and made them the largest party, though still a minority, in the Reichstag. Hitler was still the leader of a minority party in the Reichstag when President Hindenburg made him Chancellor on January 30, 1933. Aims as boundless as Hitler's could be realized only one step at a time. The first was the recovery of "equality". German re-armament was limited by the Versailles Treaty, but the Germany of 1933 was not powerless. Years of discreet evasions of the Versailles Treaty had done much, but some things had to be carefully hidden and others left undone untill the Reich was ready to repudiate the military clause of the treaty.

Military Clauses Repudiated

Repudiation of the military clauses, when it came in March 1935, was a shock which brought a stern resolution from the League Council in Geneva. Repudiation was accompanied by the restoration of conscription, the transfer of the civil air fleet to military control, and annoucement that the Reich was building submarines. The British were willing to acquiesce in a gradual German re-armament, and Hitler attempted to work a wedge into the Anglo-French entente by agreeing to limit German naval construction to 35 per cent of the British Navy's surface tonnage and 45 per cent of its submarine tonnage. But ashore he rearmed at top speed. He was openly making Germany "the most capable instrument of war that has ever existed."

A year later the growing German Army went on the march, and the thud of its hob-nailed boots shook Europe. On March 7, 1936, Hilter marched his troops into the zone east of the Rhine which was demilitarized by the Versailles Treaty. His pretex was that France's new defensive pact with Soviet Russia had violated the Locarno Treaty of 1925 which guaranteed eastern frontiers of France and Belgium, and Germany was no longer bound by her signature at Locarno. It was a clear threat to France, and for a few days a showdown seemed possible. But Britain and France were too heavily involved inthe crisis over Mussolini's war in Ethiopia to force a showdown.

At the same time, Goering turned towards France's new Ally in the east and bluntly asked the Poles to join the war on Russia for which Hitler had long been preparing the world by his hysterical screaming against Communism. The badly scared Europe of 1936 felt certain that the German Army would strike at Russia as soon as the snows melted in 1937. But Poland refused. The Poles had the French Army behind them. East and west alike, Hitler's path to expansion was blocked by the Franch Army.

Further delay was imposed from another direction. The Spanish war blazed up out of an army revolt at Tetuan, Spanish Morocco, in July 1936. Under cover of non-intervention, the Rome-Berlin Axis, during the two and a half years of war that followed, sent troops totalling 45,000 Germans and 100,000 Italians, all camouflaged as "volunteers", plus large quantities of war material, to the Spanish insurrectionist leader, General Francisco Franco. The Spanish war dragged on for more than two and a half years before the poorly equipped Spanish Government was overthrown. Hitler's war material proved to be inferior in some instances and required improvement. He was far from ready for a major war.

Hitler turned to the Pacific in search of a counter-weight against the Franco-Russian defensive pact, and on November 17, 1936, he signed the Anti-Comintern pact with Japan at the cost of a considerable sacrifice of German interests in China. A year later, on November 6, 1937, Mussolini added his signature when he was in Berlin on an axis honeymoon—a foreshadowing of the parallel courses of aggression which Japan, Germany and Italy were to follow during the coming years.

From Crisis to War

On May 28, 1937, Neville Chamberlain succeeded Stanley Baldwin as British Prime Minister. The British were rearming in earnest, but under its second Four-Year

Plan, Nazi Germany was spending more on rearmament than Britain and France together. The Spanish war was dragging on. Active intervention by Mussolini and Hitler weighed heavily in favour of the Spanish Army leader, General Franco. Wars in Spain and China were preoccupying the democracies when Hitler suddenly brought five years of Nazi preparation in Austria to a head by inveigling Kurt von Schuschnigg, the Austrian Chancellor, to Berchtesgaden on February 12, 1938, and there treating him to an incredible exhibition of raving and screaming. The subject of this Hitlerian frenzy was an ultimatum ordering Schuschnigg to free his Austrian Nazi prisoners and to take certain Austrian Nazis into his Cabinet. Failing compliance, the German Army would invade Austria.

The Austrian crisis moved swiftly to its inevitable end. A German ultimatum on March 11 demanded Schuschnigg's resignation. On the same day, the Nazi Arthur von Seyss-Inquart became Austria's Chancellor and "appealed" to the German Army to enter Austria and "restore order". Austria was being Nazified with the utmost speed and ruthlessness when Seyss-Inquart proclaimed its union with Germany on March 13. The next day Hitler made a triumphal entry into Vienna to take possession of the new Ostmark of the German Reich.

From Munich to Poland

September darkened into the most fateful crisis Europe had known since 1914. All summer the Czechoslovakian Government had negotiated with the Nazified Sudeten Germans who inhabited its fortified frontier areas, and by September Hitler was magnifying the minor grievances of the Sudeten minority into frenzied, screaming abuse of the Czechs. Hitler's terms rose steadily from September, 15 to the final Munich conference (with Czechoslovakia and Soviet Russia excluded), on September 29. At Munich he demanded the immediate handing over of the Sudeten areas intact to Germany. Nothing was to be removed, no military supplies, not even a cow, and no fortifications was to be destroyed. These terms were conveyed to the Czechs by Chamberlain and Daladier, the French Premier as a midnight ultimatum a little more than 24 hours before the German Army was to march in on Saturday, October 1. The only course that remained to the Czechoslovak Government was the acceptance of the suicidal ultimatum of Munich. Not a shot was fired when the German Army marched in at dawn of October 1. The Czech State was stripped of a third of its population, more than a third of its territory and all its defences; and the remnant that was left became a helpless statellite of the Nazi Reich.

Britain and France now knew that Hitler had tricked them at Munich to their own ruin. Only now did they realise that he had been at war with them for years. Confronted by stark reality, driven by a fear of a great war bursting on them unprepared, they made an immediate about-face and began full rearmament. British continental policy underwent a revolution in the grant of mutual assistance pledges and guarantees to Poland, Turkey, Rumania and Greece; and a British mission began negotiations to bring Soviet Russia into the new "peace front."

Russia had been isolated by the sacrifice of Czechoslovakia; and now that she had become the key power in the European alignment, she was highly suspicious of France and Great Britain. She doubted whether Chamberlain either could or would oppose Hitler. She insisted on a complete defensive alliance, including guarantees to the Baltic States against Nazi-inspired internal revolution and the right to send troops into Poland in the event of an attack by Hitler. Chamberlain was either unwilling or unable to coerce Poland and the Baltic States into accepting the Russian demands, and the negotiation dragged on until August 23, when Hitler suddenly snatched the greatest diplomatic prize in Europe from beneath Chamberlain's nose.

War in East Europe

In the Soviet-German non-aggression pact, the self-proclaimed Nazi guardians of Europe against Communism joined hands with Communism almost overnight. It was a diplomatic revolution which shook the world. For Britain and France, it was not far from another Munich. It jeopardized their whole system of pledges and guarantees. For Stalin, it was a reversal of Litvinov's long search for collective security. The alternative to the Litvinov policies which had been dominated by hostility toward the Nazi and Fascist States was the acceptance of Russia's isolation and the rule of power politics in Europe; and it was this acceptance which the Soviet-German pact recorded. It was followed by Russian participation with Germany in the partition of Poland, the absorption of the Baltic States into the Soviet system, and the winter war in Finland which gave Russia improved position against the day of her own defence against Nazi attack.

For Hitler the pact insured the military isolation of Poland, and the war in Europe began little more than a week after it was signed. At dawn of September 1, Hitler threw 90 infantry divisions, nine mechanized divisions and 6,500 planes against Poland. The 42 infantry and cavalry divisions which the Poles had mobilized were destroyed with explosive rapidity.

Britain and France honored their pledges to Poland on September 3. But Poland was beyond their effective military reach, and news that they were again at war with Germany came to the British and French with a sense of anti-climax, as of something dreaded but long overdue.

Nazis Dominate Europe

Between the collapse of Poland on September 27 and the start of the Norwegian campaign in April 1940, nothing of moment happened in the war between Germany and the Western Powers. The intervening six months were the period of the notorious "sitzkrieg." But it was really a period when Germany was preparing methodically for the "knock out" blow.

For both strategic and economic reasons, Germany was determined to keep the Scandinavian neutrals completely subservient to her. Up to April 6, 1940, she sank 52 Norwegian, 33 Swedish and 28 Danish ships, with a loss of almost 1,000 lives. She built her U-boats of steel that came in part from Swedish ore, and some of them went out to the oceans through Norwegian territorial waters.

At midnight April 8-9, 1940, German troops crossed the Danish frontier and German warships entered the fjords of six Norwegian ports extending from Oslo around the coast to Narvik in the far north. Denmark was overrun in a few hours, but Norway had geographical advantages which gave it a chance.

A week after the invasion began, an expeditionary force of 12,000 British and French landed on both sides of German-held Trondheim, and German bombers immediately levelled the Allied landing ports to the ground. The Allies had no effective means of disrupting German air supremacy, for the existing Norwegian airfields were held by the Germans, with the result that the Allies had to use airfields in Britain 300 miles away.

King Haakon and the Government left Norway on June 7, and the Norwegian troops having only a few days ammunition left, had no other course than to lay down their arms. Since then the free Norwegian forces have been administered from London. Chief among these has been the Norwegian merchant fleet which totalled 4,833,000 gross tons before the war and was then the fourth largest and the most modern of the world's merchant fleets. On April 9, when the invasion began 1,024 Norwegian ships including more than 200 tankers, were at sea. They constituted 90 per cent of the total fleet and all of them, without exception, obeyed the Government's order to head for British ports. Norwegian tankers participated in the first important gain toward their country's liberation, when they carried 40 per cent of the aviation gasoline which enabled the R. A. F. to win the crucial battle of Britain.

The Norwegian campaign lasted two months, a longer period than any other invaded country held out until Hitler attacked Russia. It cost the Germans 60,000 troops in addition to large quantities of ships and material. But it was no more than a curtain-raiser to the battles of the Low Countries and France.

Britain Turns to Churchill

To the Allies and Germany, the war in Norway was a side-show. But in Britain it brought the rising distrust of Chamberlainism to a head, and on May 10 Chamberlain resigned. He was succeeded as Prime Minister by the dynamic Winston Churchill, who had been in opposition during the Chamberlain period and had never ceased to pour into the Government's unwilling ears dire but prophetic warnings of the German menace.

At dawn of May 10, the big German war machine crashed through the frail frontiers of Holland and Belgium in still another of its lightning, timetable wars. This time it began the war of revenge which was aimed at the final destruction of the hereditary enemy, France, as the preliminary condition for a German Europe; or, in Hitler's words, the war which would "decide the fate of the German nation for the next 1,000 years."

So began one of the greatest military disasters in the long history of France and Britain. The Allies trapped in Belgium depended on the Channel ports for their supplies. They lost Boulogne and Calais to the Germans behind them, Ostend was endangered in front of them, and for the moment Dunkirk alone was left to them. At this point, the Germans in front of them turned their weight against the Belgian Army and King Leopold surrendered. The whole seaward flank of the Allied line

suddenly lay open, but the extreme peril into which the British and French were thrown did not break their discipline. They extended their lines to the sea and slowly and in good order retired to Dunkirk.

Pressed into the shrinking Dunkirk area under savage bombing they stood with their backs to the sea only 50 miles from Dover. With the hope of snatching a few thousands of them from German prison camps, the British sent hundreds of small vessels to ruined Dunkirk to take them off. Dunkirk lay well within fighter range of British airfields, and though the R. A. F. was too inferior numerically to keep German bombers out of the air entirely, its Spitfires, Hurricanes and new Defiants established a local air supremacy which enabled nearly 1,000 of the little ships to take off the astonishing total of 335,000 British and French soldiers in eight days.

French Collapse

The Germans now turned to dispose of France, and on June 5 threw 40 divisions against the hastily restored French front. Under the terrific fire-power generated by new methods which the Germans had first used in Poland the badly equipped French front collapsed. Softened by fifth columnists the Third Republic dissolved into endless streams of refugees, and a new French Government at Bordeaux, headed by the aged Marshal Henri Philippe Petain, asked the Germans for an armistice. The armistice was signed on June 22, but Mussolini had then seized the unheard of opportunity of the French collapse to enter the war, and a second armistice had to be arranged with Italy. This was signed in Rome on June 24, and late that night the once incomparable French Army was allowed to lay down its arms.

The democracies, including the United States, were stunned. Britain and its Navy now stood alone between the new German Europe and the democracies across the Atlantic and the early extinction of Britain itself had become a possibility to be reckoned with.

The Navy also had suffered a staggering blow. It had lost the partnership of the French Navy. Britain's Navy was under strength when the war began. The British Navy was still the strongest navy on the seas but if the French Navy slipped into German control, it would give the now weak German navy a clear margin of superiority, with results which might well be final and disastrous to Britain. French admirals were given a choice of five different courses of action which would "prevent your ships falling into German or Italian hands." In some cases, notably at the new French naval base of Mersel-Kebir near Oran in Algieria, all five courses were rejected ; and only a month after French co-operation in the Dunkirk evacuation, it fell to British admirals to destroy French warships by gunfire. By July 8, no French capital ship remained undamaged at large.

The Battle of Britain

The Germans now turned to dispose of their last enemy, Britain, preparatory to bringing the war to a victorious pause before the winter. The German Army began preparations for the invasion of Britain late in June 1940, and pushed them with the utmost energy. Reichsmarshal Hermann Goering moved to German headquarters in France and opened the air attack on August 8. The Battle of Britain which ensued developed into something unique in history. The German army and air force together had taken 37 days to win the battles of Holland, Belgium and France. Nazi planes fought the Battle of Britain alone through 84 days of almost continuous action, while the Army sat waiting in its invasion ports on the continent. The air attack developed into the primary struggle to determine the fate of Britain, and it remained the primary struggle throughout. In the end it proved to be the first great air battle and one of the decisive battles of history. The course of the battle fell into four well-defined stages. The first, from August 8 to 18, was a stage of direct assault on largely military targets, chief among them the fighter airfields along the Kentish coast and the ring of fighter fields south of London. Its aim was the familiar one of knocking out the airfields and pinning the R. A. F. to the ground ; but the British Air Ministry had observed the Nazi methods from Poland to the Channel and knew the German text-book by heart. No Britith airfield was put out of action for more than a brief period.

Change in Tactics

The second stage, from August 24 to September 5, was one of continued emphasis on military targets, but of a change in tactics—fewer bombers with much larger fighter escorts—and a broadening of the main front of attack. By August 30 he was throwing in 800 planes in an effort to beat down the R. A. F.'s Spitfires and Hurricanes by sheer weight, and these massive attacks filled the skies of south-eastern

England with dogfights right up to September 5. This stage of battle cost him 562 planes as against the R. A. F.'s loss of 219.

The third stage opened with another of his sudden timetable shift. He now abandoned military targets and turned to an attack on London which lasted with little respite from September 7 to October 5, an ordeal which lifted the British capital into the heroic company of Barcelona, Warsaw and Rotterdam.

London continued to be his major objective during the fourth and final stage, which lasted from October 6 to 31 but he was then in full retreat. His bomber losses had become so heavy that he virtually stopped using bombers sending instead Messerschmitt fighters specially equipped to carry a pair of bombs each. The Nazis made increasing use of night cover, a tacit admission that the battle was nearing its end. The precision bombing of military targets which alone might have produced a knockout, was possible only by day. Night raids belonged to the slow war of attrition from which no quick decision could be expected. By the end of October, Goering had virtually abandoned daylight attack in favour of a policy of night raiding, and the Battle of Britain was ended.

Despite its troubles the tough British fibre was still capable of great daring. As early as September, Britain began heavily reinforcing its Mediterranean fleet and the small forces in Egypt. Mussolini, who had entered the war at the moment of the French collapse, was now convinced that the hour of Britain's collapse was at hand. Rid of the French threat along the Mareth line in Tunisia he moved a large and luxurious Italian Army across Libya to the Egyptian frontier in readiness to take over the Suez Canal and the entire British position in the Middle East. It was one of the great strategical areas of the world, and its loss would have contributed powerfully to the conquering of Britain the only way in which it could be conquered—by the destruction of its sea power.

A Desperate British Decision

When these sea and land reinforcements began going out to Egypt, the Battle of Britain was not yet ended and Hitler's great military machine still stood waiting in its invasion ports. Britain herself might yet have use of these materials. The decision to send them out of the country was a desperate decision befitting a desperate situation.

America was also beginning an immense expansion of her Navy, and on September 7 she traded 50 old destroyers to the over-strained British Navy in return for base rights in British possessions in the western Atlantic. Every new strain on the British Navy now emphasised to Americans their own immense stake in the Atlantic. On September 16 the U. S. Congress adopted the first conscription bill that country had ever accepted in peacetime. Little more than a week later, on September 27, the signature of the German-Italian-Japanese treaty of military alliance in Berlin was intended to serve as a warning to the United States. But its real effect proved to be quite different. By December 29 President Franklin D. Roosevelt could call, in a radio address, for the fullest national effort to insure a British victory. "The Axis powers were not going to win this war," he said. "We must be the great arsenal of democracy. There will be no 'bottle-decks' in our determination to aid Great Britain. No dictator, or combination of dictators will weaken that determination with threats of how they will construe that determination."

Italy's Part

As long as the Anglo-French naval partnership endured, Mussolini remained discreetly non-belligerent and the Allied position in the Mediterranean remained secure. But when the French collapse gave Mussolini his opening in June, 1940, the British were left in a position of great weakness. Italian land-based bombers made the Sicilian narrows too hot for comfort and new equipment for the army took from two to three months to reach Egypt over the long route of 11,530 miles around the Cape. Mussolini's position was on paper a strong one. His navy was more powerful than the British Mediterranean fleet but there is no more curious chapter of the war than the consistent refusal of the Italian navy to exert its strength. The Italians crossed the Egyptian frontier on September 12, but on September 18, they stopped beyond Sidi Barrani, 75 miles inside the frontier; and there they sat for three months, organising their water-supply and accumulating war material.

Hitler was then beginning to move down through the Balkans, and Mussolini moved to solidify his own Balkan position. He had seized a bridgehead in Albania on April 7, 1939, and having built up his forces in Albania to a strength of 200,000 men, he struck at Greece in a surprise invasion on October 28, 1940.

The British position at sea became strong enough in November to enable equipment for the Middle East command to use the direct Mediterranean route, a distance of 3,300 miles from Britain, less than a third that of the long Cape route. The British launched their offensive against the Italians at Sidi Barrani at dawn of December 9. In two months the British threw the Italian back more than 500 miles conquering the whole of Cyrenaica.

Hitler then began his intervention in the Mediterranean and Mussolini had entered the vassalage to his senior partner which in the end was to cost him Italy itself. The land-based German air force made its first appearance on January 10 when its dive-bombers caught a British convoy passing through the Sicilian narrows with equipment for Greece, and gave it such a hammering that the British returned to the long Cape route.

The British Middle East command then turned to tear Mussolini's large and and isolated East African empire to shreds in a campaign which was relatively small in scale but of unprecedented range and speed. Ethiopia was liberated, and the Emperor Haile Selassie returned to his throne. The Italian port of Massawa was captured and the Vichy French port of Djibouti blockaded. On April 11 President Roosevelt removed the Red Sea from America's proclaimed list of combat waters, thus authorising American-flag ships to carry lend-lease equipment to Suez, prospectively an immense relief to both the Middle East command and British shipping.

Lend-Lease Aid for Britain

The programme of aid to Britain which was now a cardinal point of American policy would soon have become unworkable under ,the "cash-and-carry" system. "Cash-and-carry" was accordingly superseded by the Lend-lease Act. The first Lend-lease shipments to Britain and Greece were ordered as soon as the President signed the bill on March 11 but it was not until late in June that Lend-lease tanks and planes began reaching Suez.

Nazis' Balkan Campaign

Meanwhile, Hitler had peacefully absorbed Rumania, and his common frontier with Soviet Russia then swept in an unbroken line from the Black Sea north to the Baltic. Strong forces of the German Army stationed in Rumania crossed the Danube at dawn of March 1, and Bulgaria entered the Nazi prison quietly. At that point, Hitler's course of bloodless conquest in the Balkans came to an end.

If Greece was to be held, British troops would have to help hold it. The Middle East command accordingly dispatched an advance guard of 60,000 veterans to Greece early in March. It was a daring risk and it proved to be based on a miscalculation of the new German command in Libya which cost the British the whole of Cyrenaica. On March 24, German armoured forces took the lightly held British outpost of Al Agheila, and quickly developing this tentative thrust into an unlimited pursuit, they drove the British back more than 450 miles before their offensive rolled to a stop on April 18.

Hitler now suffered an unexpected setback in Europe. Under pressure, the Yugoslav Government signed an agreement with Hitler on March 24. But on Yugoslav Army, Hitler had no intention of leaving an independent Yugoslavia on his flank ; at dawn of April 6, '40 German divisions supported by more than 3,000 planes crashed into Greece and Yugoslavia simultaneously. By May 1, mainland Greece had followed Yugoslavia into the vast concentration camp to which the Nazis were reducing Europe.

Crete lay 110 miles from the main German bases in the Athens area, and its invasion began as the first wholly air-borne invasion in history. German parachute troops, supported by high-level dive-bombers, descended on its principal defence areas early on the morning of May 20. The British decision to evacuate came on May 29. By June 1, it was all over.

British and Free French columns struck from Palestine and Transjordania at dawn on June 8. Some time before the suspension of Syrian hostilities on July 12, the Germans in the Eastern Mediterranean area abandoned their initiative. On June 22, 1941, Hitler invaded Soviet Russia.

Hitler Strikes at Russia

At dawn of Sunday, June 22, 1941, Hitler staked his war on a new and tremendous gamble against Soviet Russia. His only surviving enemy was Britain, and victory over Britain appeared to be not far from his grasp. But this was not the victory he sought. He had never wanted Britain in the war. His turn had not yet come. Right down to Rudolph Hess's fantastic flight to Britain on May 10

Hitler seems to have hoped that his "crusade against Bolshevism" would hoodwink the British into withdrawing from the war. But the fact that Hess's mission ended in his internment as a prisoner of war must have convinced him that the British had at last gotten their teeth in and were not to be shaken off.

Hitler expected rather more than he obtained from the Russo-German non-aggression pact of August 23, 1939. He assumed that Russia would sink into complacent inactivity, while Germany continued to push over frontier posts in all directions. But Russia spent the next year moving forward her own frontier posts along the 1,200-miles boundary from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and on a lesser scale along the 700 miles from Lake Ladoga to the Arctic. This done, she took no pains to conceal her view that Hitler's failure to invade Britain in 1940 had transferred the war from the west of Europe to the east.

This proved to be Hitler's view also. In December, 1940, the German army moved down the Danube to Rumania where it put in an unwelcome appearance on the Black Sea coast at Russia's next door neighbour. Rumania was to serve as Hitler's base for the subjugation of the whole Balkan peninsula—a vital Russian sphere in the Russian view. His advance from Rumania began as soon as the ice melted in the Danube. The occupation of Bulgaria on March 1, 1941, was a stinging affront in Russia and incidentally brought German troops to within 200 miles of Istambul on the Bosphorus. At this point, the Russian colossus began locking its doors. Defence zones from 20 to 100 miles deep were built across the principal avenues of land invasion in Europe. The enormous Red Army began mobilising.

The German plan was to attack in full vigour from end to end of the long front, with the total annihilation of the Red Army as its objective. On the morning of June 22, the attack had burst out of a clear sky with all the destructive intensity of which the huge German war machine was capable.

In a week's fighting the attack over-ran the first line of Soviet defences, clearing the Russians out of all the buffer areas they had acquired since 1939. Early in July the Germans spoke of a total of 9 million men being engaged on both sides along a front which stretched for nearly 2,000 miles from the Arctic to the Black Sea. Before the Red Army's mobilization was finally completed on August 15, its high command admitted the loss of 4,000 planes, 5,000 tanks and 600,000 men—figures which amply indicate the terrific destructiveness of the fighting. No military struggle in history has been vaster in scale, more terrible and more vital to civilization. This at last was the real war. It made everything which had preceded it look fantastic and unreal.

Meanwhile, the changed course of the war was dominated by the struggle of giants in Russia. In three months' fighting, Hitler conquered a vast area some 500,000 square miles of Russian territory, including most of Russia's western industrial areas and the wheat, iron and manganese of the Ukraine. But he had not yet won the final decision which was his real objective, and his failure in this respect made it clear that there would be no autumn invasion of Britain and no German victory in 1941. Despite the terrific losses the Red Army was still fighting. From the Arctic to the Black Sea, the battered Russian front was still intact.

Desperate Drive to Take Moscow

Hitler now launched what he proclaimed to be "the last great decisive battle of the year" in an effort to capture Moscow before the coming of winter. On October 2, he attacked along a 750-mile front from the Valdai Hills to the Sea of Azov, with Moscow as the goal of his centre and Kharkov and Rostov his goals in the south. The attack was launched with a massed power and ferocity which had no precedent anywhere in history. On its second day Hitler told the German people, "This enemy is already broken and will never rise again." Within a week he was claiming a break-through on a 300-mile front before Moscow, and the Russians were admitting the loss one after another of Orel, Bryansk and Vyasma, key railway points from 300 to 120 miles south west and west of the capital.

With seven of its 11 railways cut, Moscow was then in extreme peril. But the defensive positions were standing up well under artillery fire; the defenders were still counter-attacking whenever the pressure slackened; and the winter had settled down to below-zero temperatures which were paralysing German troops and tanks. Their strength was gone. "Fighting under these conditions is practically impossible," the Germans discovered. But it was not impossible for the Russians who launched a counter-offensive on December 6. Two days later—the day after Japan's surprised raid on Pearl Harbour—the Germans announced the abandonment of their drive on Moscow.

MAJOR GERMAN BLOW IN RUSSIA

It was in Russia, however, that Germany's major blow fell. Despite their retreat from Moscow during the winter, the German Armies still held four-fifths of their huge territorial gains of 1941, and those gains included fully a third of Russia's productive capacity. Nevertheless, Russian pressure kept the Germans strained and bleeding throughout the winter, and it was not until March 1942, that the pressure eased and the Russian Army began gathering its strength for the larger operations to come.

For the first time since the war began, the Germans now planned a major campaign whose objective was something less than the total destruction of the enemy. But if Russia could not be destroyed, she must at least be stripped of her oil and iron and manganese, her older industries, her great food-producing areas and the bulk of her railway network. Once the Russian Armies were deprived of their effective striking power, they could be contained with secondary German forces standing on the Volga, while the main German forces were shifted to the west of Europe. A limited offensive into the Ukraine also promised to lay open the Caucasus and thus greatly to increase the prospects of a successful drive through Egypt and the mastery of the Middle East.

The expected German offensive which was to dominate the whole global war throughout the rest of 1942, opened after a fierce air bombardment at dawn of June 28 on a 50-mile front to the east of Kursk. On August 20 the Germans forced a crossing of the Don in the Kletskaya area some 40 miles north-west of Stalingrad. Stalingrad was not easy to defend. Its only supply routes, the crossings of the Volga, were open to air and artillery attack. The ground before it was open steppe, with a forward defence belt of minefields and heavy concrete strong points 20 to 30 miles deep and, in the rear, the massed artillery on which the Russians relied as their chief defensive arm.

The assault which the Germans began on August 23 lasted for nearly six months and was the largest single action of the war. It was equalled only by the greatest battles of the last war. It was certainly as big and as decisive as Verdun. The Germans threw into it between 30 and 40 divisions, plus superior tank forces and even more superior air power. By September 12 they had reached the Volga north and south of the city, and having tightened their arc before it they were at last in a position to launch a direct assault on Stalingrad itself. By September 16 they had battered their way into the north-west suburbs and were claiming that they had pushed through to the Volga in the centre as well. The whole city was then one massive defence area, in which the Russians contested every room and every stairway. The battle had become a process of attrition in which the Russian losses averaged between 6,000 and 7,000 a day, while the Germans were losing 2,000 a day in killed alone.

RUSSIANS LAUNCH ATTACK

The Russians struck back on November 19 with a superbly planned counter-offensive which closed on the German rear from the north and south in a powerful pincer movement. The arms of the pincer had joined by the 23rd, cutting off the whole of the German forces in the Stalingrad area. In the bitter winter of the steppes, fresh German forces drove up the railway from Rostov to reopen contact with the Stalingrad front in December, but were beaten off in a fortnight of heavy fighting. Within the iron ring, the Russians had then cleared the south and centre of Stalingrad, and early in January 1943, they began the liquidation of the last German forces north of the city. This was complete by February 2; and within the next three days, Field Marshal Friedrich von Paulus and 24 generals gave themselves up to the Russians as prisoners. By February 5, the ruins of Stalingrad were quiet.

The victory of Stalingrad did more than save the Volga and the Caucasus. It decisively broke the last great German offensive and shattered the legend of Nazi invincibility. It laid to rest completely any hopes the Germans might still have had of an invasion of Britain. The battle in Stalingrad's streets marked the deepest penetration of the German Army and the high crest of its drive into U. S. S. R. Had the drive succeeded the Germans might have taken the oil of the middle East, controlled the approaches to India, and made a junction with their Japanese ally. Stalingrad was the worst defeat any German army ever suffered.

TIDE TURNS IN 1943

The struggle of the giants in Russia entered a new phase with the great vic-

tory of Stalingrad. At the peak of their successes, the Germans had overrun about 700,000 square miles of western Russia, including much of the Soviet's most fertile farm lands, richest mineral areas and modern industrial regions. In their winter offensive of 1942-43, which produced the victory of Stalingrad, the Russians regained between 185,000 and 200,000 square miles and in their summer offensives of 1943, they were to conquer another 138,000 square miles. The summer campaign was opened on July 5 with a massive German thrust toward Kursk from Orel and Belgorod, hitting north and south respectively. Its fate was indicative of the Russian's remarkable success in solving the problem of German tactics.

RUSSIANS ON THE OFFENSIVE

A week after the German offensive began, the Russians themselves went over to the offensive and by July 23, they had retaken all the ground they had lost. By August 5, just a month after the Germans had struck, the Russians had cracked the defences of Orel and Belgorod and occupied both key positions. The Russian offensive broke through the German defences and captured Kharkov on August 23, 1943.

These successes at Orel and Kharkov gave the Russians a firm base for further operations toward their summer's objective—the liberation of the industrial Donets basin and the whole of the Ukraine east of the Dnieper. Meanwhile, another offensive was launched against Smolensk by the Armies of the Russian centre. It fell to the Russians on September 25. The main German forces were then attempting to make a stand along the Dnieper bend. The Russians forced a crossing to capture the industrial centre of the Dniepopetrovsk, and early in November they cut off the Germans in the Crimea and gained the east bank of the Dnieper everywhere. On November 6, they recaptured Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine.

In January 1944 a new Russian offensive fell with crushing force on the long German salient that reached up to the outskrits of Leningrad.

TWO GERMAN WEAKNESSES APPARENT

The military offensives were accompanied by a tightening of the political bonds between the three great Allies in the European war—the United States, Great Britain and Russia. The Foreign Ministers of the three countries held a preliminary meeting in Moscow from October 19 to 31, at which plans were made for closer collaboration during the war and establishment of an international organisation to maintain peace and security in the post-war world. The decisions of three Foreign Ministers were ratified in a historic conference which brought President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin together in Teheran from November 28 to December 1. They agreed upon the scope and timing of Allied military operations against Germany from the east, south and west, and expressed their determination to "work together in the war and the peace that follows."

That conference, following immediately upon the heels of a similar meeting at Cairo among the leaders of the three great countries arrayed against Japan—China, England and the United States—ended the last hope Germany and Japan may have had of a wedge between the Allies and so escaping the defeat which was now inexorably closing in on them.

RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE

At the beginning of 1944 the Russian campaign was centred on the sector due west of Kiev on a front 200 miles long, and the Red Army smashed to within 25 miles of the pre-war Polish border; three days after the smash began, it was on the frontier. A new drive northward was started on January 15, east of Latvia, and on January 27, the Russians lifted the siege of Leningrad. This city, the second largest in the Soviet Union, had been under the siege of the Germans and Finns for 27 months.

In February the Germans' last hold on the Dnieper River in the south was broken, and soon afterwards the Red Army trapped five enemy divisions in that sector, cutting them to pieces in slicing movements. In short order the Russians cleared the Germans from a 700-mile stretch of the east bank of the middle Dnieper. At this same time the offensive in the north gained momentum, and after pushing the enemy back so that Leningrad could not again be cut off, the northern Red Armies turned southward to meet the middle army in a huge pincer movement that cut off ten German divisions trapping them in a pocket that the Russians were soon able to liquidate. So successful was this campaign of movement that Stalin was able to say, on the 26th anniversary of the Red Army on February 23;

that Russian troops had advanced eastward as much as 1,000 miles in some places in one year, driving the Nazis from almost three-fourths of the territory they had occupied since invading Russia.

Southern Armies on the Move

In the south the Russian armies now entered another race, chasing the Germans westward in almost complete rout. By passing enemy strongholds, and leaving them to be cleaned up by following troops, the main bodies of the Russian armies swept past the Crimean peninsula and raced towards Odessa and Bessarabia. Momentary stands by the enemy were overcome in the almost headlong dash, and by the end of March the Soviets had cut the last German rail escape from Odessa into Rumania. Continuing their smashing drive forward, the Russians began entering Rumania on April 2.

The campaign in the central sector was going equally well. On April 8 the middle Russian armies had reached the Czechoslovakian frontier.

The main drive on Sevastopol got underway on May 6, after an 18-day lull in full-fledged operations. After three days of hard fighting on land, accompanied by continual bombardment of the fort's installations by the Soviet sea forces in the Black Sea, Sevastopol fell and the Crimea was entirely in Russian hands.

After the liberation of Leningrad in February, the Finns got proposals by which they could get out of the war. On March 20 the Finns finally rejected the terms. On the heels of this, the United States asked the Finnish Minister in Washington to return home, since his presence in the U. S. was "inimical" to the interests of the United Nations.

The lull which had come into Russian operations with the beginning of the talks with Finland continued until June 10, when the Red Armies again began their full-scale attack on Finland, driving forward on the Karelian Isthmus. A week before this, however, a new aspect of the ever-growing offensive of the United Nations made itself apparent on the eastern front. This was the institution of "shuttle bombing" of enemy-held territory and military objectives. This operation was accomplished by land-based planes flying from England to the Ukraine, thence to Italy, and from there back to England.

After the Normandy landing was successfully under way, the Russians began their general summer offensive in the central sector. In the north they again thrust the Finns backward. The main advance, however, took place in the central sector, where the Soviet troops took Vitebsk and Gomel after a week. Then the Russians opened their general offensive along the whole front. In less than a month, by the middle of July, the cities of Pinsk, Vilno and Grodno had fallen.

From Africa to Europe

Meanwhile, a most important event occurred with the entry of the United States in the world war following Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour on December 8, 1941. But American intervention became decisive only after Africa had been cleared of Axis troops; the Allies faced a crisis in the autumn of 1942 before they blunted the Axis offensive and passed on to the attack themselves. We will now trace the development of the Allied offensive from Africa to Europe.

Striving to force a decision in 1942, the German armies drove as far east as Stalingrad in Russia and El Alamein in Egypt. Between El Alamein and the force which the German command in Russia thrust down to the northern foothills of the Caucasian mountain range, lay the vital British positions in the Middle East. For the British it was one of the most dangerous moments of the war. It recalled that other moment of extreme danger when Britain itself lay open to invasion after the fall of France, and the German high command failed to seize its greatest opportunity. The German command made a similar failure in Egypt. Since its arrival before El Alamein in June, 1942, it had made but one routine tank attack against the British lines, and that had failed. It was thus left to the British to make of El Alamein one of the turning points of the war.

The new British command struck along the whole 40-mile length of the Alamein line on the night of October 23, 1942. By November 2, British tanks were pouring through a gap in the German line and into a furious tank battle. That sledge-hammer blow smashed enemy resistance. It rolled the Germans back in a retreat which was not to stop until they reached Tunisia four months later.

Meanwhile, hundreds of miles in the German rear, American forces had carried out their first large-scale operation in the European theatre. Working from some 850 Allied merchantmen and naval vessels which had arrived in the area from England and America, the Americans occupied the principal ports of French

Morocco and Algeria in a series of surprise landings at dawn of November 7. Scattered French resistance was encountered, but was generally brought to an end by an order from the French Admiral Jean Francis Darlan on November 11.

POLITICAL SET-BACK

Admiral Darlan was assassinated by a Frenchman in Algiers on December 24, and it was not until August 26, 1943, that the United States and Britain granted limited recognition to the French Committee of National administrative authority. President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill agreed at their conference in Casablanca (January 14—24, 1943), on the formula of "unconditional surrender" to be imposed on the enemy. In its pursuit of the Africa Korps the British Eighth Army reached Tripoli on January 23—an advance of 1,200 miles from El Alamein in exactly three months.

The veteran Eighth Army continued to hammer its way north up the Tunisian coast. Because it was the most experienced Army that the Allies had, the German commander drew his reserves south to meet it; and when he was suddenly attacked with great violence by French, Americans and British along the whole front line, the remaining reserves were insufficient to hold the attack. When the Americans broke through in the extreme north on May 3, German labour units and Luftwaffe ground troops were thrown in against them. Two days later British forces, including the Eighth Army's reserves, smashed through the weakened German centre. By May 12 it was all over. Bizerte and Tunis fell almost at the same moment, aud 150,000 enemy prisoners, including 12 generals, were taken.

With Africa cleared, the Allies prepared to move on what the Nazis described as "fortress Europe", Across the narrows, American, British and Canadian troops landed on the Sicilian beaches at dawn of July 10 in one of the largest amphibious operations in military history. The first 48 hours of the landings were decisive. Once the Allies had proved they could assault Sicily from the sea, the rest of the 38-days Sicilian campaign was grueling enough, but its result was never in doubt and its gains were far more than territorial. As the first Allied land penetration of Fascist home territory, it resulted in the collapse of Fascism, and all but knocked Italy out of the war.

More German divisions now poured through the Brenner Pass to place Italy under full German occupation. King Victor Emmanuel III appointed General Pietro Badoglio to be Premier of a new Italian Government which was prepared to join the Allies in the war aginst Germany as soon as the Allies landed in Italy. The Germans were then closing in on Rome, and the new government's contacts with the Allies were difficult and dangerous. Italy signed its armistice on terms of unconditional surrender at Syracuse on September 3. The terms, however, were not made public until September 8. The Germans immediately occupied Rome, and the King and General Badoglio took refuge behind the Allied lines.

INVASION OF ITALY

In accordance with the armistice terms, the bulk of the Italian fleet, including five battleship and seven cruisers, surrendered to the British Navy at Malta on September 11. Meanwhile, the British Eighth Army had begun its invasion of the Italian mainland at Reggio Calabria, across the straits from Messina, on September 3. The main landing, however, was made on September 9 by strong American and British forces at Salerno, about 35 miles south-east of Naples. It was the first American landing on the continent of Europe since the war of 1914-1918 and was made good in the teeth of determined German opposition.

The remarkable British advance which began at El Alamein in Egypt, to be joined in Tunisia by strong American, British and French forces, had then breached the boasted "fortress" of Europe and split the enemy. With such help as the Italians could give them, the Allies were moving toward Rome against a stubborn German defence. Behind them the Mediterranean was an Allied lake. Behind them, too, the U. S. 15th Air Force was set up on November 2 to strike at Germany and the occupied countries from the Mediterranean area. The ring of steel was drawing more tightly around Germany.

ACTION IN ITALY

At Christmas, 1943, it was announced that General Eisenhower would take supreme Command of the impending liberation of Europe from the north and west and that General Montgomery would command land forces engaged in that theatre. Sir Henry Maitland Wilson therefore replaced Eisenhower in the Mediterranean theatre, Sir Harold R. L. G. Alexander succeeded to command in Italy; and through sleet, mud and mountain terrain made more difficult by bitter German resistance

the Eighth Army to the east of the Italian peninsula and the Fifth Army under General Mark Clark at the western end of the line drove forward with alternate blows as far as Cassino, pivot of the enemy's prepared barrier—a 12-mile crescent of field fortifications—across the road to Rome.

On January 22 a diversionary move was made by the landing of American and French troops of the Fifth Army, under the guns of American, French, Greek and Netherlands warships, at Anzio, 60 miles west of Cassino and some 33 miles south of Rome. The beachhead was established and expanded until February 4, when a series of violent German counter-attacks stabilized this front also.

On march 15 United Nations air power devasted Cassino with 3,500 tons of bombs and followed this with a frontal assault which while taking part of the town, left the enemy sill resisting effectively among the rubble. The deadlock here and at the Anzio front lasted until May 11. Then, after a shift of British troops westward from the Adriatic end of the line and the placing of a strong French contingent at the juncture of the British and American fronts, Cassino and its dependent fortifications were taken in a week of bitter fighting. Five days later an offensive was mounted on all fronts of the Anzio sector, resulting in a break-through to the south-east and a dramatic junction with the northward-driving main forces. On June 4, having mopped up residual resistance and covered the last 15 miles in 24 hours, American Fifth Army troops entered Rome—first enemy capital to be liberated.

German Army Disorganized

The German 14th Army was now becoming disorganised. Beyond the capital Allied troops were able to cover 38 miles in three days, to capture Civitavecchia, and by June 17 they had broken through a makeshift defence line 62 miles north of Rome. Two days later, Perugia was liberated and French forces covered by French, British and American ships and planes had freed from the enemy Napoleon's exile-isle of Elba, eight miles west of the Italian coast, 35 miles east of French-held Corsica and 50 miles south of the vital port of Leghorn.

Meantime King Victor Emmanuel redeemed a promise he had made on April 12. The day after the liberation of Rome he resigned all powers to Crown Prince Umberto, who, after a formal invitation to Marshal Badoglio and a conference with representative Italian party leaders, asked Ivanoe Bonomi, staunch anti-Fascist and liberal former Premier, to head the Government. Bonomi formed his cabinet without Badoglio.

The end of June saw former Fascists being removed from office in all the liberated territory and the Allies storming northward towards the Germans' boasted defence line running across Italy north of Florence.

Attack from the West

Confirming the Teheran promise of a fighting front in addition to those in Russia and Italy, Winston Churchill gave notice to the world on March 26 that there would first be "many false alarms, many feints and many dress rehearsals to deceive and baffle the enemy" and warned Britain that it might be subjected to "new forms of attack."

The liberating forces began to land in Normandy at 6 a.m. on June 6, 1944, in indifferent weather, a quarter of an hour after dawn and four hours before high tide, when obstacles in the shallows were visible to demolition squads. They landed at several points between Honfleur—across the Bay of the Seine from Le Havre—and Barfleur, flanking Le Havre's sister-port, Cherbourg, on the Cotentin Peninsula. The British and Canadians under General Sir Bernard L. Montgomery who commanded the whole operation, took the eastern half of this theatre. Americans under Lieutenant-General Omar Bradley took the west; and it seemed that to some extent they took the Germans by surprise.

For months before D-Day, planes of the American and British air forces had battered the bridges, roads and rail junctions through which German reinforcements must travel to Normandy; now swarms of planes and the 640 guns of a mixed force including 12 battleships poured destruction on the enemy already manning the Atlantic Wall. Much had been heard of this system of fortifications, said by the Germans to begin with impassible off-shore obstacles and to extend many miles inland. That this was not the "gigantic hoax" some prematurely termed it, the liberating force were to prove a little later; meantime, it had been thought that casualties in United Nations men and ships at the actual landing must be heavy—10 per cent, for instance, among the landing craft. But in fact, though 4,000 ships and several thousand smaller craft crossed the Channel between midnight and 8-30

a.m. of June 6, vessel losses were negligible, Casualties of personnel were heavy on some beaches, on others unexpectedly light. In one sector alone, by nightfall, the liberation forces held ten continuous miles of beach; and the over-all picture given by Winston Churchill that evening was of "very much less loss than we expected......many dangers behind us......the operation proceeding in a thoroughly satisfactory manner."

Defying the local German air force of 1,750 fighters and 500 bombers—on this vital day enigmatically absent from the skies above the Channel—General Eisenhower had sent above and ahead of his seaborne troops four airborne and two parachute divisions—60,000 to 90,000 men carried behind the German lines by 7,500 planes and 31,000 aviators.

On June 7, with the help of these forces which had done yeoman service the day before, the beachheads were expanded, inland and laterally toward one another. The next day British and Canadian troops took the town of Bayeux and by June 11 the area liberated and held by the Allies amounted to 600 square miles with a penetration of 13 miles and with American troops within 17 miles of Cherbourg.

German Defenders Confused

The German defence under Field Marshal Erwin Rommel flooded 500,000 acres around Carentan at the base of the Contentin Peninsula. Nevertheless, on June 12 American troops took the town, drove on westward and by the 18th had severed all Cherbourg's land communications. By this time the various beachheads had been fused into a continuous strip of Allied-held coastline at the eastern end of which Montgomery's forces were approaching Caen.

Here there was enemy reaction—employing armour, but in small quantities and, it seemed, wastefully. Montgomery, husbanding his tanks, skirmished for position, while to the west Bradley's Americans closed in on Cherbourg. The port fell into Allied hands on June 26—damaged but repairable, and yielding 30,000 prisoners with their general.

England Attacked by Flying Bomb

Meanwhile, since June 13 the Germans had been subjecting England to the "new form of attack"—flights of aerial torpedoes carrying a ton of explosive and launched from platforms on the French coast on a gyroscope-controlled course for London and the south of England. Many were shot down by anti-aircraft fire and fighter planes ; the R. A. F. dropped thousands of tons of bombs on the runways when the flying bombs took off but still enough arrived in southern England to cause much property damage and thousands of civilian casualties.

Collapse of the Satellites

The landing of United Nations troops in Western France on June 6, 1944, combined with Soviet advances from the east, sent a thrill of joy throughout the occupied countries of Europe, of apprehension through Germany, sheltered though she believed herself to be behind her West Wall; and of terror through the satellite countries which saw nemesis approaching.

The Allied campaign in Italy had had its effect—during the winter of 1943-1944 both Rumania and Bulgaria had put forth peace feerles. The Anglo-American breach of the Atlantic Coast defences, the American break-through of July 31 in Normandy, the subsequent debacle of German forces in France, and continuing deterioration of Nazi position in the Russian path at last forced the satellites to face reality. On August 1, indeed, Finnish President Risto Ryti retired in favour of Field Marshal Mannerheim.

The storm broke in the Balkans on August 20 when two Soviet Armies drove into Rumanian territory and within three days captured 350 places. A week earlier Prime Minister Churchill, in Italy for consultations with—among others—Marshal Joseph Broz (Tito) of Yuogoslavia had alluded to the "generous terms" offered to Rumania by the Soviets. Safe in Bucharest, Antonescu remained undaunted; until on the evening of August 23 the 22-year-old King Michael called him to the Palace, locked him in the vault normally housing the royal postage-stamp collection, and asserted his own authority in a radio broadcast demanding peace with the Allies and war—for the recovery of Transylvania—against Hungary.

The episode was followed by the formation of a new Government under General Sanatescu, former aid-de-camp to the King, and Julius Maniu, head of the Peasant Party. On August 25 it was announced that the Sanatescu government was firmly in control of Rumania save for some few districts where concentration of German troops still remained.

By August 25 Soviet Armies had reached the Danube at Kiliya ; in Bessarabia they held a 65-mile front on the Prut River. The Galati Gap defences were reached at Tecuci; together Rumania and Soviet forces advanced to within 28 miles of Transylvania; on August 27 Galati itself was taken; on August 29 the port of Constanta; on the 30th Ploesti, centre of the famed oilfield on which Germany had relied for much of her petroleum. On August 31 Soviet troops entered Bucharest while another Army, composite with the Rumanians, pushed through the Carpathians towards the Hungarian plains.

The next day Rumanian commissioners arrived in Moscow to sign terms of armistice. For peace, she found, she would have to pay $300 milion to the U.S S.R. in commodities over six years. Other damages of unfixed amount would be payable to other Allies; Fascist organisations in Rumania would be suppressed by the Rumanian Government collaborating with an Allied control commission; Northern Bukhovina and Bessarabia would be Soviet territory and—to help regain her own claimed territory of Transylvania—Rumania would provide 12 infantry divisions to operate under Soviet command.

The agreement was signed in Moscow on September 12, 1944.

On August 17 President Mannerheim had informed German Field Marshal Keitel that Finland no longer considered herself bound by former President Ryti's agreements with Germany; on August 25 the Finnish Minister in Stockholm had handed the Soviet Minister there a request that an armistice delegation be received. Now, on September 19 Finland ceded the Arctic port of Petsamo, vital to Russia and the site of important British-controlled nickel mines; gave a 50 years lease on land dominating the Gulf of Finland and the Finnish capital, Helsinki; ceded parts of Karelia, returning to the borders of 1939-1940 war ; placed her merchant fleet and southern airfields at the disposal of the Allies and agreed to help expel German troops from her territory, place her own Army on a peace footing and pay $300 milion in commodities over a six-year period to the Soviet Union.

Considerable German strength remained in the Balkans. Already the Soviet-Rumanian advance toward Hungary was threatening their line of retreat; now events in Bulgaria increased the menace. These events were confused in the extreme. Bulgaria found herself, for 28 hours, at war with both the Allies and the Germans. Previously, she had been at war only with the United States and Great Britain, not with Russia. Her universal belligerence resulted from Russia's announcement that since Bulgaria was collaborating with Germany by receiving Nazi troops in flight from Rumania, a state of war would exist between Bulgaria and the U.S.S.R. as at 7 p.m. on September 5.

Bulgaria Deserts Germany

By September 9 Soviet troops were pouring across Bulgarian borders, the Black Sea ports of Varna and Burgas were in Soviet possession and the pro-German Regents had been replaced. The new Premier replacing the evanescent Muraview, was Colonel Kimon Georgiev, who promised full co-operation with the Allies and gave it by releasing Allied prisoners and, on September 16, by welcoming United Nations forces into Sofia, the capital. Soviet forces pushed on through Bulgaria as they had through Rumania and by the early days of October were ready to enter Hungary. Others of their troops manned the Turkish-Bulgarian frontier and still others drove into Yugoslavia to make contact with Marshal Tito's partisans.

While Soviet troops and their new allies thus erected a bayonet-spiked barrier across the Balkans from Black Sea to Adriatic, British troops were landing in increasing force on the eastern shores of the Adriatic and in the Greek Islands preparing for a drive north.

Meantime, mixed forces under Soviet command were 40 miles inside Hungary; and from Czechoslovakia came reports that advance elements of Soviet troops had joined with anti-German forces in Slovakia. On October 2 General Eisenhower issued a radio appeal for revolt of anti-Nazi elements within the German perimeter.

And on October 5, as Soviet troops broke into the suburbs of the Yugoslav capital, Belgrade, it was announced that British forces had made landings by air and sea in Albania, and on the south-western coast of Greece.

Round-Up of 1944

United Nations forces striking with co-ordinated blows by land, sea and air made long strides during 1944 toward the final defeat of Germany. In carrying forward their task of smashing Nazi militarism, Allied forces had reduced the pre-war strength of the German Army by more than one-quarter. And the Allied advances have cut off another 500,000 German soldiers in Crete, the

Aegean islands, the Atlantic seaports of France, on islands in the English Channel, in Latvia, and in Northern Norway. These troops, far from the uncertain sanctuary of their homeland, were powerless to affect the final outcome of the war.

In Europe, United Nations armed forces cleared the Nazis from all or part of France. Belgium, Italy, Greece, Albania, San Marino, Monaco, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Luxemburg. They liberated portions of the Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Norway. They smashed the Nazi shackles gripping Finland, Rumania and Bulgaria whose arms have been turned upon their former Nazi oppressors.

Following the landing in Normandy, a second one was made on the Mediterranean coast of Southern France on August 15. Since the two landings, Allied Armies have swept east and north across France and into Germany itself. The German city of Aachen was reduced to rubble. Its ruins were a portent of what awaited all Germany.

On the southern front Allied forces were hammering at German defences across the ankle of Italy's boot, just above Naples. Since then they have smashed the Cassino line, liberated Rome and advanced through Florence and Pisa nearly to the top of the peninsula.

The German grip on the Balkan Peninsula was broken. Patriots and British troops liberated all Grecce and Albania. Yugoslav, British and Soviet forces recovered Eastern Yugoslavia, including Belgrade; a long strip of the Dalmatian coast and most of the Adriatic islands.

Throughout the year Soviet blows from the east have kept pace with those of the western Allies. At the start of 1944 the eastern front extended more than 2,000 miles from the Barents to the Black Sea.

Below Kiev the Germans had mounted their defences along the Dnieper River where it bends south-east through the rich Ukraine. And anchoring their front on the Black Sea, the Germans held the great irregular Crimean Peninsula.

Striking first in the south, then in the north, and fashioning traps for thousands of Germans by their swift operations, Soviet Armies riddled one enemy defence line after another and smashed across Poland and the Oder river to a point only 30 miles from Berlin.

While the advancing Armies cut Germany off from sources of military strength in the occupied and satellite countries, allied airmen were carrying out the systematic attrition of the enemy war machine. Early in 1944 they hammered the Luftwaffe —in the air and a building. This compelled the Germans to disperse aircraft production to small, uneconomical units which laid an added strain on hard-pressed transportation facilities. Then top priority in the air war was given to the German rail net-work and oil production.

SETBACKS FOR ENEMY AT SEA

At sea the Germans suffered other setbacks. The Allies' rapid advance through France cut the enemy off from his submarine bases along the Atlantic and Channel coasts.

Admiral Ernest J. King, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Fleet, told a press conference in early November 1944 that German U-boat operations in the Atlantic had been reduced from a menace. When, on November 13, R. A. F. Lancasters sank the battleship Tirpitz in Tremso Fjord in Northern Norway, Germany's capital ships were reduced to two—the damaged battleship Gneisenau and the unused aircraft carrier Graf Zeppelin. Two pocket battleships and two heavy cruisers, damaged repeatedly by bombs and torpedoes, were immobilized in the Baltic.

Thus, soon after the start of 1945, with the combined British, American and French armies in the west (perhaps the greatest force of massed military strength ever assembled) and with the Soviet armies in the east the United Nations began the vise-like squeeze on Germany which could mean only one thing—the complete and utter rout of the last vestige of German armed resistance.

History of the War in the Far East

December 1941—August 1945

The war which engulfed the world began in the Far East. The combustible material which blew up in 1931 was widespread. Europe as well as Eastern Asia was littered with it. But the igniting spark was struck by the growing friction between resurgent Chinese nationalism and Japanese militarism in Manchuria. All the world knows, that spark was the "Mukden Incident."

According to the Japanese version, Chinese guerrillas mined the Japanese owned South Manchuria Railway just outside of Mukden about 10 p. m. on September 18, 1931. They intended, the Japanese said, to wreck the express from Changchun, which was due at Mukden at 10-30 p. m. But the express from Changchun reached Mukden in time with its carriages undamaged and its passengers unjolted, and the explosion in itself does not seem to have been worth a three line paragraph in any newspaper.

Nevertheless, the Japanese army in Manchuria bellowed to the world that the Chinese had tried to blow up the railway and that Japanese railway guards had been attacked as a prelude to a "general assault" against the Japanese forces. The Japanese put into immediate operation their prepared plan for use in case of possible hostilities with the Chinese. All Japanese troops in Manchuria and some in Korea were brought into action over the whole area of the South Manchuria Railway from Changchun to Fort Arthur. Within a matter of hours after the "Mukden Incident," the Japanese Army was moving with the utmost speed, precision and thoroughness toward the occupation of the whole of Manchuria. Some Japanese units seemed to have left their barracks even before the "incident"—a notable example of "imperial premonition."

Manchuria was a vast frontier area comprising the three north-eastern provinces of the Chinese Republic. All three were Chinese in population and administration. Despite foreign protests (the United States among other countries never recognized Japanese rights in Manchuria), the Japanese continued to overturn the three provinces. It took them less than five months to occupy the chief cities. Most of the Chinese provincial officials fled or went into hiding, but the Japanese found some Chinese willing to serve them, and a new regime was set up at Mukden with Japanese "advisers."

The regime declared the independence of the three provinces under the regency of Pu Yi, the last Manchu emperor of China who had been living as a refugee in the Japanese Concession at Tientsin since his flight from Peking (now Peiping) in 1925. It adopted the Japanese coined name of "Manchukuo" meaning "state of the Manchus." The Japanese government gave the "Manchukuo" prompt recognition and entered into an "alliance" with it which gave the Japanese Army the right to remain in occupation of the country. Superficially the new state was Chinese, but the Japanese "advisers" in its ministries were responsible to the Japanese ambassador, who was also commander-in chief of the Japanese occupation army.

Before the new state was a year old, Japanese and "manchukuoan" forces overran and annexed a fourth Chinese province, that of Jehol. They seized the Great Wall passes for 'Manchukuo'; to keep the Chinese armies at a distance from which they could not molest the new regime outside the Wall, the Japanese set up within the Wall a demilitarized zone which extended almost to the gates of Peiping and Tientsin in North China. Chinese troops were barred from this buffer zone in China proper, and renegade Chinese irregulars in Japanese service made it an area of incurable disorder and lawlessness.

"Manchukuo" was then said to cover an area of 503,143 square miles and to have a population of 34,201,000. It was more than three times the area of Japanese proper and more than twice the area of Japan plus its previous empire. With the enthronement Pu Yi in 1934 as Emperor Kang Teh and the establishment of his capital in Changchun—previously renamed Hsinking by the Japanese—the structure of this puppet state, supported by Japanese bayonets, attained approximately its present form.

Fact-Finding Commission Investigates

China appealed to the League of Nations against the Manchurian violence three days after the "Mukden Incident," and the League sent out a fact-finding

commission under the chairmanship of the British Earl of Lytton, which held nearly six months of hearings in Japan, China and Manchuria. The commission's report supported the Chinese views, while recognising that Japan had grievances deserving of redress Basing itself on the report, the League's Assembly recommended the erection of an autonomous Manchuria under nominal Chinese sovereignty, and the withdrawal of the Japanese Army. Japan replied on March 27, 1933, by giving the required two years' notice of withdrawal from the League—a defiance from which the League was never to recover.

China, of course, has never recognized "Manchukuo." Chinese contacts with the outside world centred in the international port of Shanghai, and the depth of Chinese resentment was indicated early in 1932 by the isolated episode of Chapei, a part of the Chinese municipality of Shanghai. The prolonged Chinese defence of Chapei against the Japanese, though it ended in defeat, gave the Chinese a much-needed renewal of confidence in their fighting abilities.

STIMSON BARRED RECOGNITION OF "MANCHUKUO"

Most of the rest of the world, including the United States, Britain and Russia, still regards Manchuria as officially part of the Chinese Republic. In his note of January 7, 1932, the U. S. Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson (now Secretary of War), committed the United States to the policy of refusing to recognise any situation, treaty or agreement" brought about by means contrary to the Kellogg Pact against war, a stronger stand than any power other than the United States was prepared to take at the time, and a stand which has never been modified.

The aggression of 1931 seemed to be successful. It constituted a precedent which was duly noted in Japan, and that precedent launched Japanese militarism on the career of treaty-breaking, violence and undeclared wars which brought it finally to the attack on Pearl Harbour and open warfare on the United States and Britain. With each new aggression, its appetite grew. Japanese militarism seized the whole of the western Pacific and Manchuria to the islands north of Australia, and its projected "new order" embraced Far East lands which hold half the world's population.

The Manchuria precedent was duly noted elsewhere. It ignited a train of other undeclared wars which swept, by way of Ethiopia and Spain, into the heart of Europe ; and the world's wars blended into the global war in which the aggressive power, headed by Germany and Japan, were locked with the United Nations, led by America, Britain, Russia and China, in a titanic struggle.

In the spring of 1935, Japanese army officers in North China were growing restless, and a series of demands on Chinese provincial authorities threatened "the divorce of North China from Nanking." For two years the Japanese pushed that "autonomy movement" in the North, and the inevitable breaking point came when Japanese troops of the Peiping legation garrison exchanged shots with Chinese troops at the Marcó Polo Bridge, 12 miles from Peiping, on the night of July 7, 1937.

For the next three weeks Japanese reinforcements poured into North China from "Manchukuo" and Japan. Once or twice there seemed to be a propest of compromise, but Chinese feeling was running high, and any hope of compromise ended on July 28 when the Japanese army opened a large-scale offensive against Peiping. Six months later Japanese occupation of China's five nothern provinces was fairly complete. However, resistance by Chinese guerrilla forces never ceased.

Meanwhile, Peiping's occupation had the effect of enlisting every Chinese military leader under the direct orders of the central command in Nanking, where Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was insisting, "there is no looking backward, we must fight to the bitter end." To break the growing strength and unity of Nanking, the Japanese attacked the main source of its military and economic strength, the great international centre of Shanghai ; and what began as a local war in the north became war on an all-China scale.

Fighting broke out in Shanghai on August 13, 1937, and the three months of its duration cost the Japanese•their heaviest losses since the Russo-Japanese war. Erratic bombing by Chinese planes trying to hit the Japanese flagship *Idzumo* in the river caused heavy casualties to civilians ashore. An unidentified shell hit the American flagship Augusta, and Japanese planes wounded the British Ambassador to China. Once the Chinese were forced out of the Shanghai area, the Japanese advanced on Nanking with relative ease. Their exuberant naval airmen bombed the British gunboat *Ladybird* in the Yangtze and two British steamers filled with Chinese civilian refugees. They sank the American gunboat *Panay* and destroyed or breached three Standard Oil tankers.

NANKING REIGN OF TERROR

By December 7 the outer defenses of Nanking were nnder attack, and a week

later Japanese anger at the stubborn Chinese defense of Shanghai burst upon Nanking in an appalling reign of terror. For a moment it was conceivable that China might have cracked. The Japanese expected them to accept peace terms, and terms were offered. But Chiang Kai-shek's decision was for resistance ; and the Chinese capital was shifted to remote Chungking, 1000 miles up the Yangtze, though Hankow on the middle Yangtze served as China's chief military and administrative centre until it fell in October 1938.

The Japanese now abandoned hope of coming to terms with the Chinese government and undertook the ambitious task of converting China to a larger "Manchukuo." Few educated Chinese would collaborate with them. But with such local traitors as they could enlist, the Japanese set up two carpetbag administrations, a "provisional government of China" in Peiping and a "reformed government" in Nanking, attaching the two "governments" loosely to each other by means of a coordinating committee.

The Japanese continued to move down the Chinese coasts and along the railways of the interior, until by October 1938 all of China's main ports, its six largest cities (Peiping, Tientsin, Shanghai, Nanking, Canton and Hankow,) 80 or 90 percent of its railway network and by far the greater part of its industrial plant were in Japanese hands. In any tightly woven and highly industrialized European country, a disaster so immeasurable would have meant the end of all effective resistance. But in a huge, loose, amorphous country like China the Government could retire into the deep interior, confident that it could outlast the Japanese in any test of national endurance.

Prepared for Long War

Chiang Kai-shek's government at Chungking now faced the prospect of years of resistance, ready if necessary to rely on its own strength but with the hope that some day the deepening crisis in Europe would be resolved, and the democracies of the West would again be free to turn their attention to the Far East. Though preoccupied at the moment by the Spanish war and Hitler's seizure of Austria, Great Britain had large interests in the Far East and a stake in China almost six times as great as the United States. American trade with China was larger than Britain's, but Britain had much the larger banking, shipping and real estate interests. Moreover, the long history of educational and missionary activity had made the traditional United States attitude toward China one of sympathy and friendship.

At the moment the United States and Japan were engaged in naval expansion and Britain was building its large Singapore naval base. Japan had killed the naval treaties of 1922 and 1930, and all naval limitations in the Pacific lapsed on December 31, 1936. Starting in 1937, Japan undertook the five year plan of naval construction known as the "third replenishment programme" and in January 1937 the United States Navy began building two replacement battleships, the first battleship construction undertaken by the United States since the Washington naval treaty of 1922.

The limitation on new naval bases and fortifications had also lapsed in 1936. Britain strengthened the fortifications of Hong Kong, and opened the Singapore base in February 1938 giving the British Navy a Far Eastern drydock capable of accommodating the largest battleships. Incidentally, Japan could hardly have failed to note the presence of an American naval squadron at the opening ceremony. The British had already held land, sea and air manoeuvres at Hong Kong, and they now made similar tests at Singapore. At the same time, the U. S. Navy, engaged in extensive manoeuvres in the Pacific, reaching from the Aleutians through Midway Island to Samoa.

The war in Europe gave Japan another of the opportunities which she has traditionally exploited to the full. The Japanese Army had steadily pressed its campaign to reduce the whole of China to a position of subservience; and by December 1938 Prince Fuminaro Konoye was asserting Japan's determination "to proceed with the work of establishing a new order in East Asia."

Bogged down deep in the Chinese hinterland, it was not difficult for the Japanese militarists to point to the immense resources of rubber, oil and tin which awaited a new conqueror in the South Seas.

On August 1, the new and more Fascist Prime Minister, Prince Konoye, crystallized the new aims in the phrase "Greater East Asia", which he defined as embracing "not only Japan, Manchukuo (Manchuria) and China, but also Indo-China and the East Indies". To these his Foreign Minister, Yosuke Matsuoka, later added Thailand, Burma and New Caledonia.

By that time Indo-China had passed to the Vichy regime, the Netherlands East Indies owed its allegiance to a government in London, and the German air force was soon to begin its assault on Britain. Japanese leaders were feverish with excitement. Their Army in China already stood on the borders of Indo-China, and that French colony was their immediate objective. In June they had secured the promise of the collapsing French Republic to prohibit the transport of goods into China over the Indo-Chinese railways, and with it the right to station Japanese Inspectors at key points to see that the promise was carried out. The "Inspectors" proved to be so numerous that by August the Japanese were in virtual control of the colony's economic life and were demanding air bases and the right of passage for Japanese troops.

Under German pressure, Vichy on September 22, gave the Japanese a limited right of garrison in Indo-China and the use of air bases on its northern frontier; and five days later, Germany, Italy and Japan signed a pact of military alliance in Berlin, obviously aimed at the United States.

The United States reacted with a vigor which was felt in the Atlantic as well as in the Pacific. In the Atlantic American aid to Britain was quickened for the pact revealed how fundamentally American survival was bound up with the survival of Britain. The conversion of American industry to war production was then getting underway, and the pact became part of the back-ground of President Roosevelt's "arsenal of democracy" speech on December 29, which called for the fullest national effort to insure a British victory.

Export of American Scrap Stopped

In the Pacific, instead of forcing an American retreat, the net result of the pact was to reverse the retreat which was already in progress. The export of American scrap, so important to the Japanese steel industry, was embargoed from July 26. A loan of $ 25,000,000 was advanced to China. American forces in Hawaii were reinforced, and the U. S. State Department advised Americans in Japanese-controlled territories to go home. Britain re-opened the Burma Road into China, Russia made it clear that she had no intention of ceasing her aid to China, and the effect on Japan was the long-deferred abandonment of her hope of peace with Chiang Kai-shek. On November 30 she gave formal recognition to the Japanese-controlled government at Nanking and concluded a "peace treaty" with it which neither side could enforce. The United States replied by granting a further credit of $ 100,000,000 to Chiang Kai-shek, and the British advanced 10,000,000 pounds sterling.

By the spring of 1941 Russia was approaching her gigantic showdown with Germany, and on April 13 Russia and Japan signed a neutrality pact which in effect provided a five year truce along the borders of Manchuria and Outer Mongolia. Japan's line of least resistance was still Indo-China. In May she had gained a virtual monopoly of Indo-China's chief products and her bases gave her military control over the northern part. She then demanded complete control, and on June 26 Vichy signed a military agreement which purported to provide for a joint defence of the colony but in reality left Japan supreme.

The United States was still seeking to avoid war in the Far East, and conversations between the two governments had begun in Washington in March. They continued into the autumn, but no offer was ever made by Japan to return the territories her successive aggressions had brought her, and American policy on the subject of aggression had been unmistakably clear ever since the Japanese seizure of Manchuria in 1931. As the conversations dragged on with neither result nor hope of result, the United States showed a growing inclination to get a bit tough. The lend-lease bill of March 11 had provided aid for China as well as for Britain. An American military mission was in China. American engineers were improving the Burma Road. American airmen were on their way to bolster China's scanty air defences. After four years of standing alone against Japan, China's isolation had ended.

Japanese Absorb Indo-China

It was in this gathering crisis that the Japanese on June 26 absorbed Indo-China, an area almost twice the size of their home islands and of high economic and military value. The democracies now grew perceptibly tougher. On July 25 the United States, Britain and the Netherlands East Indies froze Japanese assets, virtually ending any important commercial dealings. The United States had denounced its trade treaty with Japan as far back as July 1939 and the trade treaties of Britain, India, Burma and the Netherlands Indies were now cancelled. The

last trace of American appeasement ceased when the export of aviation gasoline was embargoed on August 1, virtually ending all oil exports to Japan. At the same time, President Roosevelt ordered mobilization in the Philippines which lay some 800 miles across the China Sea from Indo-China, and a new American command known as the U. S. Forces in the Far East was set up in Manila.

Japan's line of least resistance now veered from Indo-China into Thailand, where a successful penetration would threaten Burma and the Burma Road to the north and Malaya, Singapore and the Netherlands Indies to the south. While British reinforcements streamed into Singapore, American and British coordination on Far Eastern policy was broadened to include China, the Netherlands Indies and Australia, a grouping now referred to as the ABCD powers. With American-Japanese conversations deadlocked in Washington the ABCD powers held a military conference in Manila early in October at which they discussed joint defence plans. This united front infuriated the Japanese extremists. It coincided with the launching of Hitler's drive for Moscow in Europe and with renewed German pressure in Tokyo. Prince Konoye's government accordingly resigned on October 16 and General Hideki Tojo became Prime Minister. A bolder and more totalitarian Japanese government was now determined to blast its way through American and British power to seize the wealth of the Indies and complete the encirclement of China.

New Government Stalled for Time

But the new government needed time to prepare for military action, and a special envoy, one Saburo Kurusu, was dispatched to Washington to spin out the moribund negotiations a few weeks longer. Kurusu and Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura, Japanese Ambassador, presented their proposals in Washington on November 20. This fresh set of proposals called for the United States to supply as much oil as Japan might require, suspension of freezing measures, and discontinuance by the United States of aid to China. It contained a provision that Japan would shift her armed forces from southern Indo-China to northern Indo-China but placing no limit on the number of armed forces which Japan might sent to Indo-China and making no provision for withdrawal of such forces until after either the restoration of peace between Japan and China or the establishment of an "equitable" peace in the Pacific area. It contained no provision for reversion by Japan to peaceful courses and while there were stipulations against further extension of Japan's armed force into south-eastern Asia and the southern Pacific (except Indo-China), there were no provisions which would have prevented continued or fresh Japanese aggressive activities in any of the regions of Asia lying to the north of Indo-China—for example, China and the Soviet Union.

The proposals of November 20 demonstrated that Japan was attempting to manoeuvre the United States into some sort of agreement of very limited scope which would in fact serve no basic purposes except those of Japan. New developments at this stage lay on the military rather than the political plane. Japan was reinforcing her estimated 40,000 troops in Indo-China with 50,000 fresh troops. Canadian reinforcements had already been dispatched to Hong Kong and Britain promised immediate support if the United States became involved in war with Japan.

Japanese insistence on an immediate reply to their proposals brought back the discussion to the American proposals of November, 26.

These proposals envisaged a general settlement covering the whole of the Pacific, based on the principles of non-aggression, equality of opportunity and international co-operation. They proposed a non-aggression pact to include all the Pacific States, a general renunciation of the privileged position of foreign powers in China, and in particular the abolition of the rights obtained by the Boxer Protocol of 1901. They offered Japan a favourable trade agreement and currency stabilization. In return they stipulated a general recognition of the integrity of Indo-China, Japanese withdrawal both from Indo-China and from China proper, and joint recognition of Chiang Kai-shek's government in terms which made it clear that Japan must abandon her puppet government at Nanking.

Preparations Nearly Complete

Japan's military preparations were then nearly complete. The occupation of Indo-China by fresh Japanese troops was well under way, and on November 30 strong Japanese naval forces, including heavy cruisers and aircraft carriers, were reported off the Japanese mandated islands far out in the mid-Pacific. On the same day General Tojo called on the peoples of Asia to "purge East Asia with a vengeance of the practices of Great Britain and the United States," and President Roosevelt cut short his holiday in Georgia and hurried back to Washington.

On December 2 the new battleship *Prince of Wales* and the old battle cruiser *Repulse* reached the great British naval base at Singapore, and with troops standing to their battle positions in Hong Kong, the Philippines and the Netherlands Indies President Roosevelt asked Japan bluntly and directly why she was moving new forces into Indo-China. Japan answered on December 5 that she was taking precautions against Chinese aggression with the consent of the Vichy regime. She had then reduced the forms of diplomacy to complete emptiness, preparatory to discarding them altogether. As a last resort, on the afternoon of December 6, the President despatched a personal letter to the Japanese Emperor in which he stressed the danger which had arisen from Japan's moves in Indo-China and expressed the hope that through the Emperor peace might be preserved.

Attack on Pearl Harbour

At 7-55 o'clock, Honolulu time, on the morning of Sunday, December 7, the pent-up power of Japanese expansionism burst with explosive force on the U. S. Navy's mid-Pacific base at Pearl Harbour. Two hours later an underling from the Japanese Foreign Office in Tokyo handed the American ambassador a declaration of war, and the next day in Washington the U. S. Congress declared war on Japan by a vote of 338 to 1 in the lower House and 88 to 0 in the Senate.

• Five minutes before Japanese bombs began falling on Pearl Harbour the State Department in Washington received a call from the Japanese Embassy asking that the then Secretary of State Cordell Hull meet with Nomura and Kurusu. After the Japanese attack had already begun, the envoys walked into the Secretary's office and handed him a reply rejecting his note of November 26.

After reading the reply the Secretary turned to the two Japanese and in quiet, cold fury said : "I must say that in all my conversations with you during the last nine months I have never uttered one word of untruth. This is borne out absolutely by the record. In all my 50 years of public service I have never seen a document that was more crowded with infamous falsehoods and distortions on a scale so huge that I never imagined, until today, that any government on this planet was capable of uttering them."

After the shock of that surprise attack by Japanese naval planes on the big Pearl Harbour base, the exchange of declarations of war which followed between Japan's allies, Germany and Italy, on the one hand, and the United States on the other, seemed almost anti-climatic.

The war was now truly global. Every major power in the world had been drawn into it.

The strongest naval force facing Japan was the U. S. Pacific fleet based at Pearl Harbour, Hawaii, before the outbreak of the war in the Pacific. The great Pearl Harbour base was the central bastion of the whole American defence scheme in the Pacific but the war in the Atlantic had made such demands on the U. S. Navy that the Pacific fleet was no longer a match for the main Japanese battle fleet.

Six thousand miles to the west of Pearl Harbour the great British naval base at Singapore was built to serve as the main bastion of the British defense scheme in the Far East. The Singapore base lacked only the powerful fleet for which it was intended. The British Navy was so over-strained in European waters that it was able to spare but two capital ships for the Far East. Those two ships did not reach Singapore until December 2, 1941.

Prompt American reinforcement of the British forces at Singapore would, however, have placed a strong Allied fleet athwart the main channel of Japanese expansion. To prevent such a junction of forces by two major enemies, the Japanese Navy opened the war in the Pacific by striking at the American fleet, which was lying at its moorings in Pearl Harbour. In their surprise raid of December 7 Japanese carrier-borne planes sank or seriously crippled eight old American battleships. They also damaged smaller ships, planes and shore installations, causing a loss of about 3,000 lives. In the noise and the rolling smoke of the blackest day in the history of the United States Navy, the strength of the Pacific fleet was reduced from about 60 percent to about 20 or 30 percent of the Japanese battle strengh,

Singapore was not immediately attacked. But when its two capital ships, the battleship *Prince of Wales* and the battle-cruiser *Repulse*, emerged from beind their powerful shore defence for an offensive sweep up the Malayan coast, Japanese land-based planes located them at sea on December 10 and sank both of them.

This second Allied Naval disaster left the Japanese Navy undisputed master of the Southwest Pacific. Time was what the Japanese wanted—time to effect their expansion and to dig in aganst the counter-attack. To complete their enemies'

separation and to deny them bases for their counter-attack, the Japanese attacked every American and British possession between Pearl Harbour and Singapore.

HEROIC DEFENCE OF BATAAN

The American lifeline from Pearl Harbour to the Philippines ran via Midway Wake and Guam, three pin-points in the vast Pacific spaces. Midway remained in American hands, but Wake and Guam were lost to the Japanese, and their lossess doomed the Philippines. Without the protection of base along the 4,800 miles route, it was impossible for Pearl Harbour to get either supplies or reinforcements into the Philippines.

The American and Philipino defenders of the Bataan Peninsula in Manila Bay knew they had no hope of relief and their epic defence was one of the brightest beacons of those dark, disaster-ridden days. They held Bataan until April 9, 1942, and withdrawing then to the fortress islands of Corregidor in the bay, held out nearly a month longer until May 6. With the fall of Corregidor the Philippines were lost. But the defence had gained time for the Allies.

Hong Kong surrendered on Christmasday. Thailand put up no more than a token resistance and on December 21 signed a treaty of alliance with Japan.

Singapore was wholly unprepared to play the role of a land base, which the loss of its protective sea power necessitated. Its defences pointed seawards. Its land approaches, consisting of 400 Malayan jungle, had been ignored but now had hurriedly to be made defensible. This was an entirely new problem, and neither Malaya nor Singapore commanded the resources, the imaginative leadership nor the native loyalty necessary to its solution. The Japanese advance down the peninsula was delayed but never halted, and Singapore fell on February 15.

By January the Japanese had built up a strong base in Thailand, and on January 15 they turned north into Burma with the double objective of protecting the rear of their advance on Singapore and of completing the encirclement of China by cutting the Burma Road. Again they were delayed from time to time but never halted. They occupied Rangoon, the port of entry to the Burma Road, on March 10, and the Burma Road terminus of Lashio on April 28. That was the end of the slender supply line which fed China's resistance. Thenceforth supplies had to filter through the coastal blockade or be flown across "the Hump".

All these operations were relatively simple, compared to the large and complicated operation of conquering the rich and far-flung Netherlands Indies. From the southern Philippines port of Devao, which they occupied on December 20, the Japanese pushed down the Maccassar Straits between Borneo and Celebes to gain position on the southern coast of Borneo, which lay but 300 miles from Java. Simultaneously they struck far out at the eastern end of the islands to secure Rabaul on the Australian-mandated island of New Britain, from which they could cut any American direct supply line to Java.

At the opposite end of the islands, 3,000 miles to the west, the fall of Singapore enabled them to gain the Sumatra shore of the Sunda Strait, some 17 miles from the western end of the Java. At the same time the other arm of the pincer movement descended on Timor and Bali, bringing the Japanese down to within a mile of the eastern end of Java. The last Allied citadel in the Indies was then effectively isolated. Its Dutch, American, British and Australian defenders began their final sea and air battle for Java on the afternoon of February 27. Despite the greater weight of the Japanese, the battle went well during the daylight hours, but the defenders suffered heavy losses during the night, and the only Allied vessels known to have escaped to Australia were four American destroyers. By March 10 all effective resistance on Java was ended.

TURNING OF THE TIDE: RAIDS DISRUPT ENEMY PLANS

The Japanese explosion had now overwhelmed 1,500,000 square miles of rich tropical lands with populations totaling 120,000,000. It had swept the United States, Britain and the Netherlands from a vast coastal and island area extending from Midway Island to India and from Siberia to the islands north of Australia. India and Australia was still outside the perimiter of Japanese expansion. The great Japanese base at Rabaul and the Lae-Salamaua base in New Guinea were points of departure for further advances toward Australia.

But preparations for that advance were disrupted by American and Australian land-based planes in the devastating raid of March 10.

But by May a new Japanese move was in the making, this time from Rabaul along the fringes of the Coral Sea. The object was to secure bases in the Solomon and Louisiade groups. Here too the Japanese were checked. American carrier-borne

planes wrecked the Japanese transports lying in Tulagi harbour at the south-eastern end of the Solomons on May 4. Three days later they sank a carrier and a heavy cruiser of the main Japanese task force near Misima Island in the Louisiades. On May 8 the American and Japanese task forces attacked simultaneously, the Americans losing a carrier and the Japanese sustaining further damage. These scattered air actions became known as the vital battle of the Coral Sea.

Checked in the South Pacific, Japanese expansion turned to the Central and north Pacific. On the assumption they had lured the American Pacific fleet to the Coral Sea, the Japanese expected to find little opposition awaiting them at Midway Island, or even at Pearl Harbour itself.

Three Japanese columns totalling 80 ships were sighted some 700 miles off Midway on June 3. They closed in to a distance of 150 miles and exchanged air attacks with Midway forces. They turned away without pressing home their attack, and for two days they fled at top speed, while the carrier-borne planes of the U. S. Pacific fleet gave them a savage hammering, sinking four carriers, two heavy cruisers and three destroyers. The Pacific fleet lost one carrier and a destroyer in the same battle.

These air attacks constituted the important battle of Midway. And at the same time Japanese forces were seizing Attu and Kiska Islands in the bleak Aleutian in the north, but to short advantage: both were recovered a year later and were subsequently used as effective bases for American oppositions.

Beginning of Japanese Defensive Strategy

Japanese expansion was thus thrown back into the South Pacific. There the Japanese maintained coordinated pressure along the 2,000 mile area from new Guinea to the Gilbert Islands.

From the Lae-Salamaua area of New Guinea, the Japanese found it impossible to gain direct overland access to the advanced Allied base at Port Moresby. Accordingly they moved down the coast in July to the Buna-Gona area, where they crossed the jungle-clad mountains of the interior to reach a point within 32 miles of Port Moresby...by September 17. Allied pressure threw them back, and by January 23, 1943, they had lost even the Buna-Gona area and were forced back in Lae and Salamaua.

In the southeastern Solomons the Japanese developed a naval base at Tulagi and an airfield on the larger neighbouring island of Guadalcanal. This potentially strong position was uncomfortably close to the vital American supply line to Australia.

At dawn on August 7, 1942, surprise American landings seized both Tulagi and the Guadalcanal airfield. During the next three months the American beachhead on Guadalcanal survived three Japanese attacks. By the middle of November the Japanese were bringing down reinforcements for what they intended to be a fourth attack in overwhelming strength. But American planes slaughtered the Japanese transports at sea, and the American naval commander in the South Pacific threw everything he had against the strong Japanese task force which accompanied the transports.

The night battle of Guadalcanal which followed on November 14-15 was a ship-to-ship battle, the heaviest naval battle of the war till that date. It brought to a climax three days and nights of scattered sea and air actions which cost the Japanese two battleships, eight cruisers, six destroyers, 12 transports and at least 25,000 men, as compared to the American loss of two cruisers and seven destroyers.

Beginning of the Roll-Back

The Battle of Guadalcanal marked the turning point of the war in the East. Though the Japanese did not finally abandon the island until February 1, 1943, the period of their expansion came to an end on that night of November 14-15. Since then the story of the war in the Pacific has been the slowly developing story of the Allied counter-attack. Much of the work of laying the foundation for the counter-offensive fell to Americans; the United States was the leading Pacific power and the head and shoulders of the Allied alliance against Japanese aggression.

The Pearl Harbour raid had converted the loose alliance of the pre-war ABCD powers (American, British, Chinese and Dutch) into a formal military alliance against Japan. The United States, Britain, India, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, the Netherlands Government and China joined in a Pacific alliance which was later broadened into an alliance against the enemy to which 26 of the United Nations

affixed their signatures on January 1, 1942. Other countries closed ranks with them as they joined the battle against the Axis powers.

The Americans began the work of giving added security to their defensive outposts from Alaska to the Panama Canal almost before the smoke of the Pearl Harbour raid had cleared. The damage at Pearl Harbour was made good with the utmost speed and naval task forces based on Pearl Harbour were striking back at the Japanese by the end of January 1942. The Pearl Harbour raid had been launched from the Japanese bases in the Marshall Islands, and these bases were heavily raided on January 31. The bomber route from Japan to the Marshalls ran via Marcus and Wake Islands, and both these points were hammered, Wake on February 24 and Marcus on March 4. Military targets in Tokyo itself and three other Japanese cities were bombed in the daring American raid of April 18.

But most of these hard hitting raids had to be fitted in as time permitted. The main, though unspectacular, task of those early days was that of building into the Allied structure a line of island bases running south and west from Pearl Harbour to New Zealand and Australia. This work was unlike anything known in the European war.

Since the difficulties of supply made it impossible to hold Java, the duty of pinning down Japan's southward expansion fell to the Allied commands in Australia and New Zealand. In addition, both these dominions had to be built up for the eventual Allied counter offensive.

American troops began reaching Australia in March 1942. At the same time General Douglas MacArthur arrived in Australia and assumed command in the Southwest Pacific. Because he came direct from the heroic defence of Bataan his arrival did much to dissipate Australia's defensive mentality. It may well have been his insistence on a vigorously offensive defensive which saved Port Moresby in New Guinea for the valuable role it was later to play as an Allied advance base. A little later the first American marines and the first Allied commander, an American admiral, reached New Zealand. In June 1942 this new base took its place in the scheme of overall Allied strategy.

Island Hopping and By-passing Begins

Having secured a base in Guadalcanal in the Solomons, the Americans in September, 1943, advanced another stage toward Rabaul by seizing the Japanese airfield at Munda in the central Solomons, while the Australians on New Guinea moved up to wrest the important Lae-Salamaua area from the Japanese. In November, the Americans moved closer to Rabaul by securing a base on Bougainville Island in the northwestern Solomons, while on New Guinea the Australians moved up to attack Finschhafen.

At the same time, American marines in epic battles overcame stubborn Japanese opposition on Tarawa and Makin Islands in the Gilbert group, 1,500 miles east of Rabaul, thus rolling back the whole southeast corner of Japanese expansion. In December the Americans were landing on New Britain itself, seizing bases at its western extremity which enabled them to thrust in a salient between Rabaul and the Japanese base at Madang on New Guinea.

In this methodical isolation of Rabaul, the Allies were training an army of veterans to match those whom Japan had inherited from her years of warfare in China. The fronts on which these forces were to contribute to the "unremitting pressure by sea, land and air" which was to bring Japan to unconditional surrender, were decided upon at the Cairo conference of November 22 to 26. There in Egypt the late President Roosevelt, ex-Prime Minister Churchill and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek met as the major members of the coalition against Japan. The military move agreed upon naturally were not announced, but the overall objective was announced soon after the Cairo conference adjourned. "Japan" the three major allies announced, "shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first world war in 1914. All the territories which Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores Islands, shall be restored to the Republic of China. Japan shall also be expelled from all other territories which she had taken by violence and greed, and in due course Korea shall become free and independent."

The Allied goal in the Pacific War was thus made crystal clear. It was the return of Japan to her home islands, and an end once and for all to the mounting aggressions of Japanese militarism and her policy of enslavement of the peoples of Asia.

Japanese Advance Towards India

The Japanese advance through Burma was almost catastrophic to the Allies.

As U. S. General Joseph W. Stilwell put it after the rout of the British and American forces, "We took a hell of a beating." But at the same time Stillwell promised a comeback—a promise that was seconded by Lord Louis Mountbatten, chief of the South East Asia Command.

The Japanese had cut off all overland supply routes to China. The Burma Road no longer existed except on the Japanese map. Japanese troops advanced through northern Burma. Unchecked, they might well have swept into India as part of the stratospheric plan to link up with the German armies marching eastward.

But at Imphal they made their farthest penetration. After a touch-and-go battle during which the future often looked exceedingly dark for the Allies, the westward expansion was stopped.

Then began the slow process of building up supplies and troops that would eventually rout the Japanese from well-established defensive position in northern Burma and later from the rest of Burma.

Slowly the land route to China was opened. Through monsoons and over incredible geographical obstacles the Ledo Road route was secured and built up by Americans, Chinese and Indians while British and Indian troops drove south toward Mandalay and Rangoon. In January, 1945, the through road was linked up with the Burma Road. Overland supplies could move towards China again.

During all this period India served as a base for operations against the Japanese. Her industry manufactured supplies for the Allies, her land held the men and material that were to be moved up to the active fronts in Burma and China. Airfields were constructed as bases for Allied planes that operated against the Japanese in South East Asia and China, including B-29 bases. Seaports harboured the ships that serviced the United Nations effort against the Japanese.

At the end of 1943 a high naval officer outlined United Nations Procedure thenceforth against Japan as "Pushing airfields at her."

Tarawa and Makin, first stepping stones towards the Philippines, the Asiatic mainland and metropolitan Japan, were now plane bases and from there American planes began a series of attacks on the Marshall Islands farther north. It would not be necessary to pay for future airfields the heavy proportion of casualties that had been exacted at Tarawa and Makin. Henceforth shore defences could be thoroughly "softened" before landings were made.

The Army, having established forces on New Britain in December, 1943, had by February 1944 landed in the Green Islands, north of Bougainville, on Los Negros in the Admiralty Islands and by March 30, on Emirau, north of New Britain; isolating 50,000 Japanese troops and bringing the Solomons campaign virtually to a close. This was "island-hopping," but island hopping revolutionized by past experience and co-ordinated with ample naval and air support.

Another factor was that the Japanese navy was notably failing to carry out the tasks assigned to it. Battered in its earlier encounters with United Nations surface forces, it now faced the duties—and the dilemma—of protecting the strong points in Japan's perimeter of defenses while guarding the long shipping lanes along which supplies, one-third of Japan's war-time consumption, must be imported.

At these shipping lanes American submarines sniped continually, while amphibious operations were directed not at the strong points in the Japanese sytem, but at positions flanking those points.

CUTTING THE SUPPLY LINES

U. S. Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal, in July 1944, reported 740 sinkings of Japanese merchant vessels since January 1, 1942, 570 by submarines. Loss of these vessels and their trained crews impaired the enemy's ability to import the coal, iron and petroleum necessary for construction and operation of replacements, thus restricting his imports of other war essentials and reducing still further the possibility of Japan's building small patrol vessels to fight the submarine menace. Thus, throwing the enemy's marine economy into a descending spiral, the submarines justified the statement that their campaign was not one of attrition but a true offensive. Without adequate shipping, land positions must necessarily be weakened; their eventual fall providing the United Nations with additional air and submarine bases from which to attack enemy water routes, and bringing strangulation nearer by geometrical progression.

On February 16 and 17 the largest carrier-based air force in history struck at Truck, Japanese base in the Caroline Islands. Almost simultaneously, after violent sea and air bombardments, American land forces attacked Kwajalein, Roi and Namur in the Marshall Islands capturing Eniwetok atoll on February 18.

Kwajalein was a touchstone for the future. Comparable in strength and importance to Tarawa, it was garrisoned with 10,000 Japanese and heavily fortified. But it was not assaulted frontally; adjacent islands were taken first and field guns mounted on them to batter to pieces the defenses of Kwajalein. The main attack began on February 1, and by February 4 the atoll was occupied. American casualties were 286 killed, 1,148 wounded and 83 missing. Except for 264 prisoners the entire Japanese garrison was wiped out.

Next a carrier force attacked Tinian, Guam and Saipan in the Mariana Islands, 600 miles northwest of Truck. Another blow followed on March 28, when a naval force attacked the Palau Islands, only 600 miles from the Philippines. The enemy —his attention distracted in early April by Admiral Mountbatten's attacks on Sumatra and Sabang—may have wondered whether landing were to follow these bombardments; actually the next land-attacks were on Hollandia in New Guinea, at Aitape, the Wakde Islands and, on May 27 at Biak, all of which added units to the steadily contracting circle of airfields around Japan.

"Softening up" Operations

The Mokmor airfield on Biak was taken by Americans on June 7 and four days later naval and air attacks of unprecedental fury struck Tinian, Saipa and Guam; destroying 140 enemy planes, sinking 13 surface vessels and damaging 16 others. From the Japanese point of view this was ominous. Truck in the Carolines also was bombed again; so was Palay; so, on June 14, were on the Bonin Islands, only 600 miles southeast of Yokohama. The "softening" of the Marianas continued, simultaneously with the operations, for three days; then on June 14 American troops landed on Saipan—flanking the larger island and former American possession of Guam.

Saipan, at the cross-roads of Japan's invasion-supply routes, had been heavily fortified and garrisoned with over 20,000 picked troops sworn to hold the island at all costs. There were desperate and protracted fighting, but by July 8 the Americans held the island. Against their total casualties of some 15,000 killed—they could set the Japanese loss of 19,793 killed alone, the destruction of 900 enemy planes and 50 ships and the acquisition of extensive airsites only 1,500 miles from Tokyo, 1,600 miles from Manila and 1,900 miles from Shanghai.

And it seemed likely that they would remain in possession. On June 18, while fighting on Saipan was at its height, a strong Japanese naval force had appeared in the vicinity, but by June 19, had been forced to flee. The American fleet did not, however, pursue it into the trap of Tsushima Strait; it remained in command of the seas west of Tinian—Rumy described by Tokyo as "a very powerful naval force" shelling and bombing and strafing with its ancillary planes Saipan's flanking islands of Guam and Rota.

Enter the B-29s

To foreshadow the future—on June 15 bombers of a new type had wrecked the great Yamata steel works on the Japanese home island of Kyushu. These were Superfortresses—B-29s—vastly more powerful versions of the famous Flying Fortress, units of the new 20th Bomber Command, whose range was to be world-wide. Their base for this attack was China; they repeated their performance on July 7, blasting Yamata again, the Sasebo naval base and, according to the Japanese radio, Nagasaki.

Elsewhere in the Far Eastern theatre the news was mixed. The Japanese had been flung out of their Indian gains in Assam and were being forced back in the hills of Manipur. Chinese and Chindit forces were making progress in Burma; but in China the situation following the Japanese capture of Changsha was such as to make the United Nations High Command—in President Roosevelt's words—"a good deal concerned."

Meanwhile, Guam was back in American hands on August 9.

The road to Tokyo led back to the Philippines, with American landing on the beaches of Leyte, October 20, 1944. Names enshrined in the hearts of Americans because of the gallant holding actions there in the first months of the war—Bataan and Corregidore—again figured in the news, when early in 1945 these were in American hands once more. Manila was entered by the American forces February 5, 1945.

Ring of Steel Closes Around Japan

In 1945 the Allies continued to forge around Japan a constantly contracting ring of steel.

In February American forces landed on Iwo Jima, only 150 miles from Tokyo, and won that vital base.

After a bitter campaign, Okinawa, "springboard to Japan," was in American hands in June.

By early 1945, the situation in the China-Burma-India theatre was much improved. The new Ledo-Burma road was opened, largely as the result of the work of the American engineering troops, aided by the Chinese and Indians. The new road was named the Stilwell Road, in tribute to General Joseph Stilwell.

In Burma, British and Indian units forged steadily ahead, retaking the cities of Rangoon and Mandalay, and clearing the country of all Japanese save units retreating towards the hills of Thailand.

Even as the war against Nazi Germany was coming to a close, stronger blows were being hurled at the Japanese. The final German surrender came on May 8, and immediately the Allies started mass redeployment of forces to the Pacific.

Exactly three weeks after the Potsdam Ultimatum, "Surrender or be destroyed", and ten days after the first atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima and seven days after Russia's entry into the war in the East, Japan acknowledged defeat and agreed to unconditionally surrender. The news that Japan surrendered was simultaneously announced in London and Washington by Prime Minister Attlee and President Truman at 5-30 hours (I. S. T.) on August 15. Japan signed the complete Surrender Document near Tokyo Bay on September 2, 1945.

India's Contribution to the two Wars

In men, Money and Materials

India's strategic position has played a large part in her contribution to the Allied war effort.

India is the spring-board for the liberation of Burma and the supply base from which British, Indian and American forces, in co-operation with their Chinese ally, can strike at Japan from the west.

India's position to the east of the Persian Gulf enabled her to play an important part in sending Allied supplies to the Soviet Union.

India joined with Ceylon and Australia, on the one side, and with East and South Africa on the other in helping to maintain Allied sea power in the Indian Ocean—a control which isolated Germany from Japan.

The pre-war strength of the Indian Army was 182,000. Today the Army numbers over 2,000,000 all of whom are volunteers. Recruits come from every corner of the country and the average rate of recruitment has been 50,000 to 60,000 a month. The recruitment rate, however, dropped during the 5th year of the war, the monthly intake for technical and non-technical personnel being 7,785 and 27,833 respectively.

Recruitment to the officer class, both King's Commissioned Officers and V.C.O's has increased proportionately. The Indian Military Academy, which before the war accommodated about 200 cadets, has been enlarged to take 600, while other Officer Training Schools have been opened. Compared to 400 Indian Officers at the outbreak of the war, there are now more than 10,000 Indian Commissioned and King's Commissioned Officers. At present among the King's Commissioned Officers one out of six is an Indian.

The percentages of Indians amongst the Officers recruited to the three Services since the beginning of the war are as follows: Royal Indian Navy 45 per cent., Indian Army 47.3 per cent., and Royal Indian Air Force 100 per cent.

The pre-war Indian Army was armed and organised mainly for internal security and frontier defence. The general reserve, or Field Army, consisted of only three brigades. The need for mechanisation was realised, but the necessary equipment could not be obtained from the U. K. India's military problem has, therefore, been to expand her forces and at the same time to revolutionise their training.

TRAINING SCHOOLS

Existing training schools have been very greatly increased and many new ones

opened. These include a Tactical School, a Fighting Vehicles School, an Infantry School (which teaches minor tactics as well as the handling of infantry weapons), a Jungle Warfare School for officers and non-commissioned officers, in addition to the Anti-Aircraft Artillery Training Centres, etc., which have been opened for the recruits of the various arms. Indian Infantry and Gurkha reinforcements for the Eastern Theatre undergo intensive training in the jungle.

Technical Training Centres for Ordnance and M.T. Artificers have been inaugurated. There are also schools for engineers, signallers, supply and transport technicians and others. Many recruits have to be given a general education before they can learn to handle complicated modern weapons and equipment. Large schools have now been opened for training boys so that when they reach Army age they can join up as fully qualified technicians.

Indian Armoured Corps

In 1937 the mechanization of the Indian Cavalry began and at the outbreak of the present war this was greatly accelerated until finally in March 1941, the last "horsed" regiment disappeared and in 1942 the old Indian Cavalry became known as the Indian Armoured Corps.

During the early part of the present war one Basic Training Centre and two Trade Training Centres were established in place of the original Training Centres—for the Armoured Car Regiments and for the Tank Regiments.

During 1943-44 Indian Armoured Corps' tank brigades equipped with the most modern armoured fighting vehicles were in action on the Burma Front. From April to July, squadrons of the 7th Cavalry were in continuous action in clearing the Japs from the Imphal plain. The regiment's tanks were the first to break through the Jap positions. As reconnaissance regiments probing the enemy's defence and returning with vital information the I.A.C. has played a valuable part in the Italian campaign.

The outbreak of the present war made it necessary to strengthen the Indian Artillery and it has undergone great expansion and development, which has brought it to front rank of the combatant corps. The Indian Artillery now has its own Mountain, Field, Medium, Heavy A.A., Light A.A., Anti-Tank, Mortar, Survey, Coast and Searchlight Batteries. Today all personnel of the Indian Artillery, except for some British Officers and N.C.O. instructors, are Indians and are enlisted from Sikhs, Maharattas, Ahirs and all Punjabi Muslims besides the classes enlisted in 1935.

I. E. M. E.

In the present war its gunners have been in action and have inflicted heavy losses on the enemy in North Africa, Burma, Sicily and Italy.

The Corps of Indian Electrical and Mechanical Engineers is the youngest Corps in the Indian Army. It was formed on May 1, 1943. Its present strength stands at over 2,500 per cent. of its pre-war level. It embodies approximately 1,800 officers and 80,000 other ranks with some 20,000 civilian craftsman of all trades. The floor space occupied by the Corps static workshops now nears five million square feet.

The Corps' chief function is the repair and recovery of all the technical equipment of the Indian Army, such as tanks, vehicles, guns, wireless sets, instruments, small arms, searchlights and refrigerators, all of which have to be maintained in the highest possible state of efficiency. Such a responsibility calls for efficient technicians, expert supervision and well-equipped workshops.

To deal with the complicated nature of the many varied types of equipment a staff of over 100,000 technicians is required, comprising no fewer than 43 different trades. Three Corps Recruit Training Centres have been established to cope with 1,000 new craftsmen a month. Supervision is carried out by British and Indian technical officers known as Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, British Warrant and Non-Commissioned Officers, Indian Armament Artificers and Viceroy's Commissioned Officers promoted from among Indian Non-Commissioned Officers and Craftsmen.

The I.E.M.E. have taken or are taking part in campaigns in Africa, Italy and South-East Asia. Through the Burma jungle from the Arakan to Kohima, the men of I.E.M.E, carried out many outstanding feats of recovery, local repair and improvisation without proper tools and often within sight of the enemy.

Indian Signal Corps

The Indian Signal Corps, formed in 1922, required a vast expansion on the

outbreak of war in 1939. The recruit signalman had then to learn the intricacies of modern wireless sets, telephones and telegraph communication equipment. Today its strength stands at over 50,000. In addition to campaign requirements, hundreds of signal units have been raised to provide communications inside India itself.

Indian Other Ranks are operating and maintaining today the most modern and complicated types of equipment. When occasion arose signalmen have also fought. Men of an Indian divisional signals gallantly defended their divisional headquarters against attacks by the Japanese somewhere in Burma.

Paratroop Battalions have been raised and Indian and Gurkha troops are showing themselves well suited for the service. Together with a battalion of the Fifth Mahratta Light Infantry, two companies of the State forces and British and Indian gunners, men of Indian parachutes formation denied the plain of Imphal for six days to the oncoming Japs and thus won a valuable respite in which the relieving Fifth Indian Division could be flown in from Imphal. The parachutes have been made in India from Indian silk.

On the mountainous and jungle-covered Indo-Burma border, where roads are scarce, considerable numbers of animal transport units have been raised in addition to those retained on the North-West Frontier. The Indian Army Remount Department has brought over 60,000 animals in India for active service in this war. Extensive horse and mule breeding is encouraged by the Army and every three out of every five animals at present serving the 14th army are Indian bred.

The Indian Army Medical Corps was formed in 1943 by amalgamating all branches of the Indian Military Medical Services, the Indian Medical Services, the Indian Medical Department and the Indian Hospital Corps. By the middle of 1943 more than 300 major field Medical Units had been raised in India. They are functioning wherever Indian Army units are serving. Large hospitals have been built and staffed, and many new medical training schools have been opened. Women doctors are now recruited, with full liability for service in and out of India. The Army Nursing Service has been raised for work with the new medical units and hospitals. By 1944 the incidence of malaria was reduced among troops in Assam by at least 50 per cent.

Every month 200,000 tons of stores pass through Indian Army Ordnance Corps depots located all over India. They are made up of 300,000 items as compared with 40,000 before the war. Field activities of the Corps have developed with the further supply of field parks, which are in fact small ordnance depots on wheels, mobile cinemas and mobile laundries.

INDIAN GENERAL SERVICE CORPS

Speaking 13 different languages and hundreds of dialects nearly 55,000 combatants and non-combatants of the Indian General Service Corps are today serving in all theatres of war. They serve over 2,000 units and formations. More than 1,600 of them are prisoners of war. The Corps was formed in 1939 to provide a reservoir of men ready to tackle the many and varied jobs of modern war, not falling within the sphere of specialist corps.

Many wartime units grew up under the aegis of the I.G.S C. e.g., Indian Observer Corps, Coast Defence Battalion, Garrison Companies, Intelligence Corps and Censor Units ; in the raising of these units 11,000 men were trained and permanently transferred away from the I.G.S.C.

WOMEN'S AUXILIARY CORPS (INDIA)

A Women's Auxiliary Corps numbering over 10,000, of whom more than 1,000 are officers, had been formed to release soldiers and technicians for more active duty. They work as switchboard operators, wireless operators, clerks, dispensers in hospitals, etc. The officers also replace staff officers in the large headquarters. A naval wing of the W.A.C. (1) has been formed for duties with the Royal Indian Navy.

Nearly 430,000 members of the Indian Army have been sent overseas. They have served with distinction in the defence of East Africa and the Sudan, in Eritrea, Abyssinia the Western Desert, Tunisia, Italy, Syria, Persia, Iraq, Malaya and the East Indies, Burma and Hongkong. A small detachment of animal transport units served in France.

AWARDS FOR GALLANTRY

Indian troops have shown conspicuous gallantry wherever they have served. Up to April, 1945, 21 Victoria Crosses, one George Cross, 142 Distinguished Service Orders and three Indian Orders of Merit (1st class) had been won by officers and men of the Indian Army. Out of the 21 V.Cs. three were won by Englishmen and the rest by Indians. Other awards won by the Indian Army include 561 Military

Crosses, 941 Indian Distinguished Service medals. 2 Distinguished Conduct Medals, one George Medal and 518 Military Medals.

Awards to the Indian Army and the Indian States Forces during the war so far total 2,468. In addition, there have been several thousand mentions in despatches and gallantry certificates.

India stands second in the number of V.Cs. won during this war. Up to December, 1944, the 116 V.Cs. won in World War II had been distributed as follows: —U. K. 75, India 18, Australia 11. New Zealand 7, Canada 3, South Africa 1 and Fiji 1.

The 4th Indian Division has had an up-paralleled record. It formed part of Wavell's small army in 1940 ; played a prominent part in the Abyssinian campaign ; returned to the defence of the Egyptian frontier against Rommel ; saw hard fighting in Syria ; took part in General Auchinleck's 1941 offensive ; held Benghazi when Rommel struck back from El Agheila, and during the fighting withdrawal several times repulsed superior enemy forces. At El Alamein it attacked on the Ruweisat Ridge, helped pursue Rommel to the March Line and forced the Halfaya Pass on March 15. 1943. In 1944 it was fighting with the Eighth Army in Italy. Indian troops form a large part of the 9th and 10th Armies at present stationed in Persia and Iraq.

The Eighth Indian Division has had the honour of leading the Eighth Army's main assault in Italy where they succeeded in breaking the German winter line. The Fourteenth Army, the bulk of which has been drawn from the Indian Army, is fighting the enemy at every possible point on the Burma border,

Royal Indian Navy

The Royal Indian Navy is now more than 20 times as big as it was at the outbreak of the war. The Service has been greatly expanded in personnel, ships and training establishments. The personnel has increased from 1,200 officers and men at the time of the outbreak of war to nearly 30,000 by the beginning of 1944.

During 1943-44 well over 1,750,000 miles were steamed by His Majesty's Indian ships of all classes. Escort duties on the coastal and ocean passages accounted for the largest share, keeping Indian warships at sea 85 per cent of their time.

Two major naval bases have been built and three minor bases fitted with the needs of a modern naval base. The Royal Indian Navy's Dockyard at Bombay refits vessels, makes repairs, builds flight craft and carries out the degaussing and arming of merchant ships. Indian shipyards have contributed several new warships to the fleet.

With the movement eastwards of the naval centre of gravity, heavier responsibilities were cast on Indian warships helping to escort merchant ships with reinforcements and equipment. It is estimated that there are 2,000,000 tons of merchant shipping in the Indian Ocean at any given moment; and His Majesty's Indian ships played their part in protecting this vital traffic.

Indian warships have taken part in actions against enemy submarines, while at the approaches to our ports Indian minesweepers have laboured constantly to keep channels clear for shipping. Ranging far down the Burma coast the little ships of the R.I.N. Arakan Coastal Forces harassed the enemy's sea flank and assisted the advance of our land forces. They destroyed Japanese craft carrying troops and bombarded shore positions.

R. I. N. Landing Craft

From December 1, 1943, to April 1, 1944, little ships of R.I.N, Coastal Forces steamed more than 30,000 operational miles on 43 separate missions firing 26,000 shells at the enemy from point blank range along 250 miles of Japanese held coast.

The Royal Indian Navy can now boast of its own Landing Craft Wing, its Coastal Forces and Women's Service—the W.R.I.N.S. Indian Navy has every type of technical training school needed for a fighting navy. The number of new training establishments started since 1939 has now risen to sixteen. A new torpedo school and a new anti-submarine school, the largest in the British Commonwealth outside the United Kingdom, have been built. The school of Naval Gunnery has been enlarged since the war and the number of rating taking the gunnery course has increased—fifteen-fold. At combined Training centres located on the coast of India, Naval officers and ratings in conjunction with Indian troops and R. A. F. are training strenuously in amphibious warfare.

When Malaya was invaded, ships of the Royal Indian Navy were busy in the Malacca Straits and the Java Sea. The sloops *Jumna* and *Sutlej*, which had spent the first part of their commission on convoy work in the Atlantic, were in the

Gunda Straits where the *Jumna* survived a day-long battle with dive-bombers, shooting down four for certain and receiving the congratulations of Vice-Admiral Fitzherbert for her fine work. The *Sutlej* destroyed five aircraft in another engagement in defence of a convoy.

H.M.I.S. "BENGAL"

The Royal Indian Navy did particularly good service off the Burma coast in support of operations on the Arakan front. The evacuation of 40.000 Indians from Burmese ports was organised and carried out when that country was invaded. The *Indus* was sunk in Akyab harbour by Japanese bombers. In 1943 the Royal Indian Navy took part in convoy operations escorting the Eighth Army reinforcements and supplies to Sicily from North Africa.

The First Lord of the Admiralty told the House of Commons that there was no finer story than that of the minesweeper, H.M.I.S. *Bengal.* In November, 1942, she was escorting the motor-vessel *Ondina* when the raiders *Kikoku Maru* (10,000 tons) and *Kunikawa Maru*, (6,863 tons) were encountered. Each was believed to be armed with six 5.5-inch guns, torpedo tubes and two catapult aircraft. The *Bengal* immediately steamed into the attack; many hits were scored on the larger ship, followed by an explosion, and she finally went down by the stern and sank. The minesweeper was herself hit, but only slight damage resulted and no casualties were suffered.

H. M. I. S. "BIHAR"

During 1943-44 an enemy submarine was sunk in the Indian Ocean by three warships of the Royal Navy, the Royal Indian Navy and the Royal Australian Navy. For H.M.I. ships part in the successful operation her Commanding Officer was mentioned in despatches. Good work was done by H.M.I.S. *Bihar* in rescuing 191 survivors from a torpedoed merchant ship at night.

Within a few years, the Indian Air Force (which has now designated the Royal Indian Air Force) has risen from a strength of 200 to 27,000.

Beginning this war with only one full Squadron, the R.I.A.F. now has more than 10, all of which have seen active service against the Japanese, and some have also been on operations again in the North-West Frontier. Mainly constituted as "Fighter Reconnaissance" Squadrons, they have proved themselves to be some of the finest in action. Their deeds have done much to enhance their high reputation. Many R. I. A. F. personnel have received decorations and awards, including a D.S.O., a D.F.C. and bar, eight other D.F.Cs. and one A.F.C. in addition to their normal "Fighter Recce" duties. R.A.F. pilots and aircrew have been engaged in the vital task of air supply in Burma.

EMPIRE AIR TRAINING SCHEME

The first batch of trainees from India went to Canada under the Empire Air Training Scheme in 1943. The I.A.F. by the end of 1943 had 17 technical and non-technical schools. These schools catered for all trades connected with the I.A.F. Besides these technical schools there are Flying Training Centres. Over 50 per cent of the instructors at these centres are Indians. There is also an important civil aviation training scheme designed initially to turn out 300 pilots and 2,000 ground staff a year for two years.

The Indian Air Training Corps Scheme has been extended to cover all the 19 Indian Universities, including three Universities in the Indian States. Students in India have now an opportunity for preparing and training for a career in the flying branch of the Indian Air Force while they are at their regular studies.

The Coastal Defence Wing of the R.I.A.F. has been expanded and 75 per cent of its personnel is Indian. Since its formation in 1940 its planes have flown thousands of miles escorting the huge supplies of men and materials that India is sending abroad.

R.I.A.F. OVER BURMA

Squadrons of the R.I.A.F. operating from India have been fighting over Burma since 1942. They have helped to support the Land Forces throughout the advance from the borders of India to the Irrawaddy and through the Arakan, and from Imphal into Central Burma. They took part in the invasion of Akyab and Ramree and continue to give full support to the other fighting forces. During the operational season, the R.I.A.F. squadrons did upwards of 7,600 sorties, amounting to 10,500 hours and dropped more than 1,000 tons of bombs.

The R.I.A.F. is equipped with modern aircraft, both fighters and bombers, and its personnel is almost entirely Indian.

The ruling Princes have supplied over 375,000 recruits for the fighting forces of India. For the first four and a half years of the war approximately 300,000 recruits from the States have been enlisted for the various services in India. Bigger States like Patiala have provided as many as 33,000 recruits. Smaller States have also contributed their own quota. In the comparatively small State of Sachin, for instance, about 8 per cent of the total male population is serving outside the State in various services connected with war effort. There are about 63 States forces units serving outside the States, in addition to about 38 Indian Army units raised by the States.

All the States have readily adopted the various war measures introduced by the Central Government, including those which affect industry, commerce, finance and manpower. The maritime States have collaborated in all measures connected with the economic war and have adopted the Government of India's measures for the control of exports and imports and contraband control.

Many of the States have released military forces for service outside their territories. Troops from Alwar, Bikaner, Faridkot, Gwalior, Hyderabad, Indore, Jaipur, Jind, Jodhpur, Kapurthala, Kashmir, Malerkotla, Nabha, Patiala, Rewa and Tripura have assumed special duties in British India or are undergoing training in association with the new field armies.

States' Forces

The Kashmir Mountain Battery, the 1st Patiala Infantry, the Jind Infantry, the Jodhpur Sardar Infantry, two Jaipur Battalions, the Tripura Rifles and the Tehri Garhwal and Malerkotla Sappers and Miners have all served with distinction in various theatres of war. Nepal has sent over 8,000 men of her army to India to aid the Allied cause, in addition to meeting all the Government of India's requests for recruits to Gurkha units.

Several States are raising new war battalions, a number of their cavalry regiments have been mechanised and they are helping to recruit and train men for the Indian Army. State Flying Clubs are co-operating with the Central Government scheme for training air reserves, and a number of the States are co-operating in the training schemes for mechanics and skilled artisans in munition factories. Certain Indian Princes have placed at the disposal of the Army large jungle tracts as jungle training areas where formations can train intensively under conditions similar to those in Burma.

Technical Works

Large numbers of men from States have also been recruited to non-combatant ranks including many for skilled or technical work. Indian States have also provided labour units for the construction of roads and aerodromes. From Travancore and Cochin in the South, over 70,000 men have travelled north to carve out roads to be traversed by the fighting soldiers.

A recent appeal to the States for road-making machinery received so overwhelming a response that all requirements were met, and not a single State took advantage of the Government's offer to pay the machinery or its transport. Labour units have also been provided by the States for the construction of roads and airfields in all parts of India.

Indian Princes have also provided aircraft, water-craft, buildings, machinery, training facilities, medical aid, donations and gifts of every sort and description.

Every State has placed its resources and industries at the disposal of the War Department. Larger states have supplied a variety of goods.

Mysore's Steel Works

An arms factory has been started in the Hyderabad State with the Nizam Government's co-operation. Mysore is producing 24,000 tons of steel per annum, in addition to large quantities of cast pipes. This State is now erecting a 25-ton steel furnace which will almost double the State's steel output.

Mysore has also recently installed an electric furnance which is making ferro-silicon for steel making. These will meet about half the total demands of India. Also, an aircraft factory in Mysore State is playing an important part in India's war effort.

Thousands of army blankets and many thousands of yards of woollen cloth and hosiery goods have been supplied from States like Hyderabad, Kashmir, Jodhpur, Jind and Nawanagar. Kashmir and Mysore supply valuable silk for parachute manufacture. Gwalior has made a free gift of the only mill in India for the manufacture of webbing cloth, producing Rs. 800,000 work of cloth per year.

A very large proportion of India's supply of chemicals comes from the States. Rubber products have come from Travancore, Baroda and Mysore. Travancore's contribution of many million pounds of rubber last year has partially made up for the loss of British possessions in the East with their immense supplies of rubber.

For various purposes the States have supplied approximately 215,000 tons of timber, as against the total timber production in India for war purposes of 396,000 tons, in 1941-42.

OTHER IMPORTANT SUPPLIES

Among other important supplies, 250,000 tons of cement were produced in Hyderabad alone last year. Over 7,000 tons of oil were obtained from States' mills last year. Thousands of tons of food supplies have also been provided by the States.

The investments by the Princes and people of the States in war loans amount approximately to Rs. 37,50,00,000. The total financial contribution from the States have exceeded Rs. 65,000,000.

About half the total contributions to the Viceroy's war funds have come from the States, as well as many other gifts of material and money. The Nizam of Hyderabad has contributed a corvette to the Navy and bomber squadron to the Royal Air Force, together with a large sum for its maintenance and equipment. This squadron has operated on the Italian front and in Burma. The Hyderabad "Hurricane" Fund raised money for other aircraft and there are now three R. A. F. Hyderabad Squadrons. Two others are named after Baroda and Mysore, whose rulers made gifts for the purchase of complete fighter squadrons.

INDIAN PRISONERS OF WAR

There are 9,944 Indian Prisoners of War in the hands of Germans and 42,374 confirmed and 22,036 believed to be prisoners of war in the hands of the Japanese. On September 8, 1943, there were 5,110 Indian prisoners of war in Italy, of whom 773 had been released. As to the rest when Italy was invaded by the Allies the enemy transferred most of the prisoners to Germany. Some of them who were not so transferred escaped.

There are now 29,499 enemy prisoners of war held in India, of whom only six are Germans.

There were about 400,000 Indian evacuees in India from Burma and 5,000 from Malaya. There were about one million Indians in Burma before December 1941, and about 800,000 in Malaya,

The number of evacuees of all nationalities in India is 405,093. The number of evacuees and dependents of persons stranded in enemy-occupied territories maintained in camps or assisted financially is about 150,000.

AMENITIES FOR TROOPS

In order to look after the servicemen's welfare and amenities a Directorate of Welfare has been established with a large organisation. E.N.S.A. has been operating in India since November 1943, and is responsible for the provision of entertainment for British troops. By September, 1944. E.N.S.A. had a dozen parties touring India.

For making provision of entertainment for Indian troops, *Fauji Dilkhush Sabha*, the Indian counterpart of the British E.N.S.A., was established in April, 1944. At present it has 28 parties touring India and seven overseas. Its Controller is an Indian Army Officer and the staff consists of Indian civilians. Provision for soldiers' recreation includes games, reading, resting, wireless sets, cinemas and swimming pools. The scheme costs Rs. 24 lakhs a year.

Indian Soldiers' Boards came into existence at the end of the last war to assist demobilised soldiers to take their places back in civil life. In 1938, there were 79 District Soldiers' Boards; today there are 135 in British India and another 28 in the Indian States. This organisation looks after the interests of Indian servicemen and their dependents.

BROADCASTING PROGRAMMES

A new scheme for the welfare of servicemen's families—the *Fauji Sevadarni Scheme*—has been started by the Indian Army. This is in addition to the civilian District Sailors', Soldiers' and Airmen's Board and the Civil Liaison Organisation—*Fauji Sevadarni* (Indian Military Women Welfare Workers) have been employed in certain districts to contact female relatives of absent servicemen who might be reluctant to ventilate their grievances to male welfare workers.

Broadcasting for Indian troops has now been developed as one of the most

active welfare services of the Indian Army. For Indian soldiers who may not always be able to read newspapers or books the wireless has been a special boon and full advantage of this opportunity has been taken.

Delhi station of All India Radio broadcasts a daily programme for Indian servicemen in India, Burma, Ceylon and overseas. Broadcasts for Indian troops are also made from Colombo, Baghdad, Beirut, Teheran, Bari (Italy) and Cairo.

Ten minutes are daily devoted to purely local entertainment for troops from selected areas. Individual messages for servicemen abroad from their relatives and friends at home are also put out by All India Radio.

News concerning towns, villages, welfare associations, cattle, fields and other domestic affairs gathered by recruiting and liaison officers and correspondents are also broadcast.

Although 4,831 lease-lend sets have already been distributed to British and Indian units, there is still a heavy demand for wireless sets.

At Christmas, 1943, a monetary grant per head for the purchase of extra Christmas fare for both British and Indian troops was authorised in India and gifts in kind were sent to all Indian troops serving overseas. Funds, amounting to Rs. 13 lakhs, for the Christmas Gifts Scheme were provided by donations from the Viceroy, Provincial Governors and the Indian public.

Relatives of Indian or British troops who are reported to be dangerously ill in hospitals in India may now visit the men free of charge. The return fare for the journey will be given to two persons, one of whom must be a relative, wishing to see an Indian Other Rank who may be ill. Relatives of British Other Ranks and officer cadets are entitled to the concession.

The Directorate of Resettlement formed in March, 1944, has formulated a scheme for assisting in the re-employment of ex-servicemen on demobilization. A scheme for resettlement of W.A.C.(I) personnel is also being evolved. Schemes for resettling and training disabled men are also under preparation.

Civil Training Centres (controlled by Labour Department) which are now fully occupied with the training of service personnel and civilian war workers, with a capacity of nearly 30,000 places, will become available for the post-war vocational training of service personnel awaiting demobilization.

A number of women medical graduates have been recruited for medical service with full liability for general service in and out of India.

The Indian Military Nursing Service recruits Indian and European nurses for military hospitals and units attached to the Indian army. Hundreds of Indian nurses of the service have been volunteering for service overseas.

The Auxiliary Nursing Service organised in September, 1941, to form a reserve of trained nurses for the regular Indian Military Nursing Service, recruits Indian women who are not experienced and trained nurses and trains them.

Thirteen per cent of the entire labour force, which is turning out war material from Indian factories, are women.

Indian Red Cross

The *Fauji Sevadarni* or Women Military Welfare Workers consists of Indian women, mostly wives of serving Indian officers, who have pledged themselves to safeguard the welfare of military families.

While in 1939 the Indian Red Cross organisation spent Rs. 5 lakhs, in 1943 they spent Rs. 150 lakhs, only ten per cent. of which was spent on administration. The rest goes towards purchase of materials. They cater for the sick and wounded in hospitals not only in India but also abroad and our eastern frontier. They also send help to our prisoners of war in enemy hands.

There are about 400 different items that they supply to hospitals, consisting of clothing, blankets, surgical equipment, ward accessories, hardware, certain food comforts, games, musical instruments, wireless sets, stationery, books, toilet requisites and many miscellaneous articles.

In 1942, on behalf of the Indian Comforts Fund (London), Mr. Amery sent over 540,000 food parcels to Europe through the international Red Cross at Geneva, at a total cost of £200,000, which was paid for entirely by the Indian Red Cross Society.

On the St. John Ambulance Association side, their voluntary and trained nursing personnel have increased from under 500 before the war to over 4,000 now.

Indian Divisions Hastened African Victories

Essential prelude to the conquest of Hitlerite Europe was the purging of Nazi

and Fascist influence from North Africa. It was from here that there came the first rumblings of the great storm which later broke upon the German people. Here, in 1940, assembled a gallant Allied army in the Nile valley that was first to defy and then to destroy utterly Nazi dreams of world domination.

From all corners of the Empire they came—Indians, men from the United Kingdom, Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans and others; all joined together to bar the road to the German and Italian alike.

Producers of this stout-hearted army were the men of two of India's greatest formations, the Fourth and Fifth Indian Divisions.

Both leapt into fame in the summer of 1940, when the Italian jackal sprang upon the bleeding corpse of France and the French colonial forces were no longer available to help us. Against Marshal Graziani's Libyan army of 300,000 men, another 250,000 in East Africa, a little Allied force, under the command of Field Marshal (then General) Wavell, marched into the Western Desert and fell upon the Italian hordes. In one hour and 25 minutes, in the midst of a sandstorm, our troops, the Fourth Indian Division in the van, captured the Italian camp at Nibeiwa with thousands of prisoners, many guns, lorries and vast quantities of stores.

ITALIAN DISASTER AT SIDI BARRANI

There followed the great Italian disaster at Sidi Barrani, where in December, 1940, over 20,000 Italians capitulated and the fate of Italy's Empire was decided. Wavell's men then swept on the Sollum, Bardia, Tobruk, Derna and Benghazi.

In the meanwhile the Fifth Indian Division was smartening up the Italians further east, where an army of 250,000 men was testing the might of India's arms at Gallabat on the Sudan border in November, 1940. Early in the New Year the Fifth drove the Italians from Gallabat, Gedaref and Butana Bridge and then, with the Fourth, continued the pursuit deep into Eritrea.

Great victories at Barentu and Ad Teclesan paved the way for our astonishing feat of arms at Keren, where the Italians turned at bay. Here, in some of the most difficult hill country in the world, handfuls of Indian troops clung desperately to the steep, craggy sides of towering peaks and after two weeks of bitter struggle compelled the Italians to hoist the white flag.

The Fifth went on to Asmara, Massawa fell to them and then in May came the crowning triumph when the Viceroy of Abyssinia surrendered at Amba Alagi. Italy's African Empire was now a dream.

Back again to the Western Desert went the Fourth and Fifth Indian Divisions in June, 1941, to meet a new menace—Rommel's panzers.

OFFENSIVE AT EL ALAMEIN

Those were days of bitter disappointment, relieved only by the gallantry displayed by the Empire's troops. Under the command of General Auchinleck our forces contested desperately every yard of the German advance. But we were slowly pushed back to Mersa Matruh and the fruits of months of hard campaigning seemed lost; Benghazi was cut off, Tobruk fell. Well might Mussolini prepare for a triumphant entry into Cairo itself.

But at El Alamein in June, 1942, came the turn of the tide. It was the Fifth's last action before leaving for Iraq en route to India and they signalled it by capturing, in a counter-attack on the Ruweisat Ridge, no fewer than 2,000 prisoners. They were relieved by the Fourth, whose fortune it was to play a great part in chasing the Germans right out of Africa.

AT THE MARETH LINE

On October 23, 1942, we passed to the offensive at El Alamein. A few days later with a roar from hundreds of guns, the Fourth Indian Division's Fifth Brigade forced its way through the enemy's defences and opened up a way for our armour to pass through. The avalanche had started, to come to a halt only on the other side of Africa. The man who was responsible for the German debacle had only just succeeded General Auchinleck and later, as Field Marshal Montgomery, was to strike other lusty blows against the Germans in Europe.

Rommel's mighty host was rolled back out of Egypt, then across Cyrenaica and towards Tripolitania. The old year died, January and February of 1943 came and went and the retreat continued. At the Mareth Line the enemy decided to make a stand, but his defences crumbled against the Eighth Army, the Fourth Indian Division among them, and he retreated still further west.

There followed the Fourth's brilliant action in the Wadi Akarit area, where Subedar Lalbahadur Thapa, 2nd Gurkha Rifles, won the Victoria Cross on the Fatnassa *massif*, and the pursuit of the Germans went on.

Sfax was by-passed, Sousse was occupied in the middle of April, and the stage was set for the final showdown. At Garci, peak effort of the Fourth, the Germans once more turned to fight. The men of the 6th Rajputana Rifles will ever remember Garci, for it was here that C mpany Havildar-Major Chhelu Ram won the Victoria Cross in circumstances of great gallantry.

Our advance progressed relentlessly. The Eighth Army linked up with the British First Army, and together they burst open the gates of Tunis in the middle of May. In this final action the Fourth Indian Division, switched overnight to effect a surprise assault on the First army Front, played a prominent part. It was a fitting climax to the whole campaign that General von Arnim, who took over from Rommel as commander of Axis forces in Africa, was compelled to surrender to this Indian formation.

DEEDS OF VALOUR

These Indian troops had travelled far—thousands of miles—and in their odyssey they had helped to let loose the storm that was gathering fast to burst finally in Germany itself. Many were the deeds of valour they had performed. No fewer than four Victoria Crosses came to them, for in addition to those already mentioned the supreme award was bestowed on 2/Lt. (now Major) Premindra Singh Bhagat, Bombay Sappers and Miners, for his gallantry in Abyssinia in February, 1941, and posthumously to Subedar Richpal Ram, 6th Rajputana Rifles, for his fortitude at Keren the same month.

So these warrior sons of India did what they set out to do—cleanse the African continent of the Nazi plague. They did more. They added fresh renown to their country's martial traditions. They added to her prestige in the eyes of the world. They deserved that the people of India should strain every nerve, put forth every ounce of energy and make a united effort to complete the good work of our soldiers in the West by destroying the enemy in the East.

Indian Army Helped to Liberate Europe

In the liberation of Europe Indian troops have played a worthy part. By their exploits in the hard-fought Italian campaign, they have proved to the world that the valour of Indian troops is second to none. They have also shown other great qualities—ability to continue steadfastly in action despite severe wintry conditions and capacity to campaign for long periods in difficult mountain country calling for a high degree of physical endurance.

The Italian campaign brought new honours to three of India's most famous divisions—the Fourth, Eighth and Tenth. High Allied service chiefs, including Lieut.-General Mark Clark, have praised the Indians and last year His Majesty the King himself went to Italy to see them in action.

The picture in retrospect of what has been achieved by men of the Indian Army in Italy is bright and full of colour. To the tune set by Field Marshal Alexander they have played their assigned role in that majestic symphony of bravery and endurance—the American Fifth and the British Eighth Armies.

Ably led by Major-Generals Holworthy, Dudley Russel and Denys Reid, the Fourth, Eighth and Tenth Indian Divisions, forming a miniature but weighty India, have rolled on slowly but surely, for a distance of 400 miles through the so-called "soft under-belly of Europe"—really a mountainous spine—smashing in their wake several natural barriers and many more cleverly constructed artifical obstacles.

"HUN HUNTING" IN ITALY

During the months of "Hun hunting" in Italy the bonds of friendship that had been established with other Allied troops south of the Mediterranean have been greatly intensified. The Canadian Indian combination is perhaps the closest approach to the ideal conception of brotherhood in arms. No facile turn of phraseology can describe the mutual respect and genuine friendship of the "jawan," the "Tommy", the "Yank" and the "jock".

To the New Zealanders Indians have been tried and reliable comrades of whom only the best could ever be expected. Having arrived at a correct estimation of the fighting worth of Indians, the Yanks would say "We are sure happy to know that Indians are in our vicinity." The exploits of the Indian Infantry with the South Africans were praised by the Springboks. Before the French troops left Italy to fight for the liberation of their own country, it was to the Eighth Indian Division that they handed over a part of their sector. In that "blood bath" called Cassino, close association with the Poles was established.

Honours as well as hazards have come the way of Indian troops in Italy,

Three Victoria Crosses were won in less than one year in Italy. What the twenty-year-old *Gujar* boy Kamal Ram, V.C. of the 8th Punjab Regiment, did on the Rapido front will live in Indian military history. The determination and cool courage displayed by the late Mahratta Naik Yeshwant Ghadge, V.C. of the 5th Mahratta Light Infantry, in one of the battles south of Citta di Castello was worthy of the highest traditions of the Indian Army. The supreme gallantry exhibited by the late Gurkha Rifleman Sher Bahadur Thapa, V.C. of the 9th Gurkha Rifles, during the rapid advance into San Marino State will be hard to parallel.

The Indian Army's score in Italy opened with the entry of the Eighth Indian Division gradually into the line on October 19, 1943. Having crossed the Biferno River before the end of the month it accomplished in November the more difficult crossing of the Trigno River despite bitter opposition by crack German paratroopers holding strong positions on 2,000-foot high hill tops.

The Division's next water jump was the crossing of the Sangro. After one brigade had gone over in a diversionary attack, the main assault was made with tank support on November 27, 1943. The Sangro was crossed and was followed by systematic winkling out of Jerry from houses, wine cellars and dug-ours in the key village of Mozzagrogna.

After breaking the German Winter Line by capturing Lanciano, this Indian Division had to get past the Moro River, where the enemy decided to make a stand. Consequent on the grand job done by the divisional engineers who put up the "impossible bridge" against heavy odds, tanks, and infantry crossed over. The winter months were spent in the Orsogna sector.

Meanwhile the Fourth Indian Division entered the arena on December 8, 1943. Following a short spell in the Orsogna and Maiella sectors, it was shifted to the Cassino front in mid-February, 1944.

Spearheading the American Fifth Army's second and third offensives to get past Cassino, the "Fighting Fourth" added one more glorious chapter to its history. From February 14, to the last week of March, 1944, some of the fiercest battles of the war were fought by this Division. The storming of point 593, the grim fight for points 444 and 450 and the holding of point 435, the sinister "Hangman's Hill" in the face of fantastic odds stand out as highlights of this operation.

In April, 1944, the third of the trio, the Tenth Indian Division, formed in Ahmednagar in February, 1941, and having seen active service in Iraq, Persia and the Western Desert, came in to relieve a Canadian Division in the Adriatic sector. The Division had to do patrol work for the first few weeks as the front was static due to winter conditions.

When the grand offensive for breaking through Cassino started in May, the Eighth Indian Division was assigned the most vital role—that of crossing the Rapido, south of Cassino. Commencing with a terrific artillery barrage on the night of May 11, 1944, a memorable battle was fought with a high degree of integration and co-ordination between machine-gunners, engineers and sappers and infantry. The tax set was accomplished to the wonder of the world, and the name of the Eighth Indian Division featured on the front pages of newspapers. Cassino was outflanked and fell.

With the fall of Rome the three Indian Divisions were assigned new roles. The Tenth quit the Adriatic sector and appeared towards the end of June, 1944, in the Perugia-Tiber area. In the last week of July the Eighth took over the Certaldo-Poggibonsi sector from the French. After clearing Pescara and Chieti the Fourth Indian Division began beating the Boche along the Upper Tiber and Arno valleys.

ATTACK ON GOTHIC LINE

While the Eighth crossed the Arno river, entered Florence and proceeded to the Sieve valley after fighting several battles, the Tenth maintained a steady rate of advance clearing the Boche from a succession of hill features dominating the upper reaches of the Tiber. All this time the Fourth was moving stealthily forward, travelling "incognito" to the Adriatic to spearhead the Eighth Army's all out attack on the Gothic Line.

Opening with secrecy and speed behind a thin screen of Italian forces, the Fourth Indian Division struck the first blow at the Gothic Line near Cagli. Urbino was captured and the Foglia River reached on the night of 29/30 August, 1944. Putting to speedy use information brought in by a patrol, elements of this Division which had caught the Jerry on the hop were firmly established 2,000 yards inside the Gothic Line; the Division swung northwest, forced a bridgehead through the Marano River and captured the citadel fortress of San Marino.

Breaking of Gothic Line

In the breaking of the Gothic Line the other two Indian Divisions also played a decisive part. Under the command of the Fifth Army the Eighth Indian Division went through Mount Giovi, crossed one more river—the Sieve—captured after a model attack Mount Verucka, and ended up by occupying a fortress feature called Femina Morta. The storming of the Gothic Line by the Eighth Indian Division was due to the tactical skill and dash of junior commanders, together with fine co-ordination of artillery, tanks and infantry.

While in the mountains overlooking Bologna, the Division was called upon shortly afterwards to avert a menacing situation in the Serchio valley in the West. Moving with maximum possible speed units of the Division went into action. Speaking of this operation Lieut-General Mark Clark said, "We sent the bulk of the Eighth Indian Division there. They held part of the line and helped to stop the German offensive."

Meanwhile, faced with another tough assignment the Tenth Indian Division kept moving against stubborn resistance eliminating the enemy from cliff after cliff, blazing trails for tanks, mules and jeeps. Going past Pietrolunga and Alpe di Catania, M. Filleto was taken in a frontal night attack after bayonets had clashed with machine-guns. Moving in a north-easterly direction Farneto was taken before participating in the battles of the Adriatte sector early in 1945.

Gen. Mark Clark's Tribute

Altogether, the Indian *jawan* has covered himself with glory in the Battle of Europe. In the words of Lieut-Geneal Mark Clark, Commanding General, Allied Armies in Italy: "The achievements in combat of these Indian soldiers are noteworthy. They have carried on successfully in grim and bloody fighting against a tenacious enemy helped by terrain particularly favourable for defence. No obstacle has succeeded in delaying them for long or in lowering their high morale or fighting spirit.

"The bravery of Indian troops is attested by the battle honours and decorations awarded. The Fourth, Eighth and Tenth Indian Divisions will for ever be associated with the fighting for Cassino, the capture of Rome, the Arno Valley, the liberation of Florence and the breaking of the Gothic Line. I salute the brave soldiers of these three great Indian divisions."

R.I.N.'S Part in the Defeat of Germany

Under the burning African sun, in the storm-swept Atlantic and in the enemy-infested mediterranean, ships of the Royal Indian Navy have contributed gallantly to victory in the west.

They helped to make the Mediterranean "Cunningham's Pond", played a large part in eliminating Axis influence in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, and during the battle of the Atlantic escorted convoys and operated in U-boat "killer groups".

In 1940, a number of H.M.I. ships were placed under the Naval Commander-in-Chief, East Indies, for service in the Red Sea, Gulf of Aden and Persian Gulf. During the dark days following the fall of France it was necessary for our forces to retire temporarily from British Somaliland, and in covering the troops' withdrawal H.M.I. ships co-operated with the Royal Navy. The same vessels supported the combined operations which led to the reoccupation of the colony in 1941. Having escorted the assault force to the coast, the Navy reconnoitred the reef-strewn approaches to Berbera and with a heavy bombardment silenced the Italian batteries. A landing was made almost without opposition.

During our troops' advance into Eritrea, ships of the Royal Indian Navy co-operated in offensive action against enemy ports and coastal positions, conveyed men and supplies and swept for mines. H.M.I S. *Ratnagiri* assisted in the landing at Mersa Taclai, and when the final assault on Massawa took place His Majesty's Indian ships *Hindustan*, *Indus* and *Parvati* formed part of the Naval force.

H. M. I. Ships' Part

The entrance to the Italian Naval base was heavily mined, and H.M.I. ships helped in sweeping and buoying a channel through the mine-fields. In the first attempt to enter, one ship passed through two minefields and eventually steamed into a section where six mines were cut by the sweeps in a few seconds. A moment later one sweep was blown up and the other disabled. With unswept mines in front of her and six floating mines near her stern, she had anxious moments but managed to ease out of danger. A clearer passage was then found, and H.M.I.S. *Hindustan* triumphantly led the way into the captured port. Action against the enemy-held

base of Assab was largely undertaken by H.M.I.S. *Ratnagiri* while other H.M.I. ships joined in reducing Italian strong-holds elsewhere on the coast. In this way India's Navy helped to overthrow the Fascist regime in Italy's North-East African colonies—the first step towards its destruction in Italy itself.

In the Persian Gulf operations, necessitated in August, 1941, by Nazi intrigues in Iran, British, Indian and Australian ships landed troops at Abadan and Bandar Shahpur. Royal Indian Navy officers and men helped to save seven out of eight axis merchant ships from being scuttled by their crews. Two Indian Naval Officers received the D.S.C., and three D.S.Ms. for ratings were among other awards to the R.I.N. Up to this stage in the war the R.I.N. had lost two ships in action, a small loss when the magnitude of the operations is taken into account. In both cases most of the ships' companies were saved.

Several sloops built for India in the United Kingdom, including H.M.I.S. *Jumna* and *Sutlej*, were temporarily lent for service in the Atlantic from 1941 on. Escorting convoys through waters made hazardous by German submarines and air-craft, officers and men gained valuable experiences put to good use later in the Far East. Other H. M. I. warships built in British ship-yards had their share of convoy work in the Atlantic and Mediterranean. The experiences of H. M. I. S. *Kumaon* and H. M. I. S. *Kathiawar* were typical. After a period in Scottish waters they spent six weeks on convoy duties to and from Gibraltar. At times they were less than 40 miles from the First Army front in Tunisia, where the Germans had a considerable number of aircraft with which they were bombing Allied ports and convoys. U-boats in wait along the North African coast had to be hunted, and *Kumaon* was officially credited with one submarine possibly damaged. These two warships thus represented the R. I. N. at the final liberation of North Africa, one of the turning points in the war against Germany. On proceeding to India they escorted more convoys, and on many occasions had to contend with the known presence of U-boats along their route.

Sloops of India's Navy formed part of the screen of escorting warships for the Eighth Army when it landed on Sicily. They were there on "D" Day guarding our troops against attack by submarines and aircraft, and subsequently escorted convoys carrying reinforcements and supplies. One sloop was at sea for 25 days except for a break of a few hours. During that time she made a double crossing of the Mediterranean, out into the Atlantic and back to a Levant port, a distance nearly one-third the way round the globe. While in Augusta harbour she helped to repel an air attack on the port.

H.M.I.S. *Kistna*, another sloop built in the United Kingdom, was the principal anti-air-craft escort of the first convoy to be heavily attacked by glider bombs. Earlier, this same convoy had been assailed by a U-boat pack, and *Kistna* was officially credited with one U-boat "probably slightly damaged."

Another sloop, H.M.I.S. *Godavari*, was a member of an Atlantic U-boat "killer" group which made itself famous for its toll of Germany's underwater craft. On one occasion this group sank two U-boats and probably two others. H.M.I.S. *Godavari* was honoured by a visit from the King-Emperor while in British waters and afterwards led the Battle Fleet out on manoeuvres.

Ships of India's Navy have thus been in the thick of the sea war in the West, and it is fitting to end with the tribute paid to the Service by Admiral Ramsay, the Allied Naval Commander-in-Chief during the Normandy invasion.

"In this war", Admiral Ramsay said, "the Royal Indian Navy has worked side by side with the Royal Navy and the Navies of other countries. It has taken part in the battle of the Atlantic as well as serving in the seas around India. Although no ship of the Royal Indian Navy served under my command in the assault on German-occupied Europe, the Indian Navy has helped indirectly by its vigilance in other waters.

"Once more the Navies have shown that control of the routes across the oceans bring victory and that failure to control them inevitably brings defeat, however carefully the aggressors may have prepared for war on land."

India's War Finance—A Creditor Nation

At the end of hostilities in Europe, India can look back with pride on her achievement in the field of war finance. She has borne the steadily increasing financial burden of the war, which has risen to nearly six times the peacetime level. The total expenditure charged to revenue in 1938-39, the immediate pre-war year, was Rs. 85.15 crores; for the year 1944-45 (Revised) it amounted to Rs. 512.65 crores. This burden at one time strained Indian economy almost to breaking point,

But effective counter-measures were adopted, which checked this dangerous tendency and restored the economy to wartime equilibrium.

In the beginning, reliance was placed mainly upon increased taxation to finance the war. Wartime borrowing was on the small side, but gradually took precedence. And as Sir Jeremy Raisman stated in his last two budget speeches, borrowing has become the sheet-anchor of India's wartime finances, not only for securing funds to finance the war but also effectively to counter the forces of inflation.

ROLE OF TAXATION

The last two budgets can be characterised as anti-inflationary budgets, since the taxation and other financial measures adumbrated therein had, as one of their main objects, the countering of the inflationary tendency in the first half of 1943. Price became more or less stabilised at comparatively lower levels in 1944, a tendency which still prevails.

Direct taxation has begun to play an increasingly important role in the tax structure of India. The aggregate of taxes on income, including corporation tax, has increased from Rs. 17.28 crores in 1938-39 to Rs. 210 00 crores (Revised) in 1944-45, or a twelvefold increase. While the yield of customs revenue has, in spite of the imposition of a general surcharge of 20 per cent., decreased generally as a result of wartime difficulties of supply and import restrictions.

Excise revenue has been buoyant. Not only has it expanded but new sources have been tapped. In 1938-39, for instance, the yield of Central Excise duties amounted to Rs. 8.66 crores; in 1944-45, Rs. 39.07 crores (Revised). Customs revenue showed an appreciable increase in 1944-45 and is expeced to show substantially better results during the current financial year, the estimate for 1945-46 being Rs. 55.25 crores. This is partly because of the general easing of the shipping position and also because increasing imports of consumer goods have latterly become possible as one of the measures to counteract inflation.

The total revenue derived during the war period is indicated in the following table:

	(In *crores of Rs.*)
Pre-War Year	
1938-39	84.51
War Period	
1939-40	94.57
1940-41	99.88
1941-42	134.57
1942-43	176.88
1943-44	249.95
1944-45 (Revised)	356.88
Total	1,112.73

The total revenue realised during the first six years of war amounts to Rs. 1,113 crores. If revenue had accrued at the rate of the peace-time level of Rs. 94.57 crores a year, the aggregate for this period would have been Rs. 567 crores. The difference between these two figures—*viz* Rs. 546 crores—represents mainly the increase in wartime tax revenue, either due to natural expansion of revenue or to new measures of taxation. Thus, the aggregate revenue realised during the period has increased by about 100 per cent over the figure calculated for it on the basis of the pre-war level.

It is difficult to tell how much of this increased revenue is due to natural expansion and how much to new taxation. After the adoption of the slab system, Income-tax has shown a progressive tendency. Moreover, expansion or business activities has brought in more assessees and more tax revenue from them. Similarly, Excise revenue has increased owing to increased industrial output. Taking these and other factors into consideration, one would not be far off the mark in assuming that at least two-thirds of the above amount represent the proceeds of extra taxation during and the rest normal growth of revenue in the war period.

A brief account of the new taxation measures adopted during the war may now be given. In the 1940-41 budget, the Excess Profits Tax was introduced for the first time in the Indian tax system, the rate being 50 per cent. Other taxation measures adopted during the year were raising of the Sugar Excise and Import Duties from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 per cwt. and raising the Petrol Tax, both Excise and customs, from As. 10 to As. 12 per gallon. A supplemantry budget was introduced in November, 1940. It provided for a 25 per cent surcharge on all taxes on income, including Super-tax and Corporation tax, and a limited increase in postal and telegraph rates and telephone rentals.

The 1941-42 budget raised the Excess Profits Tax from 50 per cent. to 66⅔ per cent. The Central surcharge of 25 per cent. on Income-tax and Super-tax was raised to 33⅓ per cent. In the field of indirect taxation, Excise duty on matches was doubled. A new Excise Duty of 10 per cent *advalorem* was introduced on pneumatic tyres and tubes. The alternative specific import duty on artificial silk yarn and thread was increased from 3 annas to 5 annas per lb.

In 1942-43, the taxable minimum for Income-tax purposes was reduced from Rs. 2,000 per annum to Rs. 1,500. The surcharge on income-tax was raised from 33⅓ per cent. to a scale which ran from 6 pies in the rupee on incomes between Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 5,000 to 9 pies in the rupee on the next Rs. 5000, 1 anna 2 pies on the next Rs. 5,000 and 1 anna 3 pies on the balance over Rs. 15,000. The surcharge on the rate of Super-tax was raised to 50 per cent. and, at the same time, Corporation Tax was raised to 1½ annas in the rupee. While E.P.T. was retained at the 66⅔ per cent. level, as an incentive to economy in business administration, the Government agreed to contribute an amount up to one-tenth of the E.P.T. paid to a reserve for the re-equipment of industry after the war, provided the assessee deposited double this amount.

The main indirect taxation was the levy of an emergency surcharge of one-fifth on all Customs imports duties, the only exceptions being: (*i*) raw cotton, the duty on which had already been enhanced by 100 per cent, for a special purpose, (*ii*) petrol, the excise and customs duties on which were raised by 3 annas a gallon, and (*iii*) salt. The excise duties on silver and kerosene were equated to the new import duties and certain posts, telegraphs and telephone rates were further increased.

In 1943-44, a number of measures were promulgated which had the dual purpose of bringing in more revenue and checking inflation. The surcharge on Income-tax was raised on incomes above Rs. 5,000; the effect of the change was to impose a surcharge amounting uniformly to 66⅔ per cent. over the basic rates of Income-tax. As regards super-tax the surcharge was increased uniformly by 6 pies in the rupee on slabs of income between Rs. 25,000 and Rs. 3½ lakhs. The resultant aggregate rates of super-tax, including surcharge, ran from two annas in the rupee on the lowest slab to 10½ annas on the top slab. Corporation tax was also raised by half an anna to two annas in the rupee.

As regards indirect taxation, two new Excise duties were introduced, one on tobacco and the other on vegetable products. Tobacco excise was anticipated to yield a revenue of Rs. 10.50 crores during the first year. The duty on vegetable products was at the rate of Rs. 5 per cwt. and was expected to yield Rs. 100 lakhs. There were further increases in certain postal and telephone rates, anticipated to yield Rs. 120 lakhs.

In a similar manner, the financial measures of 1944-45 were designed not only to increase the revenue for war and post-war needs but also to check inflation. To absorb surplus money, provision was made for advance payment of tax on incomes from which tax was not deducted at source. While no change was made in the E.P.T., the compulsory deposit proportion was increased to 19/64 of the tax in the cases of companies, and 17/64 in other cases, which immoblised the entire excess profits remaning after E.P.T. had been paid thereon and income-tax and super-tax paid on the balance.

Relief was given to persons whose incomes were below Rs. 2,000 by raising the taxable minimum from Rs. 1,500 to Rs. 2,000. On the slab from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 15,000 the surcharge was increased by 2 pies, from 16 to 18 pies over the basic rate of 24 pies; and on the balance above Rs. 15,000 it was increased by 4 pies, from 20 to 24 pies over the basic rate of 30 pies. The super-tax was further increased by half an anna in respect of the surcharge on slabs between Rs, 35,000 and Rs. 2 lakhs. Similarly, Corporation tax was increased by one anna to three annas; but a rebate of one anna in the rupee was given on so much of a company's total income as was not distributed in dividends other than dividends payable at a fixed rate.

In respect of indirect taxation, the Excise duty on tobacco was further increased so as to bring in an additional revenue of Rs. 10 crores. Three new excise duties were levied, namely, on betel nut, coffee and tea, at annas two a pound.

The total estimated additional revenue from all these sources amounted to Rs. 23½ crores; while from the point of view of their anti-inflationary effect, the new measures were estimated to bring in approximately Rs. 90 crores.

There was not much increase in taxation in 1945-46. The surcharge on slabs of income above Rs. 15,000 was increased by 3 pies, the estimated yield being about Rs. 4 crores. The Excise duty on the highest class of flue-cured tobacco was further raised at varying rates so as to yield an additional revenue of Rs. 360 lakhs,

Import duty on unmanufactured tobacco was also raised correspondingly to yield Rs. 240 lakhs. There were a few changes in inland postal parcel rates and surcharge on trunk telephone calls and telegrams, anticipated to yield Rs. 135 lakhs.

PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF REVENUE

The following table gives the principal sources of revenue (in crores of rupees) during the war period:

Years.	Customs.	Central Excise.	Corporation Tax.	Taxes on income other than Corporation Tax.	Salt.
Pre-War.—					
1938-39	40'51	8'66	2'04	15'24	8'12
War Period					
1939-40	45'88	6'52	2'38	16'99	10'86
1940-41	37'30	9'49	4'14	21'79	7'67
1941-42	37'89	13'15	11'66	32'40	9'20
1942-43	25'12	12'75	31'40	54'36	10'91
1943-44	26'57	24'94	51'28	77'86	8'34
1944-45	40'00	39'07	106'11	103'89	9'30

Customs touched a low level of Rs. 25 crores—about 40 per cent. below the pre-war level—in the very year in which a general surcharge of 20 per cent. was levied on all Customs duties. Except for a slight break in 1942-43, Central Excise has progressively expanded. Taxes on income, including Corporation Tax, show a spectacular rise—from Rs. 17 crores in 1938-39 to Rs. 210 crores in 1944-45. Salt has been more or less steady.

In addition to higher realisations from expanding revenues of new taxation, certain Commercial Departments of the Government, like the railways and the Posts and Telegraphs, have made substantial increased contribution to the general revenues. The following table, for instance, gives details of the net contribution (in crores of rupees) by the P. and T. and the Railways:

Year	Posts and Telegraphs	Railways
Pre-War		
1938-39	.19	1.37
War Period		
1939-40	.89	4.33
1940-41	1.25	12.16
1941-42	3.41	20.17
1942-43	4.52	20.13
1943-44	9.03	37.64
1944-45	9.32	32.00
Total	28.44	126.43

WARTIME EXPENDITURE

The aggregate expenditure charged to revenue during the first six war years i.e., from 1939-40 to 1944-45, amounted to Rs. 1,598 crores, details being as under (in crores of rupees):

Pre-War		
1938-39		85.15
War Period		
1939-40		94.57
1940-41		114.18
1941-42		147.26
1942-43		289.05
1943-44		439'85
1944-45	(Revised)	512.65
	Total	1,597.56

On the basis of the expenditure for the pre-war year 1938-39, the total expenditure for the period should be Rs. 511 crores; but the actual revenue expenditure was Rs. 1,598 crores, which represents a threefold increase or an increase of Rs. 1,087 crores over that basic figure. This increase can be attributed to expenditure connected with the war, mainly Defence expenditure.

Defence expenditure increased from Rs. 46.18 crores in 1938-39 to Rs. 397.23 crores in 1944-45 (Revised). This represents more than an eightfold increase. The yearly details are as follows:

	Defence Expenditure (Net) in crores of Rs.
Pre-War	
1938-39	46.18
War Period	
1939-40	49.54
1940-41	73.61
1941-42	103.93
1942-43	214.62
1943-44	358.40
1944-45 (Revised)	397.23
Total	1,197 33

The aggregate Defence expenditure amounted to Rs. 1,197 crores during the European war period. On the basis of the pre-war level, the normal expenditure for this period would be Rs. 227 crores.

It has been observed before that the increase during the war period in the aggregate revenue expenditure was Rs. 1,087 crores. Of this the increase in Defence expenditure accounts for Rs. 920 crores; the rest, namely Rs. 167 crores, can be accounted for by increases in the expenditure on Civil Departments and the aggregate of other increases. The high-water mark of Defence expenditure viz., Rs. 397 crores—was reached in 1944-45. The estimates for the current year have been placed at the slightly lower figure of Rs. 394 crores.

An innovation has been made from 1942-43 in the presentation of Defence expenditure. This has been divided into two portions, namely, revenue and capital. The figures given above represent revenue expenditure, while the capital portion was as follows:

	In crores of Rs.
1942-43	52.51
1943-44	37.46
1944-45 (Revised)	59.41

The capital portion consists of expenditure of a capital nature against most of which tangible and valuable assets are held.

The total Defence expenditure brought to account in India's books is much more than what is indicated by the above figures. A substantial portion of this total expenditure has been borne by His Majesty's Government under what is known as the Financial Settlement, concluded between the Government of India and His Majesty's Government in 1939 regarding the allocation of total Defence expenditure brought to account in India's books between the two Governments. This total amounted to Rs. 2,722 crores till the end of 1944-45 of which India's share was Rs. 1,198 crores and H.M.G.'s Rs. 1,374 crores. Following are the details. (In crores of rupees):

Year,		Total Defence Fxpenditure.	India's Share.		H.M.G.'s Share
1939-40	...	.54	50		4
1940-41	...	127	74		53
1941-42	...	298	104		194
1942-43	...	573	215 +52*		306
1943-44	...	774	358 +38*		378
1944-45 (Revised)	...	896	397 60*		439
Total		2,722	1,198) +150)*	1,348	1,374

In addition to the above share of the total Defence expenditure brought to account in India's books, H. M. G. have incurred capital expenditure amounting to crores of rupees in implementing the recommendations of the Chatfield Committee. They have further undertaken to supply India, without charge, large quantities of aeroplanes, guns and other equipment required in connection with the expansion of India's air force and army. The total value of such free supplies cannot be readily estimated, but certainly runs into many millions of rupees.

LEND-LEASE AND RECIPROCAL AID

From 1942, India has been admitted to the benefits of the Lend-Lease of the U. S. A. along with the United Kingdom and other members of the Commonwealth.

* *N.B.*—These figures represent Defence Capital Expenditure.

To ensure that India participated to the fullest possible extent in these facilities, an Indian Purchasing Mission was established in the United States. India received or is receiving from America, under Lend-Lease, medical stores, ordnance stores, motor vehicles and spares, steel, provisions, lubricants, machine tools, machinery, electrical equipment, A.R.P. stores, radio sets, oil pipeline and machinery, ferro alloys, locomotives, dock and harbour equipment, aircraft parts, chemicals, scientific instruments, etc. India is giving Reciprocal Aid to American forces stationed in India. Although she has not entered into a Mutual Aid Agreement with the U. S. A., as other members of the United Nations have done, she has wholeheartedly accepted the principle of mutual aid and is giving all possible help. The goods and services relating to this aid take, broadly speaking, the following three main forms :

(1) Reciprocal Aid to U.S. forces in India in the shape of rations, clothing, ordnance and other stores, the constructon of accommodation, airfields and connected works and the provision of transportation, communications and maintenance facilities of various kinds.

(3) Reciprocal Aid to U. S. shipping using Indian ports in the shape of port dues of all kinds, ship repairs, etc.

(3) Available raw materials and available foodstuffs such as tea, required by the U.S. Government directly for war purposes.

The total amount of supplies and services made to India under Lend-Lease arrangements up to the end of 1944-45 is estimated at Rs. 515 crores ; the value of those which India, but for Lend-Lease, would have had to provide at her own expense is roughly Rs. 150 crores. The amount of Reciprocal Aid which India has rendered to the U.S.A. is about Rs. 124 crores from the beginning of the war up to the end of 1944-45. The table (below) gives the Revenue and Expenditure (met from Revenue) position during the war period :

During the war period, the total deficit on Revenue account amounted to Rs. 477 crores, which was mainly met by borrowing. Borrowing has thus played a large part in financing the war. Total borrowings from the beginning of the war to the end of January, 1945, aggregated to Rs. 833 crores. The cheap money policy, which had succeeded in the pre-war years, was continued during the war period, and wartime borrowings have been on a 3 per cent basis.

Different types of loans were floated to suit the needs of different types of investors—short-term, medium dated and long-term loans. Special efforts were made to tap the resources of the small investor. Mention should be made in this connection of the 12-Year National Savings Certificates, which carry a slightly higher rate of interest with a view to attracting thereby these investors.

Efforts to stimulate small savings met with a good response from the public, thanks to the active co-operation of the Provincial Governments and non-official organisations. The results are reflected in the net deposits in the Post Office Savings Bank Accounts and the 12-Year National Savings Certificates. Net investments in these and other forms of small savings continue at the satisfactory rate of about Rs. 3 crores a month.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE

(In crores of Rs.)

	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45 (Revised)
Revenue							
Principal Heads of Revenue	76·11	84·09	82·01	106·15	136·57	191·51	301·32
Other Miscellaneous Sources of Revenue	8·34	8·05	16·39*	12·23	26·56	31·27	40·80
Net contribution of P. & T. to General Revenues	·19	·89	1·25	3·41	4·52	9·03	9·32
Net contribution of Railways to General Revenues	1·37	4·33	12·16	20·17	20·13	37·64	32·60
	86·01	97·36	111·81	141·96	187·78	269·45	383·44
Deduct share of income-tax payable to Provinces	1·50	2·79	4·16	7·39	10·90	19·50	26·56
Total Revenue	84·51	94·57	*107·65	134·57	176·88	249·95	356·88

Expenditure (From Revenue)							
Defence Services (Net)	45'18	49'54	73'61	103'93	214'62	358'40	397'23
Civil Expenditure	38'97	45'03	40'57	43'33	74'43	81'45	115'42
Total Expenditure (From Revenue)	85'15	94 57	114'18	147'26	289'05	439'85	512'65
Deficit	'64	...	6'53	12'69	112'17	189'90	155'77

*Includes 7'77 transferred from Revenue Reserve Fund.

The floating debt, which was Rs. 111 crores at the end of 1943-44, stood at Rs. 93 crores on January 31, 1945. The Government's ways and means position, from the strictly budgetary point of view, must be regarded as comfortable.

Government's effort to absorb surplus funds has also been successful. Surplus money has been immobilised not only through borrowing but through compulsory deposits, mainly relating to E. P. T. and the system of 'Pay-as-You-Earn' relating to income-tax. Although a substantial measure of success has been achieved in the direction of closing the inflationary gap, the problem still exists, as Sir Jeremy Raisman pointed out in his last budget speech, and, judging from recent indications, may call for increased vigilance and control.

At the end of 1944-45, the total Public Debt of India (interest bearing obligations) amounted to Rs. 1,799 crores. This was covered by interest-yielding assets to the extent of 1,004 crores. It was further covered to the extent of Rs. 312 crores by cash and securities held on Treasury account. The balance of interest-bearing obligations not covered by any of the above assets thus amounted to only Rs. 483 crores.

INDIA—A CREDITOR NATION

One of the outstanding results of the war is the emergence of India as a creditor nation. From the debtor position which she had long occupied previous to the war, this change was rendered possible by the acquisition of large sterling balances in the U. K. as a result, first, of her increased favourable balance of trade during wartime with the U. K. and other countries which is cleared through sterling: secondly, of the military expenditure incurred on behalf of H.M.G. and other United Nations for which payment is made in sterling; and thirdly, of a number of miscellaneous items of expenditure made by the Government of India on behalf of H.M.G. which are refunded by sterling credits. The required rupee finance was arranged through the Reserve Bank of India.

Sterling thus acquired soon accumulated at a rapid pace and attained big proportions and it was resolved, with the co-operation of H. M. G., compulsory to repatriate this sterling debt. The Debt amounted to Rs. 396.50 crores before the war (1938-39); it is now barely Rs. 14 crores, consisting of securities which do not come under the vesting orders of either India or the U. K. In lieu of the sterling debt, India has accumulated sterling balances which stood at Rs. 1,363 crores on March 30, 1945. The repatriation of the sterling debt has immeasurably strengthened India's economic structure and raised her status. The real gain to the country lies in the liquidation of external obligations, which may have proved an embarrassment in the future, and their replacement by internal debt. India has completed the transition from a debtor to a creditor country in a very short time and liquidated within the brief space of three years accumulation over decades of its public indebtedness to the United Kingdom.

The sources of supply of sterling and its disposal up to the end of January, 1945 are shown in the following table:

		Crores of Rs.
1.	Sterling Assets held by Reserve Bank, August, 1939	64
2.	Sterling purchased by the Reserve Bank up to January, 1945	633
3.	Sterling Payments by H.M.G. ...	1,245
	Total	1,942
4.	Sterling amounts involved in repatriation	400
5.	Other sterling commitments ...	238
6.	Sterling holding of Reserve Bank at the end of January 1945	1,304
	Total	1.942

In the disposal of the sterling balances, the sterling debt repatriation scheme has, of course, played a notable part. A few other methods were also employed with the same object in view, the important ones being:

1. Funding the Railway annuities and redemption of Railway debenture stock : £62 million ;
2. Purchase of company managed Railways ; £28 million ;
3. Repayment of Chatfield Debt : £8½ million , and
4. Conclusion of an agreement with H.M.G. regarding the allocation during the war of non-effective charges : £15 million.

Utilisation, in the post-war period, of the sterling balances which have accumulated to India's credit has now become an important question. Sir Jeremy Raisman had preliminary talks with H.M.G.'s Treasury officials during his visit to the U.K. last year. These conversations were necessarily directed towards exploring the background for future discussion and ths indication of a suitable time-table for more definite negotiation.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY CONFERENCE

A delegation from India consisting of Sir Jeremy Raisman, the then Finance Member (Leader), Sir C. D. Deshmukh, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, Dr. Sir Theodore Gregory, Economic Adviser to the Government of India, Sir Shanmukham Chetty and Mr. A. D. Shroff (with Dr. Madan of the Reserve Bank as Secretary) attended the International Monetary Conference, held at Bretton Woods in July, 1944, to consider the International Monetary Fund proposals (previously circulated to the United Nations) and proposals for the establishment of an International Bank. The Indian delegation pressed for partial multilateral clearing or war balances through the machinery of the Fund, in the interests alike of promoting economic development of backward countries and assisting the broad objectives of the Fund to secure the expansion of multilateral trade. The proposal, however, was negatived by the Conference, primarily on the ground of the limited size of the Fund in relation to the magnitude of the war balances. The question, therefore, remains one for settlement in direct negotiation with the U. K. The report of the delegation will be placed before the Central Legislature in due course. The conclusions of the Conference will be reviewed in the light of the action taken on them by the chief member countries concerned, in particular by the U.S.A. and the U. K.

Problems connected with the financing of post-war social and economic development plans of the country are engaging the attention of Government. Sir Jeremy Raisman stated in his 1944 budget speech that, granting the maintenance by concerted international effort of full production and employment, a reasonably rapid rate of demobilisation and a determination on the part of Governments to utilise to the full the taxable capacity of the country, after one or two deficit years, revenue surpluses rising to the order of Rs. 100 crores per annum could be expected in the fourth or fifth year after the war.

With all-out borrowing continued in accordance with the technique developed during the war, he said, it was possible to visualise total resources approximating Rs. 1,000 crores, for the purpose of financing post-war plans, during the first effective quinquennium after the war. This excluded any direct private investment, which was estimated at another Rs. 500 crores during the same period by the Second Report of the Reconstruction Committee of Council. There were, besides, the resources of Provincial and States Government.

Sir Jeremy was of the opinion that estimates for subsequent 5-year periods could be related to the actual results of the first quinquennium in a sort of geometric progression. He emphasised that sound finance was necessary for proper planning. Individual schemes should be designed to be as remunerative as possible and priority should be given to those schemes which could contribute directly to an increase in material wealth and prosperity and thereby reinforce the public revenue.

In his last budget speech, Sir Jeremy further elaborated his views on problems of post-war finance. He indicated the following possible additional sources of post-war taxation :

(1) Estate Duty on property other than agricultural property.
(2) Agricultural income-tax.
(3) Customs receipts may soar to unprecedented heights in the immediate post-war period. They may decline thereafter but will remain buoyant for a number of years. But with the growing industrialisation of the country, this source of revenue can hardly be expanded and may even appreciably contract.
(4) Increasing reliance on Central Excise and
(5) Expansion of the sales to turnover tax.

The Political Conferences

The All India Hindu Mahasabha

Working Committee—New Delhi—20th & 21st. January 1945

INDIA'S FUTURE CONSTITUTION

The Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha met at New Delhi on the 20th & 21st. January 1945 and decided to send a delegation to Great Britain, U. S. A., U. S. S. R. and China to "counteract the anti-Hindu and anti-Indian propaganda which is being carried on in England, America and other countries and to educate public opinion in the said countries on right lines with special reference to the ideology of the Hindu Mahasabha." The President was authorised to nominate the personnel of the delegation.

The Committee reviewed the present political situation and reiterated that there could be "no Hindu-Muslim settlement in Hindusthan without reference to and without the consent of the Hindu Mahasabha and that the Mahasabha is the only representative organisation competent to speak on behalf of the Hindus and to safeguard their rights and interests."

The resolution, *inter-alia*, said : "The Working Committee views with great concern the attempts that are being made in some quarters for the appeasement of the Muslim League by the surrender of the just rights and interests of the Hindus. The Hindus will not accept any composite government which will give undue weightage or disproportionate strength to the Muslims or other minorities in excess of what their proportions in the population justify.

The Working Committee demands dissolution of the present legislatures both in the Provinces and at the Centre which have long outived their terms and have ceased to be representative of public opinion in the country. The Committee demands the election of fresh legislatures and the formation of representative governments at the Centre and in the provinces and urges steps to be taken for convening a Constituent Assembly for framing the constitution of Free Hindusthan."

Three other resolutions passed by the Working Committee directed the Provincial Sabhas to "preach and propagate the ideology of the Mahasabha and make a drive for enrolment and mobilise in particular the Kisan and Labour populations in their areas," requested the Governor-General to commute the death sentence of Chimur and Ashti prisoners; and deplored "the state of affairs in Hyderabad State with regard to the export and import trade and distribution of foodstuffs in the State and urged the Government of India to make proper investigation."

DR. MUKHERJEE EXPLAINS MAHASABHA STAND

The fundamental difference between the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha was explained by Dr. *Shyama Prosad Mookerjee* at a press conference on the 21st. January. Dr. Mookerjee said : "Our fundamental difference with the Congress is that we refuse to surrender on the basic principle of India's integrity nor do we subscribe to pandering to intransigent communalism."

Dr. Mookerjee referred to Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's move to forge a "fresh Congress League settlement" and expressed the opinion that the Hindu-Muslim problem would never be solved by the spokesmen of the Congress bartering away the rights of the Hindus and agreeing to increased percentage of representation to the Muslim League in the Central and Provincial Governments. The Hindu Mahasabha president commended the draft constitation framed by the Mahasabha and the decisions taken by the Bilaspur session to the Indian public.

Continuing, Dr. Mookerjee said : "The resolutions adopted at the Bilaspur session of the Hindu Mahasabha on the Indian political situation and the future constitution are of a far-reaching character and their significance requires to be explained to all sections of the people. The stand of the Hindu Mahasabha is wholly consistent with our national welfare and advancement and gives the fullest scope to all classes and sections of the people to develop themselves according to their just rights and potentialities. We stand for one united and undivided India and there can be no compromise on this issue. We recognise that the provincial boundaries may have to be readjusted on cultural and linguistic basis but there must be a central government in India having paramount powers, That government will be the residuary legatee in the constitution." Referring to the draft constitution Dr. Mookerjee said : "The Hindu Mahasabha dces not stand fcr any narrow communal and

sectarian advantages. We envisage a free India where the rights of man and the right of citizenship will be fully respected and protected and citizenship will not be dependent on the practice of profession of any particular religion. The constitution will be based on adult suffrage—one man, one vote—and joint electorate. There may be reservation of seats if minorities so desire it, but it should be on population basis. Further, the constitution shall guarantee the protection of religious and cultural rights of all, including the minorities. I ask our critics to analyse any constitution in the world and they will be satisfied that the constitution we have outlined is based on the truest principle of democracy and freedom. We have not shirked the economic issue and the fundamental rights of a free Indian citizen have been fully guaranteed in the constitution. Ours is not an utopian scheme. We have recognised the existence of the minorities' problem in India and we have provided adequate safeguards for their religion, language and culture." Explaining his differences with the Congress, the Mahasabha President said: "Our fundamental difference with the Congress is that we refuse to surrender on the basic principle of India's integrity nor do we subscribe to pandering to intransigent communalism. We must have the courage to face stern reality that the Congress policy of appeasement has merely widened the breach between Hindus and Muslims, has weakened the national resistance and has gravely jeopardised the legitimate rights of Hindus as such. The C. R. Formula, though powerfully backed by Gandhiji, failed to produce any result as it was nothing but a compromise with an untruth. "We hear again of a move for a fresh Congress-League settlement through the efforts of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, though the detailed plans are not officially known to us. Let me say this unhesitatingly that the Hindu-Muslim problem will never be solved by the spokesmen of the Congress bartering away the rights of the Hindus and agreeing to increased percentage of representation to the Muslim League in the Central and Provincial Governments either on a higher basis than their population justifies or on a scale higher than what Muslims are entitled to even under the present constitution. Hindu-Muslim settlement can only be achieved by Hindus and Muslims as such and not between a party swayed by communal passions alone utterly oblivious of the country's welfare and another that owes its strength and popularity to Hindu support but openly declares that it does not represent the Hindu community. "We have offered a just and fair basis for a political settlement between Hindus and Muslims. If Hindu opinion is correctly and widely mobilised there will be no occasion for any non-Muslim organisation to run after the Muslim League for a temporary and patched up solution. The Muslim community is bound to discover the folly and unwisdom of its own leaders and come to an agreement with the Hindus on a just and equitable basis. It is clear to-day that British Government will not easily part with power in India. Our goal is complete independence for India. The present constitution stands suspended in the majority of Indian Provinces and the executive government at the Centre owes no responsibility to any elected legislature."

Welcoming Mr. Rajagopalachari's suggestion regarding the implementation of the Federal scheme, Dr. Mookerjee said: "Although we have differed fundamentally from Mr. Rajagopalachari, I welcome his latest suggestion that the Federation Scheme under the Government of India Act of 1935 should be brought into action immediately. Let me state here unequivocally that this cannot be an end in itself. India's right of complete political liberty is irresistible and must be achieved at any cost, but it is of fundamental importance to recognise that the present Fascist-cum-bureaucratic regime in India must cease as soon as possible and also the present constitution must not be allowed to function only to keep the Muslim League in power in some parts of India, acting detrimentally to the interests of Hindus and to the national cause itself. Our demand is that constitutional government should function in India even in a restricted manner as envisaged in the Government of India Act of 1935, but only as a first step towards the fuller advance for achieving full Indian freedom. Let the present legislature in the Centre and in the Provinces be dissolved and, on the basis of the newly elected legislature the entire constitution embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 function in the Centre and in the Provinces as a preliminary step for framing the constitution of a free India. We put the British Government to this acid test and let us see how they respond."

In conclusion, Dr. Mookerjee said: "I confidently ask my countrymen to study the plan and programme of the Hindu Mahasabha as outlined in the Bilaspur session and extend to it its fullest support and co-operation. Freedom will not come as a gift from any foreign country nor will it follow patched up agreement based on

blind policy of surrender to communal fanaticism. The Mahasabha aims at mobilising true nationalist opinion throughout the country, and the country's freedom and real communal harmony can be achieved only if this campaign is successful with the goodwill and support of as large sections of the Indian people as possible.

"By a strange and powerful combination of reactionary elements, both in the country and abroad, the true voice of India is to-day sought to be choked but believing as I do in the righteousness of our cause, no power can either crush the Hindus or resist India's claim for freedom only if we ourselves realise our own strength and unite for achieving our national goal."

Working Committee—Calcutta—12th May 1945

SAPRU PROPOSALS CRITICISED

The Working Commitee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at its meeting in Calcutta on the *12th May 1945* adopted a resolution expressing satisfaction at the termination of the war in Europe but adding that until India was declared independent she could not wholeheartedly participate in the victory celebration.

The resolution demanded "the liberation of Hindusthan from alien bondage both political and economic as an essential *sine qua non* for world peace and the establishment of world order based on justice and humanity."

The resolution further called upon the representatives of the Great Powers to demonstrate to the world that the blood and sacrifice of Indians would lead to the liberation of their own motherland and mark the end of the period of subjection and exploitation.

By another resolution the Committee repudiated "the vicious principle of parity of representation between caste Hindus and Muslims as recommended by the Sapru Committee in the Constitution-making body Legislature and Executive Council as the same is unjust, unfair, and destructive of the fundamental principle of democracy and nationalism." "Such a proposal," added the resolution, "is the outcome of an attitude of pathetic submission to the policy of appeasement in order to placate the intransigent communalism of the Pakisthanists. The Hindu Mahasabha reaffirms the principle that the constitution of free Hindusthan should be based on the democratic principle of 'one man one vote', with adequate protection of the religion and culture of minorities."

The Committee also expressed the view that the proposal to divide the caste Hindus and the scheduled castes would widen and perpetuate cleavage and was calculated to bring about the disintegration of the Hindus.

The Bengal Hindu Sabha Conference

Jalpaiguri—24th. and 25th. February 1945

The All-Bengal Hindu Sabha Conference held its two-day session at Jalpaiguri on the **24th. & 25th. February 1945** and adopted half a dozen resolutions on political and other problems including Pakistan and the administration of the Bengal Ministry. Mr. *Khaparde* moving the resolution on Pakistan, appealed to the people to make up their mind not to want Pakistan and resist the Pakistan proposal by all means. He warned that a civil war might arise in case this was brought into being.

Mr. *N. C. Chatterjee* moved the resolution on the political programme and said, "We have our differences with the Congress and the League, but Mr. Churchill and his colleagues should know that we are agreed on one point, that India must not continue to be subjected to domination and exploitation."

Enumerating various charges against the League Ministry in Bengal, the Conference demanded its dissolution and requested His Excellency the Governor to hold general elections without delay. It added that, "the Ministry had aggravated the untold miseries and sufferings of the people of this Province by bungling the administration during the famine and its aftermath failed to check profiteering and hoarding or to supply essentials of life and interfered with the religious rights of the Hindus." The charges included, "reckless extravagance", and "administration on communal and party lines".

The Conference by another resolution reiterated its demand for recognition of Hindusthan as an independent State freed from fetters of British imperialism and called upon the Hindus to implement the resolutions passed at the Bilaspur session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha on the Free Hindusthan constitution and fundamental rights of citizens.

Protesting against the proposed Bengal Secondary Education Bill, the Conference

demanded separate boards for both secondary and primary education, for the Hindus and others and also allotment of adequate financial grants, if the Ministry persisted on proceeding with the Bill.

The Conference condemned the agitation alleged to have been launched by the Muslims and the Muslim League Ministry against the line system in Assam and demanded that uncontrolled immigration of Bengal settlers in Assam be stopped.

While protesting against the Draft Hindu Code, the Conference did not express the view that the Hindus should maintain an attitude of adherence to the *status quo* but opposed interference with the Hindu religious and social customs by a legislature set up under a constitution designed to maintain domination of alien interests.

No fundamental changes, according to the Conference, should be introduced in the Hindu Law until there was a referendum of Hindus and a legislature was elected with the mandate on the vital issue of the Hindu Code.

Dr. *Shyama Prasad Mookherjee*, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, inaugurating the Conference called upon all peoples and parties who believed in the goal of a free and united India, in which all would enjoy equal rights of citizenship, to come forward at this supreme crisis in the history of the country and 'create a public opinion which bureaucrats or empire-builders would not dare resist. "There can be no permanent peace in the civilised world with India as a slave country," he said and added: "but India will attain her goal not by receiving gifts from the imperial table: she must wrung her dues from the unwilling hands of her masters". Declaring that the Hindu-Muslim problem would never be solved by surrendering to the intransigent communal demands of Mr. Jinnah, Dr. Mookherjee said: "The mischievous efforts of Mr. Rajagopalachari which received great prominence due to the support of Gandhiji have been condemned by all right-thinking persons throughout India belonging to different parties and viewpoints."

The All-Frontier Political Conference

1st. Session—Peshawar—21st. to 23rd. April 1945

The first All-Frontier Political Conference since August 1942, opened in Peshawar on the 21st. April 1945 within one month of the assumption of office by the Congress in the N. W. F. P. Dr. Syed Mahmud presided.

Dr. Syed Mahmud's Address

Dr. *Syed Mahmud*, presiding over the conference, said that he was sure that Dr. Khan Sahib had formed the Ministry to serve the poor kisans and mazdoors of the Frontier Provinces and not for the love of any Ministry itself. He was a brave man. The Ministry was not a big thing for the Congress and the moment he realised that he could not serve his people, Dr. Khan Sahib would leave it at once. His very first action was to launch a fight against corruption. Dr. Mahmud paid a tribute to the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and said that the Frontier people under his great and selfless leadership had played a glorious part in freedom's battle and had written an epic in the non-violent struggle. He said that the Frontier people had always been in the vanguard of the struggle for freedom and when it came they will be its defenders too. Dr. Syed Mahmud said that Hindus and Muslims could not be two nations. For several centuries past they had developed great social and cultural contact. Efforts had been made to divide them but now proofs were coming to show that under Moghul rulers Hindus and Muslims lived very amicably. Dr. Mahmud referred to Lord Wavell's mission to London and hoped that he had not gone on a pleasure trip or to consider the fate of post-war Germany. He said that it would be the greatest blunder on the part of Lord Wavell and other British statesmen if they did not settle India's question to the satisfaction of the Indian people. India was bound to be free. If India was not freed, then the seeds of another war would already have been laid in the midst of the present one. Referring to the events of 1942, Dr. Mahmud said that those who thought that the Congress was weakened or dead through repression were living in a fool's paradise. He added that the Congress was very much alive and kicking.

Khan Ghaffar Khan's Speech

Clarifying his policy and programme in the light of the present circumstances in the N. W. F. P., *Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan* addressing the conference said: Complete Independence for India is our final aim, but our programme may change to achieve our objects, as in the army, a general advance or retreat according to the varying situation in the field. If we have not achieved our object so far, I am sure, we will be daily coming nearer to it." Proceeding, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan

said: "This country does not only belong to the Khudai Khidmatgars, but equally to all of us. When we wish to enjoy the fruits of freedom, all of us should make necessary sacrifices as the Red Shirts have done. I am personally a man of action, and do not believe in either talks or prayers. Our strength is not yet finished, but we shall have to exert in order to eradicate the apparant sluggishness which had taken root.

Speaking in Pushtu, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan said: "Our achievements will directly be proportionate to the courage and sacrifices of the people. There is no defeat in non-violence and only the vanquished fail to understand the real meaning of this word. I am a revolutionary and not a parliamentarian. So, I do not attach much importance to the formation of a Ministry. I am not in favour of Assembly elections. I have already declared that I am not enamoured of the present constitution under the 1935 Act, as it lacks real power. When I was told that a parliamentary party can serve the people of N. W. F. P, in a better way, I did not like to stand in its way. It is also my conviction that no Government with such limited powers can run smoothly for a long time. But as I myself believe in social service, let them also have their chance to serve the people of this province."

Resolutions—Faith in Gandhiji Reaffirmed

The conference adopted a resolution declaring complete faith in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and assured him that the Frontier people would carry out his Constructive Programme. The resolution declared that the voice of Mahatma Gandhi was the voice of all India and that the opinion of Mahatma Gandhi was the opinion of the entire country.

The resolution further pledged Gandhiji the support of the Frontier people and stated the under his instruction and guidance. the Frontier people would consider no sacrifice too great for the cause of the country's freedom.

Demand for National Government

A demand for a National Gevernment at the Centre responsible to the Central Legislature and the immediate release of national workers, was pressed through a resolution passed unanimously at the Conference. The following is the full text of the resolution:

"Now that the European war is coming to an end and the attention of the world is turning towards peace after the war, it is the desire of the war-worn world that a new order should be set up in which small or big nations can live a life of peace and equality and that no powerful nation can resort to aggression against any small nation.

"This Conference warns the Allied Powers in General and particularly the British Government that no world organisation for peace would ever be successful until the millions of Indian people are contented and India is a completely free nation.

"This Conference is of the opinion that as an immediate step towards Indian freedom, all the national workers now in prison be forthwith released and a National Government be set up in the Centre responsible to the Central Legislature".

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's Speech

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, moving the resolution in a sixty-minutes oration in English, said that the assumption of office by Dr. Khan Sahib was in way a reversal of the Congress policy. It was to show that the real representatives of the people were entitled to govern. He added that Dr. Khan Sahib undertook the responsibility of the Government so that corruption and mal-administration might be removed from the Frontier Province. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai referring to the latter part of the resolution on National Government said: "It is true that there are now proposals before His Majesty's Government for the formation of an Interim Government at the Centre. I hope these will be accepted by Britain and approved by our friends whom we certainly desire to be among us to assist in the solution. But if such a Government is formed. Britain has got to declare that the Government or its representatives will in all world affairs, conferences and organisations, be equal to the representatives of the other Governments and will act as if India were completely free to come to its decisions and to act accordingly." Mr. Desai referred to the resolution passed by the conference expressing complete confidence in Mahatma Gandhi and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, and said: "Mahatma Gandhi and Badshah Khan are undoubtedly the source of inspiration and courage and hope of the people of this country and while, therefore, the ideal which they aim at must be the ultimate objective, in the world as it is now constituted, some immediate steps have got to be taken conformable to the existing human natures and human institutions. Therefore, in that lesser sphere, we

have got to act in the best interest of the country and our activities are really to co-ordinate parts of the whole."

Mr. Desai referred to the place of parliamentary activity in the Congress programme of work and said: "I do not conceive there is anything inferior in what is sometimes described as Parliamentary activity for, after all, when we are free we shall have to have Parliamentary activity to govern overselves through our own institutions. Hence we shall continue to work in complete co-operation and understanding. Let us not be too critical; we are passing though a crisis, it is time that India takes responsibility at the Centre even though with restricted powers so that we may find true representatives to the Peace Conference." Mr. Desai next dealt with the question of assumption of office by Dr. Khan Sahib. He said: "The immediate situation in this Province calls for a few words. It does not involve any issue as to the general policy of the Congress because in the immediate past before Dr. Khan Sahib assumed office, Section 93 of the Government of India Act was not in operation. Therefore, the only question is which of the elected members are men in whom the Province has confidence and men who will govern the Province in the interests of the people without oppression and without corruption. It is not a Hindu-Muslim issue because the majority of the Province is Muslim and Mussalmans from among themselves have to find out persons who command the confidence of the majority of the House and naturally, such persons have the right to govern the province. The present Ministry has accepted office not as a job but as a duty which in any free country will be the obligation of those whom the people elect to represent them in the Legislature." Mr. Desai then referred to that part of the resolution which relates to the new world order and said: "The answer to this question derives its full support from the posthumous message of the late president Roosevelt, particularly freedom from fear and freedom from greed. The domination of half of the world by the other half has got to go if there has to be freedom from fear, for fear involves subjection and subjection involves in addition to tyranny and exploitation. Therefore, if there is genuine application of the principle of freedom from fear and freedom from greed, all subject races have got to be free."

Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum*, the only elected member of the Central Assembly from the Frontier Province and Deputy Leader of the Congress Party, speaking on the resolution, demanded unconditional release of political prisoners. He said that their imprisonment was a complete repudiation of the claims of Britain and her Allies that they were fighting for the preservation of the democratic rule. He deplored that the British propaganda machine was working at full speed in America to convince public opinion there that the Indian people were incapable of being invested with sovereign rights in view of their acute differences. He said that the Congress-League coalition in the Central Assembly was inflicting crushing defeats on the Government and this should be an eye-opener to the world and convince it that the Indian people were not so divided as was being made out. He added that the Viceroy's Executive Councillors had tried to snap this co-operation but had miserably failed.

Second Day—Resolutions—23rd. April 1845

At its second sitting on the 23rd. April, the Conference passed a resolution declaring that the persons chosen by the present Government of India to represent India at the San Francisco Conference and such other Conferences were not the true representatives of the Indian people and had no right to represent them at such world gatherings, where measures for securing the future peace of the world would be considered.

In another resolution, the Conference strongly condemned the continued bombing of Waziristan and described it as extremely barbaric and uncivilised, and urged the Government to stop the bombing without delay.

Khan Ameer Mohammad Khan, Parliamentary Secretary to the Premier, who moved the resolution on bombing asked the Government not to destroy by bombing the little mud homes and cattle of these tribesmen.

Pir Shahen Shah said that Waziris and other tribesmen had all along been free, and the British would never succeed in subduing them by bombing. Waziris would never be slaves. They were prepared to sacrifice their last man and child to retain their freedom. He asked the Government to desist from this uncivilised method of oppressing the tribesmen in Waziristan.

San Francisco Conference

Rai Bahadur Mehrchand Khanna, moving the resolution on the San Francisco Conference, said that Sir A Ramaswami Mudaliar and Sir Feroz Khan Noon had

no right to represent India at the Conference, who, in his opinion, would only serve as tools of the British Government. Only leaders like Maulana Azad and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru could speak in the name of India at this Conference as true representatives of the people. Referring to Mr. Amery's remarks in the House of Commons on the Frontier Ministry, Mr. Khanna declared that if the National demand was not conceded, the Frontier Ministry might even go to the extent of resigning the office. Dr. Khan Sahib was not at all willing to form the Ministry, much less become the Premier but as a loyal and disciplined soldier of freedom he abided by the party decision and the wishes of the people of the Province.

Sheikh Abdullah, the Kashmir leader, said that it was most audacious and unjust on the part of the British Government to send two officers to San Francisco to represent India. They represented none but themselves. He said that Mr. Jinnah lacked the essential element of freedom and the time had come when Muslims must freely declare by the beat of drum where he went wrong and where he was right.

JOINT ELECTORATES FOR MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

The Conference passed a resolution congratulating the Congress Ministry on the decision to hold as early as possible elections to the Municipal Committees and District Boards in the Frontier Province on the basis of joint electorates, Dr. *Syed Mahmud*, recommending the resolution to the Conference, described it as being of great significance not only for the Frontier Province but the country as a whole.

The Conference also passed a resolution inviting the attention of the Congress Committee and the Red Shirt Organisation to the constructive programme of Mahatma Gandhi and urged them to carry it out.

The Conference passed another resolution, urging the Provincial Government to appoint a Committee to report on the industrial, agricultural, mineral and irrigational resources of the Province and to implement the recommendations.

The U. P. Sikh Conference

Sixth Session—Cawnpore—29th. and 30th. April 1945

The position of the Sikh community in the future constitution of India, especially with reference to the Sapru Committee Proposals and the duty of the Sikhs to the country just now, were dealt with by *Master Tara Singh* in the course of his presidential address at a two-day session of the Sixth U. P. Sikh Conference held at Cawnpore on the 29th and 30th April 1945.

Sardar Inder Singh, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his address dealt briefly with problems, such as National Government at the Centre, Sapru Committee's Recommendations, and other problems.

Master Tara Singh, in the course of his Presidential Address, asserted that the Sikhs wished to maintain their independent entity in the present condition. The Sikh community did not want to be ruled nor did it like the idea of ruling anybody. As practical men, they must face facts as they were and must arrive at a solution however temporary it might be. "The world opinion is in favour of our liberty," he said and added, "We must take advantage of it to-day for, no one could predict the future. It is said by the Government that there are two obstacles in the way of attainment of our liberty—the communal disunity and the British Government's treaties with the Indian Princes." As regards the first obstacle he said : "the responsibility is ours. The communal problem must be solved either with or without the help of the British Government." Master Tara Singh did not attach much importance to the second obstacle on the ground that the Indian Princes were "puppets in the hands of the British Government." The speaker said, "We must admit that the Muslims would not accept pure unadulterated nationalism for fear that would mean Hindu rule in another garb. For similar reason, the Sikhs would refuse to accept Muslim majority." He suggested that an interim government be formed with no single community ruling anywhere.

Referring to Desai-Liaquat talks, the President said that it would have been much better if proposals had been drawn up to distribute power between the Hindus and the Muslims instead of the Congress and the Muslim League. Enumerating the recommendations of the Sapru Committee, Mastar Tara Singh expressed surprise as to why the Committee did not consider it necessary to state definitely that the statutory Muslim majority in the Punjab should be well-balanced. If the Hindu majority in the Central Legislature could be done away with for the sake of the

Muslims, why could not something be done for the Sikhs in the Punjab ? He characterised 'a minority commission' as recommended by Sapru Committee as a 'farce.' The Sapru Committee, he said, completely ignored the interests of the Sikhs in the army. Finally, he said, the Proposals with regard to the interests of the Shiks in the U. P., Sind, North-West Frontier Province and other Provinces were not at all mentioned in the resolution of the Sapru Committee. But he hoped that something might have been said in the Report of the Sub-Committee on minorities adopted by the Sapru Committee.

The Frontier Akali Conference

Peshawar—5th. and 6th. May 1945

President's Address

Sardar Mangal Singh, M. L. A. (Central), in his Presidential Address, at the Frontier Akali Conference held at Peshawar on the 5th. and 6th. May 1945, welcomed the assumption of office by the Congress Ministry and asked the Sikhs to lend their support to it. He said: "An all-party interim Government at New Delhi is not only the immediate political requirement, but is an urgent economic necessity, so as to effectively plan the post-war life of the country. The present Government of India cannot undertake even the A. B. C. of planning, which is an utter impossibility without popular support. The recent announcement from New Delhi to take over the control of certain industries by the Governments sounds like going back to the days of the East India Company. Only a national Government can take such steps and carry out the plan for national reconstruction. "To take suitable steps to set up such a popular Government at New Delhi, therefore, is a question which should receive first priority at the hands of both the political parties and His Majesty's Government who alone can take the initiative in this matter. The Indian political parties instead of blaming each other, should put their heads together and hammer out a satisfactory communal settlement, which is undoubtedly their responsibility. The Sikhs will, I am sure, make their due contribution to such an effort. The great obstacle in the way of mutual understanding is the fear entertained by the minorities of communal domination by the one or the other community. It should, therefore, be laid down that no single community should be allowed to enjoy a statutory communal majority either at New Delhi or at Lahore, so that the administration of the country may be shared by all communities. In this connection, the proposal of the Sapru Committee regarding the make-up of the Central Government should be welcomed and a similar formula should be applied at Lahore and the Government of the Punjab should be equally shared by all the three communities and the offices of the Premier, the Deputy Premier and the Speaker should be held by the three communities by rotation. "As for the protection of the rights of smaller minorities in other provinces, a uniform formula should be laid down which should equally apply to all communities all over India."

Speaking about the Congress-Akali relationship, Sardar Mangal Singh said: "The Shiromani Akali Dal had always worked hand in hand with the Congress during the last quarter of a century. Akalis participated in the fight for freedom, safeguarding their political and religious rights under circumstances where aggressive communalism reigned supreme. He suggested that the Shiromani Akali Dal should, as before, be permitted to run its own candidates on the understanding that barring matters pertaining exclusively to Sikhs, the Sikh members would always co-operate with the Congress in general political matters. He reminded his audience that both the 1934 and 1937 elections to the Central and Provincial Legislature were held more or less on these lines and the arrangement had worked satisfactorily. The same arrangement should be continued in the future. Referring to the San Francisco Conference, Sardar Mangal Singh said that India had only a nominal representation at the Conference in so far as her representatives were not elected by the people. He hoped that the Conference would raise its voice against this grave injustice. He welcomed the passage of the Sikh Gurdwara Act, which was the outcome of the efforts of Sardar Ajit Singh, (M.L.A.) and which had placed all the Sikh Gurdwaras under 'Panthic' management. He stressed the need of unity among the Sikhs.

Resolutions

The Conference adopted a resolution, declaring that the existing Indian constitution is detrimental to the economic and social interests of the country and unless a National Government is formed at the Centre, there is no likelihood of any improvement under the present condition. The Conference also demanded the

release of all political prisoners and detenus and urged the Government to give an assurance that the demand for Pakistan will not be conceded in the future constitution for India and that no particular community will dominate over the others in the Punjab.

Another resolution demanded at least 30 per cent representation for the Sikhs in the Punjab and one Sikh Minister in the Frontier Cabinet.

By a third resolution, the Conference demanded the commutation of the death sentences passed on Ashti and Chimur prisoners.

The All India Christian Conference

Hyderabad (Deccan)—26th. & 27th. March 1945

Presidential Address

The immediate grant of Swaraj for India, unconditional release of Congress leaders and opposition to the division of India were the main features of the presidential address delivered by Mr. *S. Balasingam Satya Nadar* of Madras, at the All India Conference of Indian Christians held at Hyderabad (Deccan) on the 26th. & 27th. March 1945.

The President said: "Our community does not desire to witness the spectacle of a divided India; we like to see all nations of India united into one unified political body. If we do not aim at that we have no right to claim Swaraj. I ardently desire that everyone of us, be he a Hindu or Mohammadan or Christian, to be united with each other in the common bond of brotherhood and fellowship." He added: Our loyalty to the country demands that we should agitate for the immediate grant of Swaraj to the Indian people. India should have allocated to it an honoured and independent place in the British Commonwealth of Nations." He pointed out that imprisonment of Indian leaders was a serious blunder and was of the opinion that they ought to be released immediately unconditionally. Referring to the position of Indian Christians, the President said that while they were prepared to lend support to all legitimate endeavours to attain Swaraj, they could not shut their eyes to the special demands and needs of their community. The Indian Christian community, far from being in depressed condition, was in his opinion being really oppressed. Their grievances were many. They laboured under great disablities, and many of their legitimate demands had been flouted. He appealed to the Government to recognise their demands and redress their grievances. He appealed for unity among different sections of the community.

Nawab of Chhatari's Speech

The *Nawab of Chhatari*, President of the Nizam's Executive Council, inaugurating the Conference, said that the Nizam and his Government had always evinced keen interest in the welfare and progress of the Christian community in the Dominions. As one of the most progressive and loyal communities in the State, specially being a minority community, the Christians had a primary claim to Government consideration, which always had been forthcoming. The door to State employment and all professions, high and low, technical or otherwise, had always remained open for Christians without distinction or discrimination.

The Nawab of Chhatari referred to the activities of Christian Missions in the fields of medicine and education and said that these activities would always continue to be regarded with esteem, and assured them that the State would always give such financial and other support as might be possible. Speaking of the blending in Hyderabad of the best of the old and the new, the Nawab of Chhatari said: "Our social life is itself a mirror of that blending and of the essential harmony which still prevails, despite all that influences us from outside, between various communities. That is an asset well worth preserving and is based on the conception that the State is the indivisible heritage of all who inhabit it." The Nawab of Chhatari told the Conference: "By all means, organise yourself in the sense of betterment and protection of your rights, but in doing so, avoid communal islands or creation of gulfs which may divide happy unity or destroy the sense of a single home." He referred to the Nizam's regard for the sentiments of his Christian subjects, which was symbolised in his well-known poem on the birth of Christ. Similar regard for the religious sentiments of all his subjects inspired the Nizam's policy of religious toleration, he said. The Nizam's interest in the welfare and progress of his people as a whole led to the remarkable progress made by the State during the period of his rule.

RESOLUTIONS

A proper representation of Indian Christians on the Viceroy's Council, Federal Public Services Commission and on committees which the Government have set up or may set up, to carry out post-war schemes is demanded in a resolution adopted at the Conference.

The Conference expressed the opinion that in any future constitution of India the fundamental rights of individuals and communities should be guaranteed.

The National Liberal Federation

Silver Jubilee Session—Lahore—17th. and 18th. March 1945

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The demand for an immediate declaration by the British Government granting the status of a Dominion to India was made by Mr. *T. R. Venkatarama Sastri*, presiding over the Silver Jubilee Session of the National Liberal Federation which opened in Lahore on the 17th. March 1945. Mr. Sastri urged the release of political prisoners and Congress detenus, including the members of the Congress Working Committee for a solution of the Indian deadlock. In the course of his address, the President said: "The Government must declare immediately that India shall have the status of a Dominion at the end of the war. Her millions have fought in the battlefield for the cause of the United Nations. The Cripps Offer contained that declaration and the answers of Sir Stafford Cripps to the questions put to him made clear that the status of India shall be the same as that of the other Dominions, and that India shall have the same right either to remain within the Commonwealth or to go out of it. "The declaration must be made forthwith and implemented so far as may be by the British Government. While they are devising measures for the reconstruction of Italy, Poland and Greece they can have no legitimate excuse for postponiug the freedom of India. The intricacy of the problems in the countries mentioned above did not bar them from taking steps even when the war is on, and the Indian problem presents no features more difficult to resolve than the problems they are solving now elsewhere. "I should say that the Governor-General should have released the political prisoners and the Congress detenus long ago. During times of war, the Government may have to be clothed with extraordinary powers. In the interests of public security, the liberty of the individual may have to be curtalied but that very concession means that it is only so long as public security demands detention, it can be justified. As soon as it is reasonably clear that public security no longer demands their detention, the detenus ought to be released. Neither the public peace nor the safety of the State any longer requires the detention of these persons; and the continuance of their detention is wholly unjustified. They should be immediately released. "Even for a solution of the present deadlock mutual consultation between the members of the Working Committee of the Congress is necessary and their continuance in jail and the refusal of the Government to allow mutual consultation between them only added to the difficulties in the way of finding a solution." Mr. Sastri dealt at length with the problem of minorities and said: "Pakistan is no solution for the problem of the minorities. The creation of separate sovereign States does not really get rid of the minority problem altogether. There will be a large proportion of non-Muslims in the Muslim areas so separated and comparatively a small proportion of Muslims in the Hindu areas. Definite and satisfactory safeguards for the non-Muslims in the Muslim areas are offered. If such an offer is just and fair to minorities of over 40 per cent in those provinces, would it be impossible to devise safeguards for the protection of the essential cultural features of all groups in binding the Muslims within a united India? "What, again, of the expense of defence which each independent State will have to maintain? And would the defence organised by the separate States be adequate in the event of aggression? Will the four States in the north-west agree to join and belong to one State? Will the Punjab agree to look after their financial needs and requirements? Will the non-Muslim areas in the Punjab desire to remain in an independent Muslim State or claim to form a separate State of their own? If separate independent States are formed and they have their own armies, will joint action invariably result when emergencies arise? May they not be turned against each other in a fratricidal war?

"The Muslim League appeals to the principle of self-determination. This principle is a much misunderstood one. It is a principle which in the 19th century was appealed to in an integrating force for bringing about the creation of single

coherent nation States such as Germany and Italy, out of a mass of smaller snarling units. If a group of people are already included in a State along with other groups, they cannot seek to get away from it in the name of self-determination. It is a case of secession from an existing State to which that principle does not apply and should not be applied. It has been recognized that it is impossible to grant independence to a section of the population unless they had a territory capable of sustaining the economic and political framework of a nation." Mr. Sastri continued: "Whether Mr. Jinnah who has so far made the concession of Pakistan a condition of any discussion, constitutional or other, can now bring himself to put aside Pakistan and discuss the terms of a Federal Constitution is more than anyone can say. It might be a vain hope. Still, I see no harm in saying that Mr. Jinnah who has demonstrated his power to hold up must now demonstrate his power to solve the Indian problem. If it is in the power of any one to persuade him, it must be in the power of his colleagues and fellow religionists. The problem of Indian unity was posed first in this Province and it must here receive its final solution." The President suggested the adoption of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference formula for resolving the Indian deadlock. He said: "If the Muslims, the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha and the other parties in the country are unable to agree upon any satisfactory solution the recommendations of the Sapru Committee will I hope further the basis for a constitution for a United India. As already stated, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has strongly urged that the integrity of India should not be broken. Subject to that one condition, ample safeguards might be provided for protecting the culture, religion and language of the Muslims. The Government in power cannot divest themselves legitimately of their responsibility of finding a peaceful solution. Sir Muhammed Zafrullah Khan made a valuable suggestion when he said that if within one year after the war the political parties in India did not arrive at an agreed solution, the British Government must devise a machinery for resolving the present deadlock themselves. "In the recent Dumbarton Oaks Conference a formula was evolved for the solution of international conflicts by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement or other peaceful means to be chosen by the parties to the conflict. Failing that, the conflict will be referred to the Security Council. Though this formula deals only with international conflict, its principle may be applied for resolving the Indian deadlock."

Mr. Venkatarama Sastri then touched upon the problem of Indian States. He said: "The time has come now when the States should have Representative Government, and the people of the States should be given their due share in a popular Government. In the Federal Legislature, not only the Rulers of the States but also the subjects of the States should be represented. Referring to industrialisation of India, the President remarked: "The industrialisation of the country is a matter of primary importance. The improvement of its agriculture demands no less attention. There have been many plans drawn up or in the process of being drawn up. I will not attempt to assess their exact value. The plans involve expenditure in astronomical figures. How they can be worked out is a matter of the experts to consider. "But all seem to agree that without a National Government it will be impossible to put into effect any large-scale plan of economic policy. Here again the conclusion is forced on us that for the industrialisation of India, for the relief of poverty, disease and unemployment among the masses and for many other large-scale programmes like sanitation, transport, etc., it is necessary that there should be a united India pooling her intelligence and her resources in one concerted attempt to raise the standard of her people. The war has involved the masses in untold suffering and let them without the elementary needs of life. The tragedy of the Bengal famine is only an extreme manifestation of the general distress prevailing in this country.

Mr. Sastri next referred to the plight of Indians overseas. He said: "The plight of Indians in the Colonies and especially in South Africa deserve our active sympathy and help. Their ancestors were specially taken to develop the country: they settled there and most Indians of this generation were born in that country. And to them India is a strange land. They have not become a part of South Africa with rights of citizenship. When they become entitled to rights of citizenship like any South African our interest in their political welfare may cease. Till then, it must remain part of our national concern. There must be empire citizenship. It is tragic irony that while the U.S.A. is willing to admit Indians on a quota system and give them rights of citizenship, South Africa should deny that right to the Indians settled there. The Government of India should take such steps as might be necessary to protect them and the British Government should see to it that this grave injustice is remedied and further embitterment averted." On the subject of Indianisation, Mr. Sastri

said: "Recruitment to the services just now has an alarming aspect and needs our close attention. It is regrettable that the process of Indianisation of the services has not been accelerated. The recruitment to the officers cadre in the army is still disappointing. The foreign and political departments are still largely kept a close preserve of the British. A large number of Europeans who have been recruited in the key services during the last six years lead Indians to suspect that foundation is being laid for decades of domination. No change in the composition of the services till a new constitution is agreed to is spurious and untenable as an explanation." Mr. Sastri concluded: "There will be no peace so long as Imperialism lasts. As for Britain's attitude to the future of India, words promise but action denies. Words uttered in adversity are forgotton on the turn of the wheel of fortune. Conduct seems to reinforce the assertion "What we have we hold.' But some leaders of thought in England have deplored this attitude and have urged the need for giving independence to India. An independent India will be an asset even in the present war against Japan. "Everything plainly indicates the need for unity and united effort of all parties on India. None but the wilfully blind can fail to see it."

Resolutions—Demand for National Government

The following is the text of the resolutions:

(1) The National Liberal Federation of India expresses its great satisfaction at the success of the Allied arms on all the fronts and at the splendid contribution made to it by the Indian forces by their acknowledged valour and heroism in the various theatres of war and hopes that complete victory will soon crown their efforts.

(2) (a) While adhering to its opposition to any division of India into Hindusthan and Pakistan, the Federation is of opinion that without prejudice to the different viewpoints on controversial issues relating to the ultimate form of the future Indian constitution, the Congress, the Muslim League the Hindu Mahasabha and other important political parties and interests should during the period of war, unite and co-operate with a view to the formation of a National Government both at the centre and the provinces and urges on the British Government the necessity of forming such a Government at the Centre and creating it on the same footing as a Dominion Government. The Federation is convinced that the formation of such Government would help to clear away misunderstanding and promote mutual confidence and lead to the solution of many urgent and important domestic problems pertaining to the national economy of the country.

(b) The Federation deprecates the policy of the British Government in assuming the role of passive spectators and urges them actively to participate in the solution of the present political deadlock and take constructive steps to promote the establishment of National Government both at the Centre and in the provinces composed of important political parties and interests.

(c) The Federation urges the British Government to announce without delay that they would be prepared to implement their promises to India on the basis of an agreement between the various political parties and interests or on the absence of such agreement if necessary, by themselves enacting a Dominion constitution for India within one year of the cessation of hostilities.

(3) The Federation deplores the continuance of the political deadlock in India and regrets that the Government of India have not released all the members of the Congress Working Committee and the other Congress leaders so as to enable them to make their contribution to the satisfactory solution of the Indian problem.

Government must End the Deadlock

Mr. *B. D. Rallia Ram*, moving the main resolution, on the political situation, strongly protested against the "sit-tight" policy of the British Government and said that all are agreed that the question of self-government for India can no longer be postponed. He said it was the Government's responsibility to resolve the deadlock. "If purposely or by design they go to the wrong people they cannot find any solution," he added.

"Principal *C. L. Anand*, seconding the resolution, said Britain must confer Dominion Status on India. Mr. *M. D. Altekar* said it was a big joke to be told we must come to an agreement, it was merely an excuse on the part of the British Government not to part with power. The British, instead of deploring the deadlock, seemed to be exultant over it. An agreed opinion was impossible so long as there was a third powerful party to disturb it. The resolution was passed.

Demand for Release of Leaders

The resolution demanding the release of Congress leaders was moved by Mr. *S. M. Habib*. Mr. *Kodanda Rao* said that the release of Congress leaders was

essential for a solution of the deadlock. It was extremely unwise on the part of the Government to keep them in continued detention. He said: "We Liberals feel very bitter indeed at their incarceration. Even if there was some justification for their detention in 1942, there is none to-day. Congress leaders must be released to take part in the public life of the country and in post-war development. Government must not be guided by a desire for revenge and thus crush the spirit of the people." Mr. *Burjor Shroff* (Bombay), said that the British Government had locked up its conscience by locking up the Congress leaders in jail. He wondered why "Lord Wavell had not yet opened the mental bag he had brought from London to India. He maintained that it was in the interests of the British Commonwealth to release the national leaders.

Economic Sanctions Against S. Africa

The Federation also passed a resolution demanding for Indians in South Africa full citizenship rights.

Deploring the failure of the Government of the Union of South Africa to abolish the Pegging Act, the resolution stated in part: "In view of the uncompromising attitude of the Government of South Africa towards this legitimate demand of India, this Federation feels that it was a mistake on the part of the Government of India to have sent the High Commissioners to South Africa and it urges the Government of India to recall the High Commissioner forthwith and to adopt all fiscal and commercial sanctions against South Africa until the Pegging Act is abolished."

Sir Cowasji Jehangir, moving the resolution, said that India was unanimously agreed on this question. The new High Commissioner should never had been sent to South Africa. This school of thought, he maintained, was propounded by everyone including even Europeans. It was unfortunate that the Government of India should not have seen their way to accepting this unanimous proposal. This was a gesture which could not have charmed any one. Government should have bowed to the opinion of the people in this country. Urging economic sanctions against South Africa, Sir Cowasji said that our countrymen in South Africa were prepared to undergo the hardships and losses following the application of such a measure against the South African Government. As a matter of fact they themselves had suggested this. A certain amount of inconvenience might be caused to some industries in this country with regard to imports of certain things from South Africa but this was a question of the honour of our country and no small considerations should come in our way. Concluding he said that the Government of India must respect the wishes of the people of India in this matter and apply economic sanctions against South Africa.

The Federation passed a resolution expressing satisfaction at the success of Allied arms and at the contribution made to it by the Indian forces "by their acknowledged volour and heroism."

Working of Defence of India act Criticised

Another resolution expressed deep regret and concern at the "misuse of the Defence of India Act and Rules on numerous occasions." The resolution stated that civil liberties were being invaded without adequate justification and for political ends.

The Federation also deplored racial prejudice existing between the white and non-white peoples of the world and suggested that "unless a determined effort is made on a world scale against the course of race prejudice the non-white peoples of the world who are now fully conscious of their rights are bound to revolt against the tyranny of the whites and imperil the cause of world peace."

The Federation pressed upon the Rulers of Indian States to declare full responsible government as their policy as rapidly as possible and assured the people of the States of its full support in their constitutional methods for securing reforms and the redress of their grievances.

The Federation expressed concern over the continued recruitment to the Indian services from outside India and stronly urged upon the Government the necessity for stopping all future recruitment to these services from outside India.

Food Situation

The Federation, in another resolution, expressed profound concern at the food situation in the country "which, though somewhat improved, is still far from satisfactory." It urged the Government to envolve a more satisfactory policy and administer it efficiently so as to save the people from all avoidable hardships and distress.

The Federation unanimously passed a resolution demanding that in the

Imperial and International conferences, India should be represented largely, if not wholly, by non-official public men commanding the confidence of the people "until such time as a National Government can appoint its own proper accredited representatives."

Deffnce Services Must be Nationalised

Demanding complete nationalisation of India's Defence services within a short period, the Federation also urged that India's status as envisaged in the post-war world and her future role as a bulwark of peace in Asia required a radical change in regard to her defence policy. The Federation suggested that the Defence portfolio should be entrusted to an Indian Member commanding the confidence of the public and that a policy of Indianisation in all grades of the army, navy and air force should be expedited. It further suggested that Indian emergency commissioned officers should not be demobilised after the war and that the army should be recruited from all provinces and classes to a much greater extent than at present.

The Sapru Committee Proposals
On India's Future Constitution

The Conciliation Committee which met at New Delhi under the presidency of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru concluded their final session on the **8th. April 1945** and passed unanimously fifteen resolutions which together gave a picture of what they though should form the broad basis of the future constitution of India. The Committee presented this picture more with a view that it should form the basis for discussion by men of goodwill belonging to various political groups in this country as well as Great Britain and by His Majesty's Government, each of whom will have some say in the shaping of the future constitution than with a view to laying down unalterable principles and details. Since the Committee's resolutions represented the largest measure of agreement between different interests represented among the membership of the Committee they naturally hoped that their resolutions would commend themselves to a large measure of public sympathy.

The Sapru Committee's proposals proceed on the basis of parity between Hindus other than Scheduled Castes on the one hand and Muslims on the other in the constitution-making body, the future Central Legislature and in the Executive, the over-riding condition being that the unity of India and joint electorates are accepted.

The Committee has emphatically declared itself against Pakistan. Mr. N. M. Joshi dissents from this declaration, as also from the corollary that no Province may elect not to accede to the future Indian Union or secede therefrom.

The Committee envisages the transfer of paramountcy to the Indian Union and recommends the appointment of a Minister in charge of functions in relation of Indian States, with whom a body of three Indian States Advisers is to be associated.

A declaration of Fundamental Rights, the setting up of a Minorities Commission and special proposals for minorities in the Punjab are included in the Committee's recommedations.

These proposals are in addition to those already published for the interim period.

The Committee says that it would have preferred that the recommendation appeared simultaneously with the report giving their full implications and setting out in detail the reasons which led the Committee :to adopt them, but it may take some time for the report to the prepared and published. In the meanwhile, the Committee states, there is the risk of the publication of inaccurate forecasts and garbled versions. The Committee has therefore, unanimously decided to release at once the text of its recommendations. It, however, would request the public to suspend their final judgment in regard to any of the recommendations until they have seen the report. "It is needless to say that the recommendations do not constitute a full blue print for the future Constitution. They merely indicate the outlines which the Committee feels would suit the conditions in India. They are essentially suggestions made for the: Constitution of the country at large.

"These proposals are confined to British India only. When the Indian States decide to come into the Union, as the Committee hopes they will, it it obvious that arrangements will have to be made in consultation with them for necessary adjustments and addition."

The recommendations of the Sub-Committees on Scheduled Castes and Abori-

ginal Tribes and on Minorities adopted by the Committee will soon be published separately.

CONSTITUTIONAL-MAKING BODY

The constitutional-making body shall be constituted in the manner prescribed in Clause 'D' of the Draft Resolution of His Majesty's Government brought by Sir Stafford Cripps, subject to the following modifications: (1) The total strength of the body shall be 160 distributed as follows : Special interest, *viz.*, Commerce and Industry, Land-holders, Universities, Labour and Women 16; Hindus, excluding Scheduled Castes. 51: Muslims 51; Scheduled Castes 20; Indian Christians 7; Sikhs 8; Backward Areas and Tribes 3; Anglo-Indians 2; Europeans 1 and others 1.

(2) It is because Clause 'D' of H. M. G's Declaration provides for election by a joint electorate composed of members of all the Provincial Legislature under the system of Proportional Representation that the Committee has decided to recommend that in spite of the disparity in the population strengths between Muslims and Hindus other than Scheduled Castes the Hindu community should in the interests of promoting communal unity, agree that the representation of the Muslim community on the constitution-making body shall be on a par with that given to Hindus other than Scheduled Castes.

(3) No decision shall be valid unless it is supported by ¾ths of the members present and voting.

(4) His Majesty's Government shall enact the Constitution on the basis of the valid decisions of the constitution-making body, supplemented wherever necessary by its own award on matters in which the requisite majority for decision was not forthcoming.

DIVISION OF INDIA OPPOSED

The Committee having considered carefully the resolution of the Muslim League passed at Lahore in 1940, the various other resolutions of the League and the published version of the talks between Mr. Jinnah and Mahatma Gandhi and having also considered the C. R. and Gandhi proposals, is emphatically of opinion that any division of India into two or more separate independent sovereign States is unjustified and will endanger the peace and orderly progress of the whole country without any compensating advantage to any community, and that the political unity of India should therefore be maintained.

INDIAN STATES

Provisions should be made in the Constitution for the accession from time to time of Indian States as units of the Union on such terms as may b agreed upon. The establishment of the Union should not, however, be made contingent on the accession of any Indian States or of any minimum number of Indian States. The Union should be brought into being and should commence to function at the earliest possible date even if no Indian State has acceded to it as a unit by then.

NON-ACCESSION AND SECESSION

No Province of British India may elect not to accede to the Union, nor may any unit—whether a Province or a State which has acceded—be entitled to secede therefrom.

PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIES

While it is not desirable that the new Constitution should be delayed by the re-alignment of provincial boundaries on linguistic or cultural considerations, the Constitution Act shall indicate the machinery and prescribe the procedure for such re-alignment of old Provinces and for the creation of new Provinces after it has come into force, and on such realignment or creation of Provinces, all consequential amendments may be made in the Constitution.

The Committee submits the accompanying suggestions for the consideration of the constitution-making body. They have been placed before the Committee by one of its members who has great experience of the administration of Indian States and of the working of the Government of India Act (1935) in relation to them. As the Indian States are not represented on this Committee and as the suggestions are of a very vital and far-reaching character, the Committee has thought it desirable to express no opinion on the merits of the several alternatives suggested beyond stating that a clear definition of "a Head of the State" is necessary, as the several resolutions adopted by the Committee assume the existence of a Head of the State and the exercise by him of certain powers and functions. The member responsible for these suggestions agrees that they or any variant of them, involving the participation of the Indian States, cannot be finally adopted except with the consent of the Indian States.

Head of the State

(1) There shall be a Head of the State (*i.e.*, Union in India) who shall be the repository of (a) all such powers and duties as may be conferred or imposed on him by or under the Constitution Act, and (b) such other powers as are now vested in His Majesty the King of England, including powers connected with the exercise of the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States, provided that, in relation to his powers, the Head of the State shall conform to the traditions, usages and conventions, which are binding on the constitutional head of any State.

(2) The office of Head of the State shall have a tenure of five years and ordinarily no person may hold the office for more than one term.

First alternative: The Head of the State shall be elected by an Electoral College, composed of the members of the two Houses of the Union Legislature either without any restriction as to their choice, or subject to their choice confined to the Rulers of Indian States, having a minimum population or revenue or both, to be named in a schedule on the Constitution Act.

Second alternative: (3) The Head of the State shall be elected by the Rulers of the Indian States referred to above from amongst themselves.

Third alternative: The Head of the State shall be appointed by His Majesty the King of England, on the advice of the Union Cabinet, either without any restriction as to his choice, or subject to his choice being confined to the Rulers of the Indian State referred to above.

(4) In case the third alternative in Para 3 is adopted and a link with the British Crown is maintained, the Secretary of State for India together with all the control that he or the British Cabinet exercises over Indian Aministration should in any case, be abolished.

(5) The Head of a Unit, other than a Indian State, shall be appointed by the Head of the State on the advice of the Union Cabinet.

Union Legislature

(A) The Union Legislature shall consist of the Head of the State and two Chambers—the Union Assembly and the Council of State.

(B) The strength of the Union Assembly shall be so fixed that there shall be on the average one member for every million of the population.

(C) Ten per cent of the total strength shall be reserved for the representation of the following special interests : Landholders ; Commerce and Industry ; Labour ; Women.

(D) The remaining seats shall be distributed among the following communities : (1) Hindus, other than Scheduled Castes ; (2) Muslims, (3) Sikhs, (4) Indian Christians, (5) Anglo-Indians, (6) Other communities.

(E) (1) In case of the Muslim community on their part agrees to the substitution throughout of joint electorates with reservation of seats for separate communal electorates and in that case only this Committee would recommend that, in the interests of promoting national unity, the Hindu community should agree that in the strength of the Central Assembly, excluding the seats allotted to special interests, such as Commerce and Industry, Landholders, Labour, etc., Muslim representation from British India shall be on a par with the representation given to the Hindus (other than Scheduled Castes) in spite of the great disparity in their respective population strengths.

The Committee desires to emphasize its view that if this recommendation is not to be implemented in its entirety, the Hindu community should be at lib rty not merely not to agree to the claim for parity of representation but to ask for a revision of the Communal Award.

(11) The Committee considers that the representation given to the Sikhs and Scheduled Castes in the Government of India Act is manifestly inadequate and unjust, and should be substantially raised. The quantum of increased representation to be given to them should be left to the constitution-making body.

(F) For the United Assembly there shall be adult franchise, for seats other than these reserved for special interests.

(G) For the special interests, there shall be special constituencies. There shall be direct election to the Union Assembly. As for election to the Council of State, the question shall be decided by the constitution-making body.

Distribution of Power

Lists of the matters, in respect of which the power of making laws for peace, order and good government and the functions pertaining to the administration of those laws shall fall within the spheres respectively of the Centre and the Units,

shall be embodied in the Constitution Act. The detailed drawing up of these lists should be left to the constitution-making body. The Committee, however, would recommend that the following principles, among others, should guide the constitution-making body in the distribution of powers and functions between the Centre and the Units :

(A) The powers and functions assigned to the Centre should be as small in number as possible, provided that they shall, in any case, include (i) matters of common interest to India, as a whole, such as Foreign Affairs, Defence, Relations with Indian States, Inter-unit Communications, Commerce, Customs, Currency, Posts and Telegraphs ; (ii) settlement of inter-unit disputes ; (iii) co-ordination, where necessary, of the legislation and administration of different Units ; and (iv) such other matters or action as may be required for ensuring the safety and tranquility of India or any part thereof or for the maintenance of the political integrity and economic unity of India or for dealing with any emergencies.

(B) While all matters not assigned to the Centre exclusively or concurrently must be declared to fall within the sphere of the Units, a list of these should, for greater certainty, be given in the Constitution Act with the rider that all residuary powers—those not included in either of the two lists—shall vest in the Units.

(C) All Customs barriers between one Unit and another shall be abolished, and there shall be free trade within the Union, provided that, where the abolition of existing Customs barriers affects prejudicially the finances of a Unit, it shall be entitled to adequate compensation out of the revenues of the Union.

UNION EXECUTIVE

(A) Subject to the provisions of Clause (B), the Executive of the Union shall be a Composite Cabinet in the sense that the following communities shall be represented on it viz., (i) Hindus, other than Scheduled Castes ; (ii) Muslims ; (iii) Scheduled Castes ; (iv) Sikhs ; (v) Indian Christians ; (vi) Anglo-Indians.

(B) The representation of these communities in the Executive shall be, as far as possible, a reflection of their strength in the Legislature.

(C) The Cabinet shall be deemed to be constituted, notwithstanding the absence from it temporarily of representatives of any of the communities mentioned in Clause (A), where on account of a whole community refusing to join or remain in a Cabinet, that community goes without representation therein, the vacancies may, pending the availability of members of that community, be filled by appointment of members of other communities and the Cabinet commence or continue to function, provided it commands a majority in the Legislature.

(D) The Cabinet shall be collectively responsible to the Legislature.

(E) The Cabinet shall be led, guided and held together by a Prime Minister, who shall ordinarily be the leader of a party which by itself or in combination with other parties, is able to command a stable majority in the Legislature. A convention should be created that the offices of the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister should not be monopolised by any community.

(F) The other members of the Cabinet shall be appointed on the advice of the Prime Minister.

(G) One of these Ministers shall be designated Deputy Prime Minister and it shall be a standing rule that the Deputy Prime Minister shall not belong to the same community as the Prime Minister.

ALTERNATIVE

(A) Subject to the provisions of Clause (B), the Executive of the Union shall be a Composite Cabinet in the sense that the following communities shall be represented on it, *viz.*, (i) Hindus, other than Scheduled Castes : (ii) Muslims, (iii) Scheduled Castes ; (iv) Sikhs ; (v) Indian Christians , (vi) Anglo-Indians.

(B) The representation of these communities in the Executive be as far as possible, a reflection of their strength in the Legislature.

(C) The Cabinet shall be deemed to be duly constituted notwithstanding the absence from it temporarily of representative of any of the communities mentioned in Clause (A) where, on account of a whole community going without representation thereon, the vacancies may, pending the availability of members of that community, be filled by appointment of members of other communities and the Cabinet commence or continue to function, provided it commands a majority in the Legislature.

(D) The Cabinet shall be elected by the Central Legislature in a joint session by the system of the single transferable vote. The elected Ministers shall hold office

for the duration of the Legislature. The Legislature shall elect from among the Ministers a President and a Deputy President, who shall not both belong to the same community.

Minister for Indian States

There shall be a Minister in charge of the functions in relation to Indian States and with him shall be associated a body of persons not less than three and not more than five in number, who shall be called Indian States' Advisers and who shall be chosen in the manner agreed upon with the Indian States. The Minister shall consult the Indian State Advisers on all important matters and shall obtain their concurrence in respect of certain matters to be specified in the Constitution Act.

Judiciary

(1) There shall be a Supreme Court for the Union and a High Court in each of the Units.

(2) The strength of Judges in each of these courts at the inception of the Union as well as the salaries to be paid to them shall be fixed in the Constitution Act and no modification in either shall be made except on the recommendation of the High Court, the Government concerned and the Supreme Court, and with the sanction of the Head of the State (a Governor-General or President as the case may be), provided, however, that the salary of no Judge shall be varied to his disadvantage during his term of office.

(3) (a) The Chief Justice of India shall be appointed by the Head of the State and the other Judges of the Supreme Court shall be appointed by the Head of the State, in consultation with the Chief Justice of India. (b) The Chief Justice of a High Court shall be appointed by the Head of the State in consultation with the Head of the Unit and the Chief Justice of India. (c) Other Judges of a High Court shall be appointed by the Head of the State, in consultation with the Head of the Unit, the Chief Justice of the High Court concerned and the Chief Justice of India.

(4) A Judge of a High Court or a Supreme Court shall be appointed for life, subject to an age-limit prescribed by the Constitution Act, but he may by resignation addressed to the Head of the State resign his office.

(5) A Judge of the High Court may be removed from office by the Head of the State on the ground of misbehaviour or of infirmity of mind or body, if on reference being made to it by the Head of the State, the Supreme Court report that the Judge ought on any such grounds to be removed.

(b) A Judge of the Supreme Court may be removed from office by the Head of the State on the ground of misbehaviour or of infirmity of mind or body, if on reference, being made to it by the Head of the State, a special Tribunal appointed for the purpose by him reports that the Judge ought on any such grounds to be removed.

(6) As regards other matters connected with the appointment and function of the Judiciary, the provisions embodied in part IX of the Government of India Act of 1935 seem suitable with such modifications as may be required for being fitted into the framework of the new Constitution.

Defence

The Committee strongly recommends that under the new Constitution there should be a Portfolio of Defence, which should be held by a Minister responsible to the Legislature and that the actual control and discipline of the Army should be placed in the hands of a Commander-in Chief under the new Government.

The Committee further recommends that a National Army should be created and developed as rapidly as possible. It is unable to suggest at this stage what the strength of this Army should be as this will depend, apart from the vital question of finance, on a number of other factors, such as, the nature of the post-war world settlement and the éfficacy of the international organisation for the maintenance of world peace. Among the measures which should be adopted for the creation of such an Army, the Committee recommends the following:

(1) (a) Such British Units as temporarily may be required for the efficient defence of India and such officers as may be needed for officering the National Army until an adequate number of Indian Officers becomes available, shall be obtained by a treaty or agreement entered into by the Union Government and His Majiesty's Government, specifying, among other things, the terms and conditions of their re-employment by the Union. (b) As soon as the war is over, all direct recruitment of British officers to the Indian Forces should cease.

Such British officers as do not belong to the Indian Army and are not required for specific appointments should be reverted to the British Army establishment.

(2) An institution should be established for the training in sufficient numbers of officers of all the three arms—air, land and sea—and all defects existing in the present system which prevent rapid Indianization or the creation of Indian Officers capable of assuming leadership should be forthwith removed.

(3) If it is found that the present educational system does not produce a sufficient number of young men suitable in every respect for a military career, steps should be taken at once to remove this defect.

(4) The University Officers' Training Corps should be established where they do not exist and largely expanded and measures taken not only for ensuring supply of officers to fill vacancies in peace-time but for the rapid expansion of the cadre in the event of a military threat to India. Such measures should aim at creating a reserve of young men with service training, who can be rapidly absorbed as officers when expansion takes place.

(5) The Committee would emphasise that the maintenance of law and order is essentially the responsibility of the Unit Governments and that they should, if necessary, by increasing the strength of their police forces, equip themselves adequately for the discharge of this responsibility. The Committee would, however, make it clear that the services of troops on the Union Army establishment should be available for being requisitioned only when the civil power finds itself unable to cope with any particular situation.

The Committee further recommends that a balance should be maintained between the respective arms and that special attention should be paid to navy, air force, mechanized units and such other branches as may from time to time be developed

The Committee recommends that steps should be taken even before the coming into being of the new Constitution to adopt and give effect to the measures as far as practicable.

REPRESENTATION IN PUBLIC SERVICES

(3) The orders now in force at the Centre regarding the representation of the communities in public services may continue in operation till the Union Government under the new Constitution comes into being. The Committee, however, recommends that the 8 1/3 per cent of the seats now allotted to the Sikhs, the Indian Christians, and the Anglo-Indians and Parsis may be split up between the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Anglo-Indians and Parsis in the proportion of 3½ per cent for Sikhs, 3 per cent for Indian Christians, and 1 5/6 per cent for Anglo-Indians and Parsis. The special provisions relating to Anglo-Indians in certain services under Section 242 of the Government of India Act of 1935 are not to be affected by this recommendation.

PUBLIC SERVICES COMMISSION

The Chairman and members of the Union Public Services Commission shall be appointed by the Head of the State in consultation with the Prime Minister. The Chairman and members of the Public Services Commission of Units shall be appointed by the Head of the Unit, in consultation with the Prime Minister of the Unit.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

A comprehensive declaration of Fundamental Rights should be incorporated in the future Constitution of India assuring (a) the liberties of the individual; (b) the freedom of the Press and association; (c) equality of rights of citizenship of all nationals, irrespective of birth, religion, colour, caste or creed; (d) full religious toleration, including non-interference in religious beliefs, practices and institutions; and (e) protection to language and culture of all communities. It should further contain specific declarations on the lines indicated in the reports of of the Scheduled Castes and Minority Sub-Committees, for the complete abolition of disabilities imposed by tradition and custom on the Scheduled Castes and the safeguarding of special religious customs like wearing of kirpans by the Sikhs. The precise formulation of these rights should be undertaken by a Special Committee of experts at the time of the framing of the new Constitution.

MINORITIES COMMISSIONS

(A) The Constitution Act shall provide for the establishment at the Centre and in each of the Provinces an independent Minority Commission, which shall be composed of a representative for each of the communities (not necessarily a member of that community) represented in the Legislature.

(B) Subject to the possession of such qualifications or experience as may be prescribed, the member representing each community who need not necessarily belong to the same community, shall be elected by members of the Legislature belonging to that community.

(C) No member of the Legislature shall be eligible for membership of the Commission.

(D) The term of office of members of the Commission shall be the same as, and synchronise with the term of office of members of the Legislature concerned.

(E) The functions of the Commission shall be (i) to keep a constant watch over the interests of minority communities in the area; (ii) without attempting to deal with stray administrative acts or individual grievances, to call for such information as the Commission may consider necessary for discharging their functions; (iii) to review periodically—for example once every six months—the policy pursued in legislation and administration by the Legislature and the Executive in regard to the implementing of non-justiciable fundamental rights assured by the Constitution to minority communities and to submit a report to the Prime Minister.

(F) The recommendations of the Commission shall be considered by the Cabinet and the Prime Minister shall, as soon as possible, place the report of the Commission before the Legislature with a full statement of the action taken or proposed to be taken in pursuance of the recommendations of the Commission. In case any of the recommendations are not accepted wholly or in part, the statement should also contain full explanations of the decisions taken by the Government. Facilities shall be provided to the Legislature for a discussion of the report and the decisions of the Government thereon.

Minorities in the Punjab

The Committee recommends that the case of the Sikhs, the Hindus and the Indian Christians relating to their representation in the Punjab Legislature should be examined with the utmost care by the constitution-making body.

Amendment to the Constitution

The intention to make a motion in the Union Legislature for an amendment of the Constitution shall be notified to the public and such motion shall not be taken up for consideration by the Legislature until the expiry of at least six months from the date of such notification. It shall not be deemed to have been approved by the Unit Legislature unless it has secured the support in each of the two Chambers of a majority of not less than two-thirds of its sanctioned strength. Further, such amendment shall not have effect unless it is also approved by the Legislature of not less than two-thirds of the Units, provided that no amendments shall be made at all for a period of five years from the coming into force of the new Constitution in respect of vital provisions of the Constitution, which should be listed in a schedule to the Constitution Act.

Amendments of a purely formal character may be decided through the ordinary process of Union legislation.

Appeal to the Country

The Committee recommends that the principles here enunciated constitute a fair and effective basis for political settlement in India. It strongly recommends to all communites and parties to accept them, and in particular to the majority parties in the provinces now administered under Section 93 of the Government of India Act of 1935 to assume constitutional responsibility. In the event of these proposals being unacceptable to the various communities and parties and their failure to reach an aggreement on any other basis, His Majesty's Government should set up an Interim Government in India and proceed to establish machinery for drafting the new Constitution generally on the basis of the principles underlying these proposals, enact it in Parliament and put it into operation at the earliest possible date.

The Justice Party Confederation

16th. Session—Madras—7th. and 8th. May 1945

Sir Shanmukham Chetty's Address

Presiding over the 16th. S. I. L. F. (Justice Party) Confederation held in Madras on the **7th. May 1945** Sir *R. K. Shanmukham Chettiar* drew attention to the problems facing the Party and said that they could not accept any constitu-

tion which did not provide for separate electorates for the Non-Brahmin communities in South India." He emphasised also that the Party must firmly take the stand in relation to the Self-respect Movement, that "religion was a matter of individual conscience and no one had a right to use the forum of a political party for any propaganda dealing with religion".

Thanking the delegates for electing him President, Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetti said at the outset of his Presidential address that they were meeting at a time when strife and conflict were everywhere in evidence. India itself was filled with discord and mutual suspicion. Their own party had not escaped from this disaster. They missed on this occasion some familiar personalities with whom they had worked for many years. It was his hope that ere long all of them, who had the same common cause at heart, would be brought together again. After tracing the history of the Non-Brahmin Movement, Sir Shanmukham said that for nearly 14 years, the Justice Party, which was the political organisation of the Non-Brahmin movement, had shouldered the responsibility for the administration of this province under a constitution full of difficulties. It had always been their policy that the quickest way of making political advance was to utilise every opportunity provided by the constitution in force for the time being, notwithstanding the limitations imposed by that constitution. That policy had been vindicated by the attitude taken up by some at least of the leaders of the Congress in subsequent years.

The triumph of the Congress at the General Elections of 1937, the President continued, was looked upon by some people, as the death-knell of the Justice Party. The Justice Party, as a political organisation, had undoubtedly suffered defeat at the polls, but that did not mean that the Non-Brahmin movement had been killed. The long period during which the Justice Party held political power in the Presidency was in itself a sufficient reason for the change brought about by the 1937 elections. Besides in a subject country struggling to wrest power from the foreign rulers, a left-wing party always had an advantage. A radical programme, though confined only to paper, always made an appeal to the people as against a constructive and constitutional programme, pursued in a spirit of moderation. Added to this, the Congress Party exploited the undoubted hold which Mr. Gandhi had secured over the caste-Hindu population. The alliance between the Brahmin community in general in South India and the Congress, irrespective of the political faith of individual Brahmins, also contributed to the influence which the Congress to-day wielded in this part of India. It was not anything inherently unsound in their political programme that had resulted in the eclipse of the Justice Party as a political force. So far as the ultimate political objective was concerned, they stood as much for the freedom of India as the most radical nationalist. They wanted political freedom, not for the privileged few, but for the masses of this country. All their outlook and their programme must necessarily be influenced by the dominant motive. Proceeding, Sir Shanmukham Chetti said that the educated Indian had imbibed so much of the philosophy of democracy as understood in the West that he took it for granted that those western devices which had secured freedom for the people would produce the same results in India also. Universal suffrage and adult franchise with the doctrine of one vote for every individual had no doubt produced the desired results in western countries. Unfortunately it did not work that way in India. The rigid social systen of India had really set the pattern in the working of all their institutions. No compartment of life had escaped the influence of this social system. It was no doubt very desirable that this separatist tendency should altogether disappear from their scheme of life. So long as it existed, however, it must be recognised, and suitable adjustments must be made to neutralise it tendencies. That was the crux of the communal problem. Only when their nationalist politicans recognised the inexorable logic of this factor could they arrive at a satisfactory solution of their political difficulties. The Non-Brahmin problem was but a manifestation of this stark reality. The simple western electoral device had not altered this fact by one iota. Unless some radical adjustment was made, the dominance of a minority would be perpetuated. Tyranny over a majority was inconsistent with the spirit of democracy. The apportionment of seats in the legislatures in proportion to the population of the different communities in separate communal electorates and communal representation in public services on a similar basis were the only two methods that their intelligence could device for getting over the undemocratic facts of their life. To the Indian nationalist communal electorate was anathema and their present day political difficulties could be traced to the persistent effort of some of the politicians to do away with the communal electorates. The latest effort in this direction was the

proposal contained in the recommendations of the Sapru Committee. Whatever might be the temptation held out, the minority communities and the politically weaker communities could never accept joint electorates. Practical experience had demonstrated that the fears of these communities were not imaginary. It was unlikely, therefore, that either the Muslims or the Scheduled Castes would accept a joint electorate in the future constitution. The Non-Brahmin community of South India stood in an identical position.

The Non-Brahmin Party must therefore make this their main plank in their political programme, said Sir Shanmukham Chettiar. They could not accept any constitution which did not provide for separate electorates for the Non-Brahmin communities in South India. Whatever might be the pattern of the future constitution of India, it would determine the destiny of the country for many years to come. If the Non-Brahmins failed to safeguard their position at such a time their political future would be doomed. It was taken for granted by the Congress and by the constitution-makers and even by the British Government that the Congress and the Muslim League were the only two entities that counted in India. They must make it plain that so far as South India was concerned, the interest of the Non-Brahmin communities and the Scheduled Castes should be adequately safeguarded along with the Muslim and other minorities and politically weaker communities. Analysing the causes which had led to a sense of frustration and despair in the country; Sir Shunmukham Chetti observed that it was the negative policy followed by the Congress during the last 25 years which was largely responsible for the present state of affairs. It was an admitted fact that the Congress, under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi, had brought about the political awakening of the masses of India. Whatever might be the measure of credit that must be given to the Congress for this mass-consciousness, the value of that work must be judged by concrete results. Mass awakening in itself was of no use unless it led the the country to progress in all directions. The negative policy of non-co-operation with events and facts was bound to fail, and that was what had happened to the policy pursued by the Congress during the last few years.

Referring to the passing of the Government of India Act 1935, the speaker said that if only the federal constitution had been inaugurated in time, the most difficult of their political problems, namely the problem of the Indian States, would have been solved in a satisfactory manner. By opposing this constitution, the Congress had really played into the hands of the enemies of India's freedom. If the Indian Federation had been inaugurated before the outbreak of the war, even with the kind of Government that was provided for in that Act, the real representatives of India would be wielding full political powers to-day.

The next great opportunity came with the Cripps Offer. The offer was rejected on the ground that the Government contemplated at the Centre was not responsible to an elected legislature, but to the Viceroy who was armed with powers of veto. Legally this criticism was correct. In practice, however, the Indian Government envisaged in the Cripps Offer would have had real power. In the midst of a world war of the most colossal magnitude, no Viceroy would have dared to exercise his veto against the unanimous decisions of such an Indian Government. In rejecting this offer, the Congress had not merely succumbed to mere logic, but had failed to show a spirit of confidence in the people of this country. The rejection of the Cripps Offer was nothing short of a political tragedy in the history of India. If the rejection of the Cripps Offer by the Congress was unwise and unstatesman-like, the subsequent action of the British Government was thoroughly unjustifiable. Taking advantage of the attitude of the Congress, the British Government had consolidated their own power and had been governing the country without any regard to popular sentiments and feelings. The fact that one party, however powerful it might be, had rejected the offer was no justification for withdrawing it. It was the subsequent action of the British Government that had created a feeling of distrust and dismay. Real statesmanship on the part of the British Government would have led them to put the terms of the offer in operation with the help and co-operation of the other group and parties in the country. In justification of the action of the Government it was stated that the Congress was the only organisation which represented the people and that the rejection of the offer by such an organisation was tantamount to a rejection by the people as a whole, and that there was no responsible body of men to whom the offer could be made in the alternative. This line of argument was inconsistent with the oft-repeated statement of responsible British statesmen that in spite of the opposition of the Congress, the real India was whole-heartedly participating in the war effort. The only conclusion to which

one was driven from the course of events during the last four years was that the British authorities were only too anxious to take advantage of the intransigence of the Congress to consolidate their position and power.

The problem with which they were faced was really the problem of the future, said Sir Shanmukham Chetti. He referred in this connection to the suggestion made recently by him that the Indian political problem must be solved by an international tribunal. The suggestion implied of course that there would be agreement amongst all the principal parties in India to refer the problem to such arbitration. If they could not agree even on this ultimate solution, then it was clearly the duty of His Majesty's Government to devise a constitution notwithstanding the failure of Indians to arrive at a general agreement. There was nothing strange or new in such a procedure. During the whole period of British connection with India, the constitution of the country from time to time had been imposed by the will of the British Parliament. In contemplating such a course, he was not unmindful of its real implications. If a constitution was imposed on India by His Majesty's Government it inevitably followed that His Majesty's Government would retain in their hands certain extraordinary powers to guarantee the working of the constitution. However bitter such a thought might be to every patriotic Indian it must be realised that it was an inevitable corollary of their own disunity. In the event of the British Government being placed under the necessity of imposing a constitution on India, they should make it clear that the extraordinary powers reserved in the hands of His Majesty's Government would be abrogated at any time when there was a general agreement amongst the different elements in the country.

Need for Large-scale Industrialisation

Turning to the economic problems facing the country, the President referred to the Constructive Programme of the Congress and said it was impossible for a country of the size of India to organise its economic life on the basis of cottage industries and self-contained village units. If India were to survive as an economically powerful country, they must adopt a policy of large-scale industrialisation. A plan of large-scale industrialisation for a country of the size of India involved the tackling of problems of vast social significance. The Government of India had recently published a statement in which they had given broad indications of the central control of industry and the nationalisation of certain industries. The principles enunciated in this statement must be generally accepted as sound. In their actual application, however, they were bound to raise innumerable questions of detail on which there would be acute differences of opinion. One welcome feature of the statement was that a serious attempt would be made to adopt a rational policy in the distribution and location of industries. South India, for instance, had not got so many industries as certain parts in Northern India. They must press strongly both upon the Provincial Government and the Central Government the need for giving a high priority to proposals for the establishment of industrial concerns in South India. The leaders of the Justice Party would find a vast and fruitful field of service in this direction. Their Party must also support a rational policy of nationalisation and state control of industries. Referring to the social programme of the Party, Sir Shanmukham Chetti said that none of the political parties in India had done anything beyond paying lip service to the cause of the Depressed Classes. With separate electorates and proper safeguards, the Scheduled Castes could have made more rapid progress than they had done hitherto. It was a matter for rejoicing that the leaders of the Scheduled Castes had now become alive to the real problem and would not allow themselves to be hood-winked by any political party or individual. The Justice Party should always be prepared to offer the fullest co-operation to all organisations of the Scheduled Castes and support them in their endeavours for the political, economic and social advancement of these communities.

The Self-Respect movement in South India, the President continued, was really an off-shoot of the social programme of the Non-Brahmin party. He was himself associated with this movement from its very inception. Unfortunately in the name of the Self-Respect movement, propaganda had been carried on in a manner which, if allowed unchecked, would disrupt the Non-Brahmin communities. The Self-Respect movement to-day was mainly directed towards destroying belief in the existence of God and demobilising the Hindu religion. If certain enthusiasts felt that their mission in life was to undertake work in this direction, he had no quarrel with them. Unfortunately they had used the platform of the South Indian Liberal Federation for this propaganda. They must firmly take the stand that religion was a matter for individual conscience and no one had a right to use the forum of a

political party for any propaganda dealing with religion. This question had created a serious dissension in their ranks and he would earnestly appeal to all those who really had the Non-Brahmin cause at heart not to complicate matters and create disunity amongst the Non-Brahmins. It was with a view to permit men of all faith to work together on a common political platform that the Executive Committee had thought it wise to place before the Confederation proposals for embodying suitable provisions in the constitution for this purpose. So far as he was concerned, said Sir Shanmukhan, he confessed he was a believer in God and a Hindu by religion. A great deal of propaganda had been done to the effect that the Hindu religion was an Aryan religion and that the vast bulk of the Non-Brahmins who were Dravidians in their origin should have nothing to do with this religion. He totally disagreed from this view. The speaker was not in the least ashamed to confess that thousands of years ago this great stream of Dravidian civilisation mixed with the great stream of Aryan civilisation and the blending of the two had produced Hindu civilisation. The fact the Hindu religion had a distinctively Aryan origin was no justification for them to disown it. They must have the courage to recognise that there were a great many practices in Hindu religion which deserved the strongest condemnation. Notwithstanding these defects let them have the courage to admit that no Hindu need be ashamed of his own religion. Concluding, Sir Shanmukham Chetti said that the agony through which the world had been passing during the last six years would be followed by a period of difficulties and troubles of a different nature. The shock of these years had produced a revolution in men's thoughts and their outlook on the problems of life. The problems of peace would be even more difficult than the tragedy of the war. Let them not be disheartened by the fact that their organisation could not boast of great numbers. Even a handful of men filled with enthusiasm could work miracles. If they had any belief in the justice of their own cause let them get on with their works irrespective of its consequences, in the faith that action was their duty and the fruit thereof was not their concern.

Resolutions

Formation of Composite Governments Urged

A resolution urging that for the next ten years at least no form of government other than a Composite Government should be allowed to function both in the provinces and the Centre, was adopted at the S.I.L.F. Confederation on the 8th. May. Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetti presided.

After a song (on the Justice Party) by Kumari Padma, the Chairman moved a resolution congratulating the United Nations on the complete victory achieved over Germany and the end of the struggle in Europe and expressing pride in the achievements of the valiant sons of India who had contributed to this great victory. It was not merely due to the great might of the United Nations but to the essential justice of their cause that the war was won. The lesson that justice would always triumph, must be borne in mind by them. The Justice Party had suffered setbacks. They should consider the 1937 elections as their Dunkirk. He would ask them to go forth in the fullest belief that there was justice on their side.

A condolence resolution on the deaths of Messrs. C. D. Nayagam, K. Subramania Pillai, M. C. Rajah, V. Dharmalingam Pillai, S. S. Rajan, S. P. Jayaram Nadar, Subbarayadu and C. Basudav and Dr. Mathuram was adopted, all standing.

The Conference placed on record its sense of sorrow at the irreparable loss that the world had suffered in the passing away of President Roosevelt in whom the world had found one of the greatest champions of freedom and democracy. The Chairman, who moved the resolution, said that it could be said without exaggeration that if to-day they celebrated the Victory Day, it was President Roosevelt who was mainly responsible for the achievement of this end.

Attack on the Congress

Mr. M. Damodaram Naidu then moved a resolution recording the opinion that the Congress under its present leadership and directive was "the greatest obstacle to political progress in India" and viewing with great concern "its continued and declared hostility" to other political parties and communities. The resolution expressed the feeling that by its "short-sighted, precipitate, clannish policy" the Congress had created a situation in India wherein large sections of the people and in particular the Muslims, Indian Christians, Scheduled Classes and the bulk of the Non-Brahmins felt that it would not only be unsafe but dangerous to the growth of democracy and to the peace of India and of the world at large if powers were once more to devolve on such an organisation. It viewed with disfavour the tendency on

the part of the British Government to support and favour the Congress and its allied agencies, thus heavily loading the dice against other political parties which stood for the masses and for their genuine political progress. Mr. *Damodaram Naidu* said that the British Government would be wrong if they thought that the Congress was the only political party with which they had to deal. They should see that all political parties in India were satisfied. The resolution was passed.

Demand for Self-Government

The Conference next adopted a resolution calling upon the British Government to implement forthwith the proposal for a self-governing India and warning the Government that no proposal would be acceptable which did not take into account the needs and demands of all the political parties and communities which formed the bulwark of real India. Mr. *B. Narayanaswami Naidu*, moving the resolution, said that the Justice Party was also as anxious as any other party for the freedom of India. Mr. *R. Subramaniam* also supported the resolution which was adopted.

Separate Elections for Non-Brahmins

On the motion of Mr. *R. Madanagopal Naidu*, the Confederation passed a resolution expressing the opinion that "in view of the peculiar conditions prevailing in South India and for the effective protection of the politically weaker communities, the Constitution must provide for separate electorates for Non-Brahmin Hindus and Scheduled Classes." Mr. Madanagopal Naidu said that they should take into consideration the present state of affairs in the country and added that separate electorates alone would bring what the community wanted. He appealed to the monied members of the community to come forward and help in the achievement of their objective.

Rao Bahadur P. Rangaswami Naidu moved that (I) the principle of the Communal G. O. of the Madras Government must be extended to all the services, including All-India Services for which recruitment was made in this Presidency; (ii) for purposes of recruitment the communities in this Presidency must be classified as (a) Non-Brahmin Hindus, (b) Scheduled Classes, (c) Muslims, (d) Indian Christians, (e) Brahmins and (f) other communities; and (iii) the representation of the communities must be approximately on the population basis; and in recruiting men for civilian services from those returned from war services the principle of the Communal G. O. should be strictly observed.

The Scheduled Castes' Federation

Bombay—6th. & 7th. May 1945

Presidential Address

Dr. *B. R. Ambedkar*, addressing the Scheduled Castes' Federation held in Bombay on the 6th. May 1945, suggested a new approach to the communal problem and put forward a new solution which, he claimed, was better than Pakistan. His solution was based mainly on the principle that a majority community "may be conceded a relative majority of representation but it can never claim an absolute majority." This principle is applied both to Provinces in which Hindus are in a majority and to Provinces in which Muslims are in a majority. In either case the representation given to the majority does not exceed 40 per cent."

Raising two preliminary issues, Dr. Ambedkar declared, firstly, that if Indians wanted Dominion Status, they could not escape the responsibility of framing their own constitution. "A constitution, framed by the British Government and imposed upon Indians, sufficed in the past. But if the nature of the future constitution Indians are clamouring for is borne in mind, it will be clear that an imposed constitution will not do." Dr. Ambedkar added: "It is useless for the British to frame for India a constitution, which they will not remain to enforce. The same result will ensue if the constitution is imposed by one powerful section or a combination of such sections on other sections." Secondly, Dr. Ambedkar emphatically opposed the proposal of a constituent assembly. "It is absolutely superfluous", he declared. "So much of the constitution of India has already been written out in the Government of India Act, 1935, that it seems to be an act of superarogation to appoint a constituent assembly to do the thing over again. All that is necessary is to delete those sections of the Government of India Act, 1935, which are inconsistent with Dominion Status." Explaining the necessity of a new approach, Dr. Ambedkar said that the attempts so far made at a solution of the communal problem were either in the

nature of a coward's plan to Kotow to the bully or the bully's plan to dictate to the weak. Nothing could be more absurd than a policy of eternal appeasement hitherto followed. It was a policy of limitless demand followed by endless appeasement.

Dr. Ambedkar attributed this position to the fact that no principles had been accepted as authoritative and binding on the parties to the communal question.

The approach he was making was, therefore, based on two considerations, firstly, that in proceeding to solve the communal problem, it was essential to define the governing principles which should be invoked for determining the final solution and, secondly, that, whatever the governing principles they must be applied to all parties equally without fear or favour.

Dividing the communal problem into three categories of representation in the Legislature, in the Executive and in the Services, Dr. Ambedkar laid down principles which, in his view, should govern each. As regards the Services, he said that all that was necessary was to convert the present administrative practice into statutory obligation. As regards representation in the Executive, he said that the representatives of the Hindus, the Muslims and the Scheduled Castes should be equal to the quantum of their representation in the Legislature. As regards other minorities, a seat or two should be reserved for their representation and a convention established that they would get a fair portion of representation in the corps of parliamentary secretaries that would have to be raised.

On the nature of the Executive, he laid down a number of principles. Firstly, the system under which a party which secured a majority at the poll was deemed entitled to form a government on the presumption that it had the confidence of the majority, was untenable in Indian conditions. The majority in India was a communal majority and not a political majority. That being the difference, the presumtion that arose in England could not be regarded as a valid presumption in the conditions of India. Secondly, the Executive should cease to be a committee of the majority party in the Legislature. It should be so constituted that it would have its mandate not only from the majority but also from the minorities in the Legislature. Thirdly, the Executive should be non-parliamentary in the sense that it shall not be removeable before the term of the Legislature, and it should be parliamentary in the sense that the members of the Executive shall be chosen from the members of the Legislature and shall have the right to sit in the House, speak, vote and answer questions.

ELECTON OF PRIME MINISTER

Dr. Ambedkar laid down other principles, namely, that the Prime Minister as the Executive Head of the Government should have the confidence of the whole House; the person representing a particular minority in the Cabinet should have the confidence of the members of the community in the Legislature; and a member of the Cabinet shall not be liable to be removed except on impeachment by the House on the ground of corruption or treason. Following these principles, he proposed that the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet from the majority community should be elected by the whole House by the single transferable vote and that the representatives of the different minorities in the Cabinet should be elected by the single transferable vote of the members of each minority community in the Legislature. Dealing with representation in the Legislatures, Dr. Ambedkar provided for the following percentages in the Central Assembly: Hindus, who formed 54.68 per cent of the population, should get 40 per cent representation, Muslims 28.5 thirty-two per cent, Scheduled Castes 14.3 twenty per cent, Indian Christians 1.16 three per cent, Sikhs 1.49 four per cent and Anglo-Indians 0·5 one per cent (percentage of population is taken after deducting the number of aboriginal tribes from the census figures). In Bombay, Hindus who formed 76.42 of the population would get 40 per cent representation in the Legislature; Muslims 9.98 twenty-eight per cent, Scheduled Castes 9.64 twenty-eight per cent, Indian Christians 1.75 two per cent, Anglo-Indians ·07 one per cent and Parsees ·44 one per cent. In the Punjab, Muslims who formed 57·06 would get 40 per cent representation in the Legislature, Hindus 22·17 would get 28 per cent, Shikhs 13.22 twenty-one per cent, Scheduled Castes 4.39 nine per cent and Indian Christians 1.71 two per cent.

PRINCIPLES GOVERNING REPRESENTATION

Dr. Ambedkar said the distribution was made on the following principles:

(1) Majority rule is untenable in theory and unjustifiable in practice. A majority community may be conceded a relative majority of representation but it can never claim an absolute majority. (2) The relative majority of representation given to a majority community in the Legislature should not be so large as to enable the majority to establish its rule with the help of the smallest of minorities; (3) The

distribution of seats should be so made that a combination of the major minorities should not give the combine such a majority as to make them impervious to the interests of the minorities. (4) The distribution should be so made that if all the minorities combine they could without depending on the majority form a Government of their own. (5) The weightage taken from the majority should be distributed among the minorities in inverse promotion to their social standing, economic position and educational conditions, so that a minority which is large and which has a better, social, educational and economic standing gets a lesser amount of weightage than a minority whose numbers are less and whose educational, economic and social position is inferior to that of the others. The representation provided by him, Dr. Ambedkar claimed, was a balanced representation. No one community was placed in a position to dominate over others by reason of number. The Muslim objection to the Hindu majority and the Hindu and Sikh objection to the Muslim majority were completely eliminated, both in the Centre as well as in the Provinces.

"My proposals are for a united India," Dr. Amedkar proceeded. "They are made in the hope that the Muslims will accept them in preference to Pakistan as providing better security than Pakistan does. I am not against Pakistan. I believe it is founded on the principle of self-determination, which it is now too late to question. I am prepared to give them the benefit of the principle, on condition that the Muslims do not deny the benefit of the principle to the non-Muslim residents of the area. But, I believe, I am entitled to draw the attention of the Muslims to another and a better plan of security. I claim that my plan is better than the plan of Pakistan. Let me state the points which tell in favour of my plan: They are: (1) Under my proposal the danger of a communal majority which is the basis of Pakistan is removed: (2) under my proposal the weightage at present enjoyed by the Muslims is not disturbed; (3) the position of Muslims in the non-Pakistan Provinces is greatly strengthened by an increase in their representation which they may not get if Pakistan comes and which will leave them in a more helpless condition than they are in at present."

"THE RULE OF UNANIMITY"

In "a word to the Hindu", Dr. Ambedkar said much of the difficulty over the communal question was due to the Hindus' insistence that the rule of majority was sacrosanct and it must be maintained at all costs. Dr. Ambedkar drew attention to the other rule, the rule of unanimity, applied to trial by jury, in which the decision was binding upon the jugde only if the verdict of the jury was unanimous. The rule of unanimity was also accepted in the decisions of the League of Nations. "It is obvious that if the principle of unanimity was accepted by the Hindus as a rule of decision in the Legislatures and in the Executive, there would be no such thing as a communal problem in India."

Dr. Ambedkar proceeded: "It may be open to the Hindus to ask Mr. Jinnah why in 1930, when he formulated his fourteen points he insisted upon the principle of majority rule to such an extent that one of the points stipulated that in granting weightage limits should be placed whereby a majority shall not be reduced to a minority or equality. It may be open to the Hindus to ask Mr. Jinnah, if he is in favour of a Muslim majority in Muslim Provinces, why he is opposed to a Hindu majority in the Centre? The Hindus must, however, realise that these posers may lead to the conclusion that Mr. Jinnah's position is inconsistent. They cannot lead to the affirmation of the principle of majority rule. The abandonment of the principle of majority rule in politics cannot affect the Hindus very much in other walks of life. As an element in social life, they will remain a majority. They will have the monopoly of trade and business which they enjoy. They will have the monopoly of property which they have. My proposals do not ask the Hindus to accept the principle of unanimity. My proposals do not ask the Hindus to abandon the principle of majority rule. All I am asking them is to be satisfied with a relative majority. Is it too much for them to concede this? "Without making any such sacrifice the Hindu majority is not justified in representing to the outside world that the minorities are holding up India's freedom. This false propaganda will not pay. For the minorities are doing nothing of the kind. They are prepared to accept freedom and the dangers in which they are likely to be involved, provided they are granted satisfactory safeguards. The gesture of the minorities is not to be treated as a matter for which Hindus need not be grateful. It may well be contrasted with what happened in Ireland. Redmond, the leader of the Irish Nationalists, once told Carson, the leader of Ulster: 'Consent to united Ireland. Ask for any safeguard and they shall be granted to you'. He is reported to have turned round and said: 'Damn your safeguards, we don't want to be ruled by you.' The minorities in India have not said

that. They are ready to be satisfied with safeguards. I ask the Hindus : 'Is this not worth a Mass ?' I am sure it is."

Resolutions—7th. May 1945

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY PROPOSAL OPPOSED

The Federation, at its resumed session on the next day, the 7th., May, passed a resolution expressing opposition to the plan of Constituent Assembly, as suggested by the Sapru Committee.

This plan, the resolution said, placed the Scheduled Castes at the mercy of the Hindus and Muslims in the matter of constitutional safeguards without making any provision that the decisions of the Assembly affecting the Scheduled Castes should have the support of the Scheduled Castes. The Federation was opposed to the very idea of a Constituent Assembly.

The Conference reiterated its determination to stand by the resolutions passed at the Working Committee meeting held in Madras in September last and called upon all members of the Scheduled Castes to insist on the provisions contained in those resolutions as constituting "an irreducible minimum of the protection essential for the safety and security of the Scheduled Castes "against the tyranny and oppression, which is sure to follow in the wake of the rule of the Hindu communal majority."

GOVERNMENT'S INDUSTRIAL POLICY WELCOMED

The Federation next considered the Government's recent statement of industrial policy and expressed the opinion that the policy by recognising private enterprise as a basic fact was calculated to do grave wrong to the toiling masses of this country. The Federation was firmly of the opinion that State ownership of industry and State ownership of land was the only way which would prevent industrial policy resulting in making the rich richer and the poor poorer. In view of the recent famine in Bengal, the resolution urged that Government should forthwith undertake the work of nationalising land in Bengal, in order to insure that such calamities do not recur.

The Federation also passed a resolution evincing anxiety for the rehabilitation and resettlement of persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes demobilised after the war.

The All India Trade Union Congress

21st. Session—Madras—20th. January 1945.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Presiding over the 21st annual session of the All-India Trade Union Congress held in Madras on the 20th. January 1945, Mr. *Fazal-Elahi Qurban* stressed the necessity for the establishment of a national government and the release of national leaders. He said that post-war planning should take into consideration the conditions of the working classes and the plans must be such that the workers' standard of living would be raised to the level existing in other countries. He also appealed to the workers in India to strengthen the Trade Union Congress.

Mr. *Fazal Elahi Qurban*, speaking in Urdu, thanked the delegates for electing him as President of the present session, and said that the seeds of the Labour movement were laid in Madras. Tho Congress had now a membership of over five lakhs and representatives of every industrial undertaking were among its members. He was glad to learn that delegates from places as far as Ceylon and Baluchistan had come to the session. Since they last met at Nagpur, the President stated, the Congress had grown in strength. The main question of the minimum wages had not, however, been settled. Even according to statistics supplied by the Government of India, the average wage for a worker was less than Rs. 25 whereas the cost of living had risen to twice and thrice than that before the war. The dearness allowances given were not in proportion to the rise in prices. The Chairman appealed to the workers to strengthen the Congress in order to force the Government to redress their grievances. He said that at this juncture there was need for a truly national government in the Centre. Their leaders were in jail and they must be released immediatly and power must be transferred to the hands of the people. There was also need for unity among the different communities in the country. Congress-League unity was essential and it was their duty to see that it was brought about. Regarding the plans for the future, the President said that all

planning must take into consideration the working classes in the country. Unless the workers were satisfied and there was a general rise in the standard of living, the country would not progress. He was afraid that until there was a national government, there could not be any real planning intended to benefit the working classes. A national government, though not socialistic in their outlook, would see that the poor working classes were bettered in all respects. The President next referred to the progress made in Soviet Russia and he sought permission of the Congress to send a message of greetings to the victorious Red Army.

NEED FOR INCREASED BASIC WAGES

Mr. N. M. Joshi, General Secretary, presented the annual report. He said the membership in the Congress had increased considerably. There were now 413 unions afiliiated to the Congress, with a membership of over 500,000. During the period under review, the cost of living had increased considerably and the dearness allowances granted to workers had been found to be very inadequate. The basic wages must be increased in proportion to the increase in the cost of living. Owing to shortage of coal, a large number of industrial undertakings had permanently closed down and the number of unemployed had increased. This had put a great strain on the Trade Union movement in the country. They were also to be watchful about the future. Unless they made the Trade Union Congress strong, there was no hope for them in the future. Moved by Mr. *M. K. Bose* and seconded by Mr. *P. R. K. Sarma*, the report was adopted.

Delegates' Session—Madras—21st January 1945

RESOLUTIONS

At the Delegates' session of the All-India Trade Union Congress, held on the 21st January 1945, at the Wall-tax Theatre, Park Town, Mr. *Fazal-Elahi Qurban*, presiding, a comprehensive resolution strongly protesting against the failure of the British Government to accede to the unanimous demand of Indians of all shades of opinion for immediate transfer of power to the Indian people, stating that this policy of holding on to power autocratically, despite the declared wishes of the people of India, ran counter to the anti-Fascist and democratic professions of the Britisth Government, demanding the immediate establishment of a National Government at the Centre, responsible to the people of the country and giving whole-hearted support of the working classes of this country to efforts made by political leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah to end the deadlock, was adopted. Mr. *V. V. Giri* moved the resolution, which was seconded by Mr. *V. R. Kalappa*, and supported by Messrs *M. K. Bose*, *Somnath Lahri* and *Dube*.

The main difficulty that faced the session was the question of the language in which the proceedings were to be conducted so as to enable the delegates from all parts of the country to follow the proceedings. Eventually, English or Hindustani speeches which covered the major part of the proceedings were translated into one or two vernaculars.

AFFILIATION FEES TO BE ENHANCED

There was a good deal of discussion on the recommendation placed before them for the enhancement of affiliation fees of trade unions. This proposal was opposed by a resolution sponsored by Mr. *B. K. Mukherjee* and supported by Mr. *Sisir Roy* who said that most of the unions were weak numerically and that they should make it a point not to enhance the rates with a view to enabling the unions to come into the Congress. Prof. *Kabir*, characterised the proposal to enhance the rates as unfair and said that if they wanted to increase the resources of the Congress the rates for bigger unions might be increased. After some others had spoken, Mr. Mukherjee withdrew his opposition and the original proposal was carried.

A number of other amendments to the constitution were then adopted. By these the General Council was authorised to determine the list of trade groups from time to time by addition, amalgamation or omission. The minimum membership for a trade group was fixed at 2,000. Where membership in unions in a group did not come up to 2,000, the unions would be included in the General Group.

The Congress, by another resolution which was passed by the entire gathering standing, gave its salutations to the martyrs who had fallen in the struggle for Indian freedom. The session appealed to the Governor of the C. P. and H. E. the

Viceroy to commute the death sentence passed on the Chimur and Ashti case prisoners.

Delegates' Greetings

Mr. *Shanmugha Das* (Ceylon) then conveyed to the session the greetings of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation. He said that 16,000 workers were organised under the banner of the Federation. He said that close ties bound the people of Ceylon and India together and they of Ceylon had done everything to the famine-stricken people of Bengal. The people of Ceylon, Mr. Das added, were being kept in bondage by the same imperialist power which kept the Indians in bondage and the speaker would like to assure them that realising fully well that the independence of India meant the independence of Ceylon, the people of Ceylon had pledged their whole-hearted support for the cause of Indian independence. He would take away with him one lesson and that was the trade union unity which they were able to achieve. Unfortunately, they in Ceylon were still divided and there were three different trade unions. It would be his endeavour to bring about unity in trade union ranks in the island.

Janab Dawood Khan, a delegate from Baluchistan, addressing the meeting in Hindustani, conveyed the greetings of the workers of his country and said that the workers in Baluchistan were still largely unorganised. They knew that the T. U. C. was the real organisation of workers and that no union could develop outside it. Conditions in Baluchistan, however, were very difficult and many trade union workers were in jail. He hoped that, under the leadership of the Congress, they would progress.

Representation at World T. U. C.

At this stage, Mr. *N. M. Joshi*, addressing the session, said that a delegate had asked for information whether the Congress received any money from the Government in order to send delegates to the World Trade Union Congress. Mr. Joshi said that they had decided to send three representatives. The British Trade Union Congress in order to facilitate their sending delegates from India wired to him that the Government might be prepared to give free passage to one delegate and the Government of India accordingly offered free passage to one delegate. The offer was accepted and this was the only help that they had received from the Government and nothing more.

Resolutions

Mr. *V.V. Giri*, ex-Minister, then moved the following resolution :

"The A. I. T. U. C. strongly protests against the failure of the unanimous demand of Indians of all shades of opinion for immediate transfer of power to the Indian people. The refusal of the Government to respond to the offer of Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Wavell's December speech only serve to underline the fact that the British Government is determined to maintain the deadlock and stick to power. In the opinion of this session, this policy of holding on to power autocratically despite the declared wishes of the people of India runs counter to the anti-Fascist and democratic professions of the British Government.

"The A.I.T.U.C. is further of the opinion that the present irresponsible Government has exposed itself as thoroughly incompetent to handle even a single problem created by the complex war conditions. Its isolation from the people has led to rapid economic deterioration all over the country intensifying poverty and starvation. In the name, therefore, of the Indian people's right to freedom as well as to safeguard India against the present unbearable conditions, the A.I.T.U.C. demands the immediate establishment of a National Government at the Centre responsible to the people of the Country.

"In order to end the deadlock, efforts made by political leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Quaide-Azam Jinnah not only for resolving differences but also for securing the transfer of power will receive the whole-hearted support of the working class of this country."

Moving the resolution, Mr. Giri said that he was glad that Trade Union Congress which was a revolutionary body had turned into a reformist organisation. The fact was, he said, the British Government was not prepared to part with any power. On the other hand, it desired to strengthen its imperialist hold on this country for exploiting them further. Neither Soviet Russia nor America, Mr. Giri said, had made any declaration which would ensure them that freedom was within sight. Therefore, he said, they had to secure the 'undiluted political and economic independence of this country.' It would not fall from above and they must get at it by their own exertion. They should not be going about with their begging bowls. If

public opinion was to be formed in the country regarding the grant of freedom to India, that had to be created. They had seen the declaration of the Labour Party which had exposed itself in its true colours. There was no difference between the Conservative Party represented by Mr. Churchill and the Labour Party. Proceeding, Mr. Giri observed that he must say that the labour organisations had not played their part and had not discharged their duty correctly. Workers in India fought more for their dearness allowance, and other allowances and had forgotten about the freedom of the country. He, therefore, wanted that they should not water down their ideals for small material benefits. By doing so, they had injured and they would be injuring the interests of the country. "Let there be no 'ifs' and 'buts'. Let your determination be freedom first and dearness allowance next. Otherwise, there is no hope," Mr. Giri declared. Concluding, Mr. Giri expressed the view that if India were to attain her full stature in the comity of nations, it must be on the basis of a united India and not a divided India'. So far as the workers of this country were concerned, a divided India was a danger.

Mr. *V. R. Kalappa*, who seconded the resolution, said that Lord Wavell had asked them to trust the intentions of the British. The view was also being canvassed that it was by the will of Providence that Britain held this country as the trustee for the dumb millions. They had trusted Britain for over a century and they had found that they got nothing. They should, therefore, see that the political organisations in the country came together to solve the deadlock. They for their part would support any agreement that might be reached.

Mr. *M. K. Bose* (Bengal), supporting the resolution, said that no proof was necessary to show that the British Government did not want to transfer power. There was no use merely passing resolutions; but they should take steps to see that the British Government transferred power to the people.

Mr. *Somnath Lahri* said that the workers were not only anxious to secure betterment of union working conditions and wages but, were also keenly intent upon serving the national cause. The trade Union Congress was anxious to establish unity in the country to secure freedom. Mr. *Dube* then supported the resolution after which it was put to vote and carried unanimously amidst cheers. The session then adjourned.

Resolutions—2nd. Day—Madras—22nd. January 1945

Suppression of Civil Liberties

The second day's proceedings of the Delegates' Session commenced on the 22nd. January at St. Mary's Hall, Armenian Street. A number of resolutions moved from the chair and explained to the delegates in Hindustani and Tamil were adopted unanimously. The Congress strongly protested against the suppression of civil liberties in the country and stated that the Government had virtually abrogated the rights of public meeting, freedom of speech and freedom of association, put severe restrictions on the liberties of the Press and made those rights "dependent on the whims of the local bureaucrats and police officers." The Congress demanded that all those restrictions on civil liberties should be removed and full freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of the Press restored.

The Congress extended fraternal greetings to the workers and peasants and the Red Army of Russia who had helped the cause of freedom of other nations and to the workers of Britain and welcomed trade union delegations from both these countries. It congratulated the Greek people upon their heroism and unity in the defence of their liberty and freedom, strongly condemned the policy of the Churchill Government in utilising British and Indian forcess to suppress this freedom, and expressed warm approval of the support given by the British working classes to the cause of the Greek people. It fervently hoped that British labour would be able to defeat the reactionary policy of the Churchill Government and ensure justice and freedom to the Greeks.

Protection for Clerical Employees

The need for legislation to be undertaken by the Central Government to protect clerical and administrative employees and employees in shops and commercial establishments and to secure for them better conditions of life and work, was emphasised in another resolution which urged the inclusion of this class of workers in all measures of social security, especially in the schemes for Health insurance.

The Congress viewed with concern the involuntary unemployment of thousands of industrial workers in various parts of the country and urged upon Government to take effective steps to secure to the affected workers prompt and adequate compensation.

The redress of the grievances of workers engaged in the jute, plantation and bidi industries and the abolition of the contract system of labour in Government

and quasi-Government institution, Corporations and local bodies, Ports and Railways, was urged in other resolutions, adopted by the Congress. The resolution relating to the Jute workers (in Bengal) pointed out that as the workers' request for the appointment of an adjudicator within a reasonable period had not been acceded to by the authorities, they should consolidate their ranks to resort to direct action at the opportune moment.

Condition of Women Workers

The Congress in another resolution, drew the attention of the Governments, Central and Provincial, to the condition of nearly five lakhs of women workers in the country, employed in coal mines, Jute, cotton and rice mills and urged among other things that equal pay should not be required to work underground in coal mines and maternity benefit should be paid to all women employees earning below Rs. 200 a month.

Demand for Leaders' Release

A resolution strongly protesting against the continued detention of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other members of the Congress Working Committee and of thousands of Congress members and trade unionists and demanding their immediate and unconditional release was passed unanimously.

Moving the resolution urging the release of leaders, Mr. *B. T. Ranadive* said that since the incarceration of the national leaders in 1942 when the Government suddenly pounced upon them, in spite of disappointment, despair and confusion, the working classes in the country through their trade union organisations had been repeatedly rising in defence of the liberties of the Congress and urging the release of the national leaders. Neither international opinion nor national opinion believed that Pandit Nehru's presence in the country could be dangerous to the conduct of the war. Every honest man in India or in any country knew that the detention of the leaders was part of a frontal offensive against the aspiration of the Indian people. Mr. *B. K. Mukerji*, seconding the resolution, said that there would have been no need for a resolution of the type if the working classes had been well organised as thereby they would have secured the country's freedom long ago. Mr. *V. R. Kalappa*, supporting the resolution, said that no one could pretend to have a greater hold over the masses of this country than Gandhiji and if he wanted the release of the leaders by direct action of the workers he would have been the last man to "funk" and he would have been the last not to advise them to do so. It was true that following the arrest of Gandhiji and other leaders in August 1942 there were disturbances in the country. But it was not only misrepresentation of Mahatma Gandhi, it was doing the greatest possible injury to the country if anybody said that the disturbances were due to any resolution of the Congress or the direction of any leader of the Congress. The resolution was then carried unanimously.

Ban on Congress Activities Criticised

Mr. *N. M. Joshi* moved the resolution protesting against the continued ban on the Indian National Congress and its activities. The resolution stated that the ban constituted an attack on the democratic rights of the people and had aggravated the effects of the economic crisis by stifling the normal political life of the country. The resolution demanded that the ban be immediately lifted and full freedom of organisation and activity be restored to the Indian National Congress so that the present helplessness and paralysation of social life in the country could be ended and the National Congress once more enabled to serve the people in the present period of political and economic crisis. Mr. Joshi said that the Congress organisations were declared illegal in 1942 even before they started the Civil Disobedience movement. It was true some Congressmen had now been released and on the advice of Gandhiji had begun a constructive programme of work on the lines suggested by him. Mr. Joshi was glad to say that one of the important items of that programme was labour organisation. But although Congressmen had started a constructive programme of work they could not do the work in the name of the Indian National Congress. The Trade Union Congress stood for full civil liberty and so they demanded that in this country there should be full liberty of thought, speech and of the Press. They must also have full liberty of organisation. Congressmen were now deprived of this and the Trade Union Congress must insist that the present ban should be lifted and Congressmen permitted to work in the name of their organisation. Mr. *Bankim Mukerji*, seconding the resolution, said that so long as the ban remained, public life in the country would not be real. He said there would not have been a famine in Bengal if the leaders had been free to carry on their work for the people. The resolution was duly carried.

The Congress adopted a number of resolutions relating to the redressal of grievances of workers in the handloom industry, textiles, the Press, mines and to the conditions of work for workers in the Tata steel industry.

AIMS OF POST-WAR PLANNING

A comprehensive resolution on planning was adopted by the Congress. The resolution declared that complete planning of social and economic life could only be achieved under socialism after the abolition of private production, the final aim of all planning being abolition of poverty and exploitation of man by man. The resolution expressed the view that there was scope for a planned development of India's resources and industries even during the transitional stage and fully supported the demand for the immediate establishment of heavy industries as the basis of future planned economy in the country.

The Congress reiterated its faith in a Socialist State which alone, in its view, could ensure the real material well-being of the people by exploiting all the resources of the country solely for the purpose of equitable distribution.

The labour policy of the Government of Madras came in for criticism in another resolution which called on the Government to modify their policy in such a manner as to ensure to workers their right to organise and realise their just demands.

Suggestions for the avoidance of delay in adjudication and conciliation, a proper system of rationing for industrial wokers, fixation of proper dearness allowances and basic wages to workers, redressal of grievances of workers in municipal and local bodies, legislative protection to private motor drivers and workers and statutory protection to domestic servants were indicated in other resolutions adopted.

RAILWAYMEN'S DEMANDS

The Congress fully supported the demands formulated by railway workers on the questions of dearness allowance, revision of scales of pay and increase in basic wages of railwaymen and condemned the persistent refusal of the Railway Board and the Government of India to grant these just demands. The resolution directed affiliated unions to observe the next Budget Day as an All-India Railwaymen's day with a view to realise their demands.

Resolutions urging improvement of conditions of work in the Kolar Gold Fields and the Kheura Salt Mines were also adopted.

After the adoption of the resolutions, the session concluded with speeches from the delegates and the newly elected President, Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose.

Mr. *N. M. Joshi* thanked the Reception Committee and others who had made the Congress the success it had been, They had 963 delegates attending the present session who had come from all over India. The Trade Union Congres had developed into an unique organisation—an all-comprehensive, all-party, all-India Trade Union Congress. He exhorted the members to maintain this unique character of their organisation and not to allow it to become a National Congress-cum-Trade Union Congress, a Muslim League-cum-Trade Union Congress, and the like. The slogan of the working Classes was "Workers of the world, unite." Therefore, they should not allow the workers of India to be divided. Their second object was to secure the freedom of this country. The country had suffered terribly on account of disunity. For that purpose also they should be united and be an example to other organisations.

Mr. *Mrinal Kanti Bose*, the newly elected President, next addressed the delegates thanking them for the honour done to him and seeking their co-operation in the performance of the tasks ahead. He said that the Trade Union Congress, like the Indian National Congress, should be made a fighting organisation, in order to wrest power from the capitalists. He also urged the working classes to learn the value of discipline.

ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS

At the delegates' session the names of the office-bearers for the coming year were announced. They were :—President, Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose; Vice-Presidents, Messrs. S. A. Dange, V. Chakkarai Chettiar, S. S. Mirajkar, P. C. Bose, and Juggan Khan; General Secretary, Mr. N. M. Joshi. Co-opted Members: Messrs. V. V. Giri, B. T. Ranadive, Fazal-Elahi Qurban, N. Mukerji, S. Bannerjee, Suresh Chandra Banerjee, R. S. Ruikar, Hariharnath Sastri and Yusuf Meherally.

Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry

18th Annual Session—New Delhi—3rd & 4th March 1945

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The Annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, which began in New Delhi on the 3rd. March 1945, was attended by respresentatives of the various Chambers of Commerce and Sir Jeremy Raisman, Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Sir Azizul Haque, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai and members of the Central Legislature.

Mr. *J. C. Setalvad*, presiding over the session, declared the British statesmen must recognise that to get India's fullest co-operation, two things must be done, namely, the release of the political leaders and the establishment of a National Government in India. The trade and industries of India would never prosper unless India got her rightful place as a self-governing unit.

While dwelling on the food problem, Mr. Setalvad referred to the kind of work that a National Government could do in creating further sources of food supply, and said: "There is no reason why the Government should not carry out experiments in co-operative and collective farming in various parts of the country." He suggested that after the war they should consult Soviet experts by arranging a visit to India of selected men with technical knowledge to study our conditions and apply their experiences to our benefit.

Referring to the question of the sterling balances, Mr. Setalvad said he must throw back into the teeth of the London critics the charge of Indian profiteering. He reminded these critics of the forced purchases and the terms on which those purchases had been made and of the self-denying ordinance that India had practised to the great hardship of her civilian population in making enormous supplies available at controlled prices to suit the convenience of the United Nations.

Mr. Setalved said that the Hydari Mission had something to do with the coal situation. He feared that it was the intention still further to curtail the operating capacity of some of our big industries, such as steel and chemicals; which required large supplies of coal and to replace the reduced output by imports from abroad, particularly from the United Kingdom. Mr. Setalved, on behalf of the Federation, registered a most emphatic protest against any such action on the part of the Government of India and demanded that the Indian public should be taken into confidence regarding the Hydari Mission.

Resolutions—INDIA'S STERLING CREDITS

After the address of the President, Mr, *A. D. Shroff* moved a resolution on the International Monetary Fund and India's sterling credits. The resolution stated: "The Federation, while appreciating the policy adopted by the Government of India in appointing Indian non-official businessmen in their Delegation to the International Monetary Conference held at Bretton Woods for considering the proposed International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, notes with regret that the Indian Delegation at the Conference were denied an opportunity of securing a solution, through the International Monetary Fund, of India's sterling credits, which have arisen in the United Kingdom as a result of the operations of the United Nations in India, and that India was not offered a permanent seat on the proposed Executive Board of the International Monetary Fund. The Federation is firmly of opinion that, while the post-war monetary policy in India should be one of co-operation in general objectives and broad policies, with any International Monetary Organisation that may be set up, India, in offering such co-operation, should guard against any diminution of sovereign powers, inherent in a nation, to pursue an Exchange and Currency policy suited to her own particular national needs and interests without subordinating such interests to British policies in the post-war period. It further reiterates its view that participation of India in the International Monetary Fund or the Bank should not be agreed to unless India is given a permanent seat on the Executive Board of the International Monetary Fund and unless a solution of India's Sterling credits in the United Kingdom, satisfactory to Indian interests, is arrived at between H. M. G. and the Government of India.

"The Federation views with grave concern the increasing strain imposed upon India's economy through the ever-growing purchases of the United Nations in India, without being paid in a manner best suited to India's interest and urges the Government of India to take immediate steps to relieve India of any further burden by entering into an agreement with H. M. G. providing for easy convertibility of Sterling balances into dollars and other foreign currencies to facilitate import of

plant, machinery and materials for the economic development of the country, and to secure an undertaking under the agreement for compensation in the event of the depreciation of Sterling. The Federation urges Government to take the public into confidence regarding the operations of the Empire Dollar Pool which in the opinion of the Federation, should be dissolved henceforth, and to credit to Indian account all dollars as an when they become available through trade balances or otherwise with the U.S.A.

Work of Indian Delegation to Bretton Woods Conference

Mr. *A. D. Shroff*, who was a member of the Indian Delegation to the Bretton Woods Conference, briefly reviewed the work of the Indian Delegation which, he said, worked as a harmonious team. He paid a tribute to Sir Jeremy Raisman who led the Indian Delegation for his fair-mindedness and reasonableness in all matters affecting the fundamental interests of our country. The Indian Delegation was the only delegation that was led by a non-national and Mr. Shroff urged that in future Indian delegations to inter-national conferences should always be headed by Indians themselves.

The Conference, Mr. Shroff proceeded, was influenced primarily by those countries that had military might and secondly by those who wielded political power. Though the question of India's sterling balances was excluded from the purview of the conference, the Indian Delegation had talks with the British Delegation, and the latter had declared that the United Kingdom's obligations would be fully honoured. In this connection, Mr. Shroff pointed out that our sterling balances were not in the nature of credits, but should be treated as cash in the current account. Unless the question was satisfactorily solved in the interests of India and an arrangement reached for the harmonious and orderly liquidation of the sterling balances, Mr. Shroff said, India would be well-advised to be in no hurry to join the International Monetary Fund. He urged that negotiations between His Majesty's Government and India should be started forthwith to settle the question. The position was strange. They forcibly linked the rupee to the sterling, and said that since we had substantial interest in the Sterling Bloc, we must strengthen it.

The resolution was supported by Mr. *C. Seshachalam* (Andhra), Mr. *A. R. Bhatt* (Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce) and Mr. *Begraj Guptá* (Bombay) and carried unanimously.

Demand for National Government

The Federation adopted, among other resolutions, moved from the chair, one urging the release of political prisoners and the establishment of a National Government.

The Federation deplored the fact that there had been no improvement in the political situation in the country and also "the studied and persistent disregard of Indian public opinion, both by the Governments in India and the United Kingdom for the immediate resolution of the political stalemate." The Federation declared that the continuance of such a situation was not only detrimental to the political and economic stability of the country, but was also not conducive to an early successful conclusion of the war.

Anti-India Propaganda in U. S. Deplored

A resolution moved from the chair, protested against the systematic propaganda carried on in U. S. A. against India and the Indian national cause by His Majesty's Government and the Government of India under the camouflage of imparting information regarding India to the citizens of America." The Federation urged early steps to make India's Agent-General in U. S. A. independent of the British Embassy "and to counteract such mischievous propaganda by giving Americans a true picture of the country and its people."

War Risk Insurance

In regard to War Risks Insurance schemes, the Federation asked that in view of the retreat of the Japanese forces from the eastern frontiers of India and in view of the prospect of an early termination of the war, Government should reduce the present rate of one per cent in respect of premium payable under the War Risks (Factories) Insurance Scheme and the rate of Rs. 0-1-3 per month under the War Risks (Goods) Insurance Scheme to a nominal rate.

Ship-Building Industry

On the question of shipping, the Federation urged the Government to give every encouragement and assistance to the development of an Indian ship-building industry in India under Indian capital, control and management.

Anti-Profiteering Ordinance

The Federation requested the Government of India to amend suitably Rule 122 of the Defence of India Act and orders issued under it, so that only those persons who were in the actual management of concerns might be proceeded against under the Hoarding and Profiteering Ordinance.

Import of Consumer Goods

Mr. *B. M. Birla* moved a resolution on consumer goods. The resolution protested against the policy of the Government of India, apparently designed to check inflation, of importing consumer goods from abroad, which were competing with the production of Indian industries that were handicapped in maintaining or expanding production in the absence of any concerted and serious effort on the part of the Government to import the necessary plant and machinery, chemicals and other raw materials from abroad.

Urging rapid industrialisation of the country to increase the standard of living of the people, the Federation believed that that could be secured by the maximum utilisation of the country's industrial capacity and natural resources and by temporarily securing from abroad only the balance of such consumer goods as might be required to meet the scarcity of such goods in the country. The Federation further urged Government to make use of the Sterling and Dollar resources for procuring capital goods and the necessary shipping space, provided that such imported goods were appropriated by Government for military requirements, and the output of indigenous manufacture was made available to the fullest extent to civilian consumption and not for export purposes.

Mr. Birla asserted that plans were being worked out to flood the country with consumer goods, and some of the new Industries that had been started during war time were facing serious trouble. Government had, it appeared, taken no steps to protect such industries. They should have at least prohibited the export of consumer goods to neighbouring countries.

Sir Sri Ram regretted that, while members of the Government of India found time to listen to the complaints of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, at the session of the Federation, even the Secretaries of the various departments found it difficult to be present. He asked how Indian industries could flourish if they were not given adequate transport facilities and coal. Sir Sri Ram added that Indian industries were capable of much greater production to meet domestic demands. He pointed out how, in one year, the textile industry increased its output from 3,200 million yards to 4,800 million yards. He was confident, if the textile industry was given the necessary facilities, it could step up production even upto 6,000 million yards. Continuing, Sir Sri Ram said that a deputation on behalf of the Federation had waited on the Commerce Department, and represented that certain industries in India were capable of fully meeting the country's demands, and yet orders for the articles had been placed abroad at a higher rate than those that prevailed in India. The deputation was told that there had been a mistake, but Sir Sri Ram said, some Indian industries would have to suffer for that mistake. The resolution was carried unanimously.

Future of India's Export Trade

Sir Chunilal B. Mehta (Bombay) moved a resolution on the development of India's Export Trade. The resolution asked the Government of India to take energetic steps to enable Indian industries not only to maintain their present position in the foreign markets, but also to secure an increasing share of those markets in the post-war period. "The Federation is gravely concerned," adds the resolution, "with the disruption of the normal export trade channels during the war, which were available in the foreign markets for the agricultural produce and raw materials of India, and is of opinion that, with a view to securing a proper place for India's exportable surplus of raw materials, the Government of India, in consultation with the interests concerned, should devise measures to counteract the effects arising out of the subsidised exports of raw materials by other countries in foreign markets, and to secure a more advantageous position for such of India's monopoly in raw matersals as raw jute, raw cotton, mica etc." Sir Chunilal pointed out that in the pre-war year 1938-39, the empire countries absorbed 52 per cent of our export trade, but in the year 1943-44, it rose to 64 per cent. There had been a definite shift in the direction of our foreign trade during the war. If India desired to industrialise at the pace envisaged by the different proposals under discussion, India would have to make large purchases and for that foreign exchanges would be necessary. Continuing Sir Chunilal explained how, during the war, a situation had

arisen by which the old connections of Indian exporters were slowly disappearing. The main reason for that was the activity of the UKCC and some of the countries of the world centralising their purchases in India through their own agencies. It was unfortunate, he said, that, in spite of all the efforts of the Indian commercial community to have an assurance from the Government of India that the work of the UKCC would be terminated after the war, no such assurance had been forthcoming. He deplored that the Government of India, up till now, seemed to have taken no steps either to maintain the present export markets or expanding the same. The desire of U. S. A. and the United Kingdom to increase their export trade was well known in order to maintain their present standard of living. If countries like the U. S. A. and U. K., the standard of living of whose people was far higher than that of the Indian people, proposed not only to maintain their export trade, but also wanted to increase their exports, India, with a view to improving her standard of living, required more pressingly that her export markets were not only maintained, but were expanded. Mr. *J. B. Patel* stressed the need for a National Government at the Centre, which would effectively fashion the economic development of the country. The resolution was passed unanimously.

Oilseeds Order

The Federation adopted a resolution urging the Government to cancel the Oilseeds Forward Contracts Prohibition Order, 1943, and permit hedge trading in oilseeds with suitable safeguards if necessary during the war period in a few oilseeds as an experiment if not in all oilseeds.

The resolution was moved by Mr. *Ramdas Kilachand* and supported by Mr. *Ramdeo A. Podar* and Mr. *K. L. Narasimha Rao.* The resolution on the subject while appreciating the various control measures taken by the Government of India to arrest the upward trend of commodity prices in 1943, invited the attention of the Government to the continued closure of hedge markets in oilseeds for more than 20 months and the resultant hardships to agriculture, trade and industry, despite changed conditions in the country. The Federation drew the attention of Government to the fall in prices of oilseeds to a level considerably lower than what they were prior to the imposition of the prohibition order. The Federation asked the Government to permit hedge trading in oilseeds just as it was now being permitted in the case of cotton.

Income-Tax Administration

Income-tax administration reform was the subject of a resolution which the Federation adopted. It was moved by Mr *J. J. Kapadia* (Bombay) and was supported by Mr. *Mangaldas B. Mehta* (Bombay). The resolution *inter alia* asked for the publication of the decisions of the Income-tax Tribunal, of the Income-tax Manual from time to time, together with the instructions issued by the Central Board of Revenue for the guidance of officers and the transfer of the Appellate Assistant Commissioner to the administrative control of the Law Department. Income-tax officers, it was urged, "should be permitted to exercise proper judgment without interference from higher authorities."

Resolutions—2nd. Day—New Delhi—4th. March 1945

Declaration of Industrial Policy

The Federation of *Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry* to-day passed a resolution urging the necessity of an early declaration of Industrial Policy by the Government of India on three points, namely, the role of the State in the future, the measure and extent of protection, to be extended, against internal and external competition, to Indian industries both in existence and those that may be started hereafter; and India's participation in any international arrangements which may impede the fullest utilisation of India's resources.

Mr. *Gaganvihari L. Mehta* (Bengal), moving the resolution, described how in countries like Australia and Canada, war needs were being used to provide peace opportunities. He mentioned that Australia to-day was the third biggest country in the world as regards ship-building, the fourth biggest country as regards Civil Aviation and Air Training, whereas, because of the difficulty in getting some essential raw materials plant and machinery, India's industrial development had been handicapped in many respects, at least as regards heavy and defence industries. Mr. Mehta dwelt on the effect of international agreements and arrangements on India and the working of cartels and combines, and suggested that it was time that the Government of India instituted a thorough comprehensive and impartial inquiry into the ramifications, the operations, the effects and rules and regulations of these cartels and combines, because it was impossible for any indigenous Indian industry

to come into existence unless the activities of these cartels were controlled in India. Speaking of the absence of co-ordination in the Government of India, Mr. Mehta referred to the story of the young boy who bought a pair of socks and found them four inches too long. So, he went to his mother, aunt and sister and requested them to shorten the socks; but each of them pleaded they had no time—probably owing to work for the Red Cross. Eventually, however, they relented, and when the boy was asleep each of them in turn, shortened the socks by four inches, with the result that, when he got up in the morning, he found the socks had become too short, and remarked this was what was called co-operation without co-ordination. (Laughter). On the question of Commercial Safeguards, Mr. Mehta commended Sir Ardeshir Dalal's speech in the Assembly as "conciliatory", but observed that if these Safeguards were unprecedented and stringent, then, there should be no question of an interim arrangement in regard to them. They should be abolished altogether, and only when a proper Government of India was established, should a fresh agreement be negotiated between Britain and India. "We do not want the Government of India to bind themselves to any new fetters while trying to get rid of the old ones." Mr. Mehta went on to emphasise that before we thought of nationalising our industries, we had to think of nationalising our Government. Under existing conditions, he added, nationalisation would mean distribution of posts and services and even contracts and tenders, not always on considerations of efficiency.

Mr. *G. A. Acharya* (Mysore) declared that mining leases were being given to foreigners, and this was just the time to ask the Government to declare its policy openly. In south India, he said, during the years 1932 to 1942, they had exported enormous quantities of manganese, chromite, mica and magnesite, and he asked if it was conceivable that the nationals of any other country would have allowed such export of irreplaceable minerals from their country. Mr. *Mordji J. Vaidya*, Mr. *N. N. Rakshit* and *Sardar P. S. Sodhbans* supported the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

GOVT.'S TAXATION POLICY CRITICISED

Mr. *D. P. Khaitan* moved a resolution declaring that the war-time taxation policy of the Government of India in respect of industries tended to hamper the post-war industrial development in the country. It left inadequate reserves to meet the post-war requirements of industries for necessary renewals, replacements and expansion of their capital assets and thereby undermined their stability and competitive strength *vis-a-vis* industries in other countries. The Federation urged upon the Government the necessity of so formulating the tax structure as to positively encourage and accelerate the industrial progress of India.

Mr. Khaitan said that, in the interests of the country, it was necessary that as many industries as possible should be started. What would have been our fate, he asked, if we had not the textile industry and the cement and the iron and steel industry ? They had been established before the war, and had stood the country in very good stead during times of stress. He pleaded for a relaxation of the various control measures which affected the proper growth of industries. Mr. *Ramnath Podar*, who seconded the resolution, said that the rise in the incidence of taxation in India was very high compared to taxation in the United Kingdom and elsewhere. Government's policy should be such as to foster Indian industries. Mr. *D. N. Sen* said that the structure of taxation that had been haphazardly built up during the war, should be replaced by one which, while yielding adequate revenues, would conduce to the rapid growth of an expansionist economy. The resolution was passed.

COAL PRODUCTION

Lala Karamchand Thapar moved a resolution expressing concern for the prospects of further industrialisation of India unless increasing production of coal was assured by Government taking all possible steps, at an early date to explore new sources of supply by undertaking an extensive geological survey of India; by rationalising the existing resources, and by the railways offering such prices for coal as would ensure continued operation of the collieries and provide for their proper development. The resolution also urged that low volatile coal should be conserved for the metallurgical industries, and should not be frittered away by supplying bunkering coal at Indian ports for the requirements of Allied nations. Mr. Thapar traced the troubles of the coal industry to the acquisition of collieries by railways, which, he said, were using them as a lever for dictating prices. In this policy, the railways were joined by the iron and steel works. Even though Rs. 4/4 per ton for good quality coal was an economical price, he said, the Industry had, for many years, been getting prices as low as Rs. 2 per ton. Thanks to this

policy, the industry had been struggling for bare existence. The neglect of technical developments had resulted in frequent fires in the coal mines all over the Jharia Coal Fields, consuming large quantities of metallurgical coal worth crores of rupees, which would otherwise have been sufficient for iron works for forty or fifty years. Detailing the steps taken by the Government of India to increase the output of coal since the middle of 1943, when it was discovered that production was only 16 million tons as against an average output of 22 million tons, Mr. Thapar said that if Government continued to take the same interest, the industry could safely expect to raise 26,000,000 tons of coal, which was the immediate target. The resolution was seconded and supported by Mr. *M. M. Bhatta* and Mr. *J. K. Dholakia* respectively, and was carried.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi (Calcutta) moved a resolution on the anti-Indian legislation in South Africa, and immigration restrictions on Indians in East Africa. The resolution urged the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa, as well as the breaking of diplomatic relations with that country, if no relief was given to India regarding the violation of the Cape Town Agreement. "If the Government of India fall in this logical sequence of their protest even at this stage", the resolution said, "the Federation feels that the Government of India will always stand condemned before the world for having jettisoned the ultimate interests of India." The resolution urged that, in view of the continued and persistent attacks on the rights of Indians abroad, the Government of India should secure an assurance, both from the East African Government and from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that in the post-war period the rights and privileges of Indians in colonial possessions would be fully safeguarded on an equal footing with all other communities. Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi quoted Dr. Khare's assurance in the Central Assembly, four months ago, that the "Government of India have been considering most actively the question of enforcing economic sanctions". "I am sure Dr. Khare really wants to do it" observed Sir Abdul Halim. "But he has forgotten some of his limitations ever since he has come to the Treasury Bench. He has to serve two masters. One is the White man in India, and the other is the Secretary of State for India. If they agree, then Dr. Khare can carry on. If they do not, he cannot carry on". The speaker also criticised the Government of India's appointment of a new High Commissioner in South Africa. *Haji Dawaod Hajee Nassarmayii* (Bombay), who seconded the resolution, said that Dr. Khare was doing his best, bnt suggested that if Dr. Khare failed, all the Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council should resign as a protest. Indians should also boycott South African goods and stop their trade with that country. The resolution was passed.

RIGHTS OF INDIANS IN BURMA

The Federation passed a comprehensive resolution on the subject of Indians in post-war Burma. Mr. *A. M. M. Vellayan Chettiar*, who moved the rosolution, said that Indians had always co-operated with the people of Burma in their political aspirations. Indians were not seeking any special privileges and rights which were not enjoyed by any other community in Burma. The resolution urged the Government of India to secure such immediate facilities and arrive at such effective arrangements with the South-East Asia Command as would enable Indians, like Britishers, to go at the earliest possible moment to the liberated parts of Burma.

On the Blue Print for Burma, the Federation says :—The attempt made in the Blue Print to placate the Burmese at the expense of the Indian interests, the feeling of great relief and satisfaction expressed therein at the exodus of Indians after the occupation of the country by the enemy having solved the alien problem in Burma, and proposal to take advantage of the absence of the records showing title to land of Indians and to expropriate them as owners of land in Burma by paying them 30 per cent in cash as a fundamental feature of the new land policy, are suggestions and recommendations which are not only ethically wrong, economically harmful and politically mischievous as regards the interests of Indians in the post-war period, but are also such as violate all established standards of international justice and fair-play. The authors of the Blue Print have ignored the important fact that the evacuation of the Indians from Burma was at the instance of and encouraged by the authorities. It is also most significant that while more than 50 per cent of Indians have remained behind and are suffering the hardships to-day, hardly any European has stayed back in the face of the Japanese invasion. The Federation appealed to the Government of India to use all their influence and to take all possible steps to ensure that no action was taken in post-war Burma, in accordance

with such recommendations, as they would prove seriously detrimental to Indian interests in that country in the future.

The Federation was strongly of the opinion that Burma should have a National Government at the earliest date possible after the war and assured the Burmese people of its fullest co-operation in men, money and material in their endeavour for securing self-government for Burma and for the rehabilitation and prosperity of their country in the post-war period.

Mr. *S. N. Haji*, seconding the resolution, said that India had a vital part to play in the future of South-East Asia. Geographically, she was placed in an advantageous position. India had a great stake, having regard to the future movement of her population, trade and commerce, in the South-East Asia countries.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

Working of Trade Controls

Earlier the Federation adopted a resolution moved by *Sir Badridas Goenka* on the industrial development. The Federation expressed its concern at the working of the numerous controls imposed by the Central and the Provincial Governments, from time to time, relating to import and export of commodities, procurement, purchase, distribution, transport and movement of commodities from place to place, as those controls had resulted in bribery and corruption and had not only dislocated smooth and efficient working of the normal channels of trade, but had also failed to produce the desired results. The Federation was further of the opinion that the system of controls which should have been designed and worked so as to accelerate production rapidly, had, in the main, been restrictive and injurious, and had created artificial difficulties in the conduct of trade and industry by imposing undue restrictions on the floating of new concerns and on the grant of import licences for raw materials, plant and machinery for increasing industrial production. The Federation believed that, in any scheme of Government control, the association of non-official, commercial and industrial interests should have been a *sine qua non* of its imposition and working, if inefficiency, delay and failure were to be avoided. It urged the Government to review the administration of all controls, revise and rationalise them so as to encourage industrial and agricultural expansion and facilitate smooth and quick distribution through normal trade channels.

The resolution was supported by Mr. *Mohd. Hussein Hasham Haji*, Vice-President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, Mr. *Lalji Mehrotra* (Karachi), Mr. *Jeotendra Mohan Day* (Bengal) and Mr. *P. N. Jajodia* (Bombay).

The Federation decided, by a majority, to increase the subscription of member-bodies from Rs. 200 per year to Rs. 500.

Sir Badridas Goenka was unanimously declared elected as President and Mr. *N. R. Sarker* as Treasurer of the Federation for the coming year.

The A. I. Newspaper Editors' Conference

4th Plenary Session—Calcutta—7th & 28th January 1945

Presidential Address

The fourth plenary session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference opened at the Senate Hall, Calcutta on the 27th January 1945 with Mr. *S. A. Brelvi*, the President, in the chair. A large number of delegates from all over India were present. Mr. *Hemendra Prosad Ghosh*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates and appealed to them to "follow the light and do the right." Delivering the Presidential Address. Mr. *Brelvi* said:

Friends,—You have done me a great honour by re-electing me your President for another term. As I said last year, to any individual no honour can be greater than that conferred on him by his own peers. Your renewal of confidence in me has over-whelmed me. I am deeply grateful to you for it and can only hope that, with your help and co-operation, I shall be able to discharge the responsibility of the office in a manner that will justify the confidence that you have reposed in me. Though this Conference was brought into being four years ago to meet a grave crisis that faced the Press in this country, it has come to stay and I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that not only will it continue to exist after the war but it will also have a great and increasingly useful role to play in the future in helping the Press in India to become one of the great forces contributing to the extension

of the bounds of human freedom, knowledge, progress and happiness. By its very composition it belongs to no particular party. It seeks to achieve objects which every newspaper must consider as it own. It has a large membership and the number of its members is steadly increasing. May I take the opportunity of appealing to those newspapers which, owing to indifference or other reasons, have not yet joined this Conference, to do so as soon as possible? This Conference has, during the brief period of its existence, became a great power. It can become a greater power for the service of the country and its Press if it continues to receive the active and loyal adherence and support of newspapers in the country.

The objects of our Conference, as defined in our constitution, are:

(1) To safeguard the high traditions and standards of journalism:

(2) To safeguard the rights of the Press in general and in particular the freedom of publication of news and comments.

(3) To secure facilities and privileges to the Press for the due discharge of its responsibilities;

(4) To represent the Press in India in its relations with the public and public institutions and particularly in its relations with Government and to set up Committees which would act as liaison bodies between the Government and the Press as a whole: and

(5) To establish and develop contacts with Associations having similar objects in other countries.

To consider the last-named object first, owing mainly to difficulties created by the war, we have not established any contact with Press organisation in other countries. In our last session at Madras we passed a resolution according our wholehearted approval to the American Editors' proposal that the Peace Conference should guarantee freedom of the Press throughout the world. Speaking on your behalf last year, I ventured to declare that we, the editors of India, fully associated ourselves with the editors of the United States in the move they had made—with this addendum that, when the Peace Conference guaranteed Freedom of the Press and other freedoms to all nations of the world, the guarantee for India should not be on paper alone. During the year American Society of Newspaper Editors has carried the matter a step further and has put forward a proposal for a News Charter for the world ensuring the removal of all political, economic and military obstacles to the freedom of world information in peace times.

Freedom of News

It has noted with satisfaction the recent statement made by Mr. Stettinus, the new U. S. Secretary of State, that the U. S. plans exploratory talks with other nations to secure international understanding guaranteeing that there shall be no barriers to interchange of information among all nations. It has acclaimed the statements of this principle of freedom of news which has been made by President Roosevelt by both the Republican and Democratic Parties and by the Congress. Encouraged by these statements it has urged that the Governments and other organisations in other countries as well as in the U. S. A. should implement a programme for furthering freedom of information having the following goals: First, recognition that complete friendship with any other sovereign Power is dependent upon, among other considerations, freedom and abundance of exchange of information between the peoples. Second, recognition that any printed matter, film, broadcast or other media of public information paid wholly or in part, directly or indirectly, by a Government organisation or person shall carry conspicuous labels as to the source. Third, recognition that any Government or private monopoly of media of information is inimical to the public interest and incompatible with freedom of expression and competition of ideas on which well-informed public opinion is based. Fourth, refusal to recognise the right of any Government organisation or person to (a) discriminate against any media of information; (b) infringe upon freedom of information or expression; (c) place any barrier—technical, political, legal or economic—against free exchange of information between peoples of the world: and (d) censor information in time of peace except obscenity or fraud."

No public organisation in the world will more enthusiastically welcome this programme and more zealously contribute its endeavour to see that it is carried out than this Conference. This Conference will also whole-heartedly co-operate with the Committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors which is now touring in different countries to confer with "appropriate Governmental bodies, press associations, newspaper and radio executives" regarding the American-sponsored programme for free exchange of information and which is expected to visit this

country also very soon. The need for a world News Charter has been brought home to the American Editors by the realisation that freedom of the press and free exchange of world information can most effectively guarantee peace. Hitler, by controlling news and radio services, prepared the German people for the war as they were prepared for the first Great War through the German news agency, Walf Bureau, now known as D. N. B. The militarists of Japan also followed similar tactics. But, as Mr. Kent Cooper, Executive head of the Associated Press ot America, pointed out, "What is not generally known and what must be fully understood, if there is to be any success in purifying the flow and counterflow of international news and information, is that what the Nazis did is only an extreme form of what has gone on steadily throughout most of the world under our very noses." He complains that even as recently as during the years immediately preceding this war, in many countries rarely world news from the United States could be found unless it were an item dealing with a Chicago gangster killing or a Hollywood divorce case.

This was largely the result of the working of the monopoly, in the purveying of news enjoyed by British, French and German news agencies controlled or influenced by their respective Governments. The rise of the American news agencies did something to break this monopoly and mitigate its evil effects. The war, however, has brought about a change. *Reuters* is now owned co-operatively by the newspapers of Great Britain and the constitution of this news agency, according to Mr. Christopher Chancellor, its General Manager, guarantees its integrity and independence of Government control or political interest of any kind. We hope it will be able to maintain this integrity and independence in matters where the interests of British imperialism conflict with those of Indian freedom. The Havas Agency of France has ceased to exist and it is hoped when this and other news agencies in Europe are revived they will be independent of Government or financial influence. Russia, too, now that it has consolidated the results of its revolution, may be expected to support the word-wide movement of freedom of the Press and information. The other day in Ottawa leaders of Canada's major political parties, including the Prime Minister, issued statements declaring that world-wide freedom to exchange news was essential to the well-being of mankind. These statements were issued in response to a resolution passed unanimously by the board of directors of the Canadian Press calling for an international pact to protect world interchange of news.

Task of Indian Press

Nothing could be more welcome to us than this world movement for a guarantee of freedom of the press written into peace treaties in definite and unequivocal language. But bitter experience has taught us to beware of fine phrases which are not translated into deeds. Few countries have suffered in the past and still continue to suffer more than India from systematic and purposeful distortion, perversion and choking of news channels. Not only has India been grossly misrepresented abroad but she has also not known a genuinely free press at home. More than the free nations of the world we in India have a vivid realisation of the truth that peace among nations cannot be maintained unless true democracy is established in every part of the world and that true democracy itself cannot exist without those vital freedoms of which freedom of the Press is the most important. For countries like India a News Charter, even if embodied in peace treaties, will not be worth the paper on which it is written unless the peace treaties usher in the dissolution of imperialism as well as the destruction of Nazism and Fascism. The Press in India has thus to work both for its own freedom and that of the country. We stand, first and foremost, for the political freedom of India. We stand for freedom of the Press. We stand for the emancipation of the radio as well as all other channels of information from monopolistic control either of Government or private agencies. While we shall co-operate with our American friends in the task they have set out to accomplish, we cannot forget that we have an urgent problem of our own to solve and we must insist that, in the meanwhile, the Press in India should be placed on the same footing as is the Press in Britain and in the United States. In the United States freedom of the Press is guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution. The British Press is in fact as free as the Press in the U. S. A., though there are no positive statutory provisions guaranteeing such freedom.

In our own country not only is freedom of the Press not guaranteed but it is also, seriously restricted. The laws which fetter the freedom of the journalist are as formidable as they are numerous. It is true that the Press Act of 1910 of odious

memory was repealed in 1922. But, unfortunately, not a few of its sinister provisions continue to be embedded in the Press Emergency Act and the Princes Protection Act, not to speak of the onerous provisions of the Indian Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes and the Customs, Post Offices and Registration of Books Acts. The time has come when we should demand the immediate repeal of the Press Emergency and the Princes Protection Acts and the necessary amendment of the Penal and the Criminal Procedure Codes and other Acts so as to make the Press Law in this country no more restrictive than is the Press Law in the U. S. A. or Great Britain.

NEED FOR REVISION OF PRESS LAWS URGENT

I have deliberately refrained from making a reference to the Defence of India Rules and the Press Instructions issued in pursuance of these rules. We recognise that, in times of war, freedom of the Press must be restricted so as to prevent the publication of news valuable to the enemy and our agreement with the Government of India, known as the Delhi Agreement, is based on the recognition of this vital fact. We have agreed not to impede war effort, but at the same time we have made it plain that we cannot and we will not be a party to the suppression of normal political activity in the name of war. Our complaint against the Government is that they have, on many occasions, used the powers given to them under the Defence of India Rules not strictly and exclusively to secure the unhampered prosecution of the war but to serve their own political ends by suppressing news and views not palatable to them. The Defence of India Rules were promulgated five years ago and so were the Press Instructions based on them. Many of these rules and instructions are drastic enough to enable the Government to deal with any writings in the Press which may be valuable to the enemy or are likely to impede war efforts and do not need a resort to the Press Emergency Act which must, therefore, be repealed immediately. But there are a number of thess rules and instructions which, in view of the altered aspect of the war and the internal situation in the country, have become either unnecessary or unduly restrictive of the legitimate functioning of the Press. Similarly the political situation in the country has so completely changed as to justify a revision of the Bombay Resolution so as to leave the Press completely unfettered to ventilate legitimate grievances regarding, for instance, the treatment of political prisoners and detenus and the misuse of their powers by the police. The revision of the Bombay Resolution and the modification of India Rules and Press Instructions do not brook delay and may I suggest that this Conference should appoint a committee to suggest the directions in which the revision and modification may take place or ask the Standing Committe to deal with the matter as soon as possible? May I also exprees the hope that the members of the Central Legislature and other public organisations will give urgent attention to the need in the interests of the country as well as the Press, for the repeal of the Press Emergency and Princes Protection Acts and the amendments to other normal and wartime Press laws?

WORKING OF CONSULTATIVE MACHINERY

If we succeed in this attempt to make the Press in India as free as is the Press in Britain and the U. S. A., ws shall have taken a very great step forward in achieving the second object of our Conference, which is to safeguard the right of the Press in general and in particular the freedom of publication of news and comment. This and another object of our Conference, namely, representing the Press in its relations with Government, we have been so far seeking to achieve through the consultative machinery established as a result of the Delhi Agreement. This machinery has been functioning in most provinces and you will be glad to know that during the year, the Government of Bihar and the Government of Orissa also agreed to the establishment of Provincial Advisory Committees in their respective provinces and these Commiitees have been formed. I trust both these Governments will see that the fullest possible use is made of these Committees to secure the harmonious working of the Delhi Agreement in their respective provinces. Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghose and Mr. W. C. Wordsworth were deputed by the Standing Committee to interview the Governor of Orissa in connection with the establishment of the Provincial Advisory Committee. They also met the representatives of the Orissa Press. The formation of the Orissa Provincial Advisory Committee is, in no small measures, due to their efforts, and on your behalf I take this opportunity of expressing our appreciation of these efforts. In the Punjab the consultative machinery has been more or less in a state of suspended animation. When a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Conference was held in Lahore in October

last, an opportunity was given to the members of the Committee to have discussions with the Premier of the Punjab and his colleagues in the Ministry and also with some representatives of the Punjab Press. I am glad to inform you that, as a result of these discussions, there are hopeful prospects of satisfactory working of the consultative machinery in that province and that very soon the reconstituted Punjab Provincial Advisory Committee will begin work. During my recent visit to the North-West Frontier province, I had interviews with the Governor and Premier of that Province both of whom expressed their agreement to the establishment of an advisory committee and I have every hope that in this province, too, a committee will soon begin to function.

The establishment of the consultative machinery is one thing: its satisfactory working is, however, a different thing. Last year this Conference noted with regret that this machinery was not uniformly helpful in all provinces and that there were complaints from several provinces that the Press Advisory Committee were not consulted and that where their advice was sought it was sometimes ignored without sufficient justification and that if the Press Advisory System was to endure, there should be greater regard and respect shown to the recommendations of the Committee by Governments. Though the position has improved since we met last, the improvement has not been very appreciable and neither the policy nor the procedure regarding this matter is uniform in all provinces. The Government of India hold the view that the only way in which good relations can be maintained, and existing relations improved where necessary, is for representatives of Provincial Committees to establish personal contacts with high officials of the Provincial Governments and to impress on them, the genuine desire of the Press to co-operate. This is, however, only a one-sided view. The obligation to establish personal contacts and the desire to co-operate should be reciprocal. The fact that, in spite of the persistent demand on our part, it has taken some of the Provincial Governments nearly four years to agree even to the establishment of Provincial Advisory Committees in their provinces, is a sufficiently eloquent testimony to the manner in which the Delhi Agreement has been implemented. Some officials, who have to deal with the Press, even seem to be unaware of the existence of the Agreement. There are some other officials who hold a strange notion about the co-operation that we and the Government desire should exist between us for carrying out, in the letter and the spirit, the Delhi and Bombay Agreements. They seem to think that the whole object of the consultative machinery is to harmonize relations between Government and the Press, in order to promote war effort and they would like to penalise newspapers which fail to support war efforts. Under the Delhi Agreement this Conference has certainly agreed that the Press will not impede war effort which, however, is not the same thing as saying that it has undertaken to promote war effort. The distinction may be a fine one, but it is there and failure on the part of some officials to bear it in mind has led in the past and is likely to lead in the future to the violation of the Agreement.

Some officials misinterpreted the Delhi Agreement and the Bombay Resolution by seeking to prevent the publication of statements of some Congress leaders even if they did not contravene their provisions. The Standing Committee therefore, at its meeting in March last year, passed a resolution making it quite clear that under the Delhi Agreement and the Bombay Resolution the Press was free to publish statements by any political leader so long as they did not contravene the terms of the Agreement and the resolution and it protested against the imposition of restrictions in this respect on the basis of the character of the organisation to which a particular person belonged.

Instances of violation of Agreement

Unfortunately, the most flagrant violation of the Agreement between the Government and the Press was made by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, the seat of the Government of India. In January last year the *National Call* and the *Hindustan Times* published a report of a press conference held by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, a member of the Congress Working Committee. There was nothing in the report which was repugnant to the Delhi Agreement or the Bombay Resolution and the Central Press Advisory Committee, which was consulted, held that no action was called for and yet orders of pre-censorship were served on these two papers. The obnoxious character of these orders was aggravated by subjecting comments also to pre-censorship. Nor was that all. The circumstances in which the Orders were passed suggested that press advice was obligatory. The Standing Committee, therefore, while demanding the immediate withdrawal of the orders,

considered it necessary to reiterate that press advice was not obligatory on editors and its rejection by itself did not constitute an offence. The orders were allowed to continue for some time and then withdrawn.

Similarly deplorable was the order served on Mrs. Sarojini Naidu prohibiting her from making statements of any kind, whether prejudicial or otherwise, to the Press. This was not merely an inexcusable misuse of the powers vested in the Executive under the Defence of India Rules but were also an unwarranted interference with the liberty of the Press.

The Government of the Central Provinces forfeited the security of the *Nagpur Times* and also ordered the prosecution of the Editors' Assistant Editor and Publishers of that paper and the *Hitavada* without consulting the Press Advisory Committee. The action of the Government in prosecuting the Assistant Editors, who are not legally responsible for what is published in a newspaper, was most extraordinary and constituted a deplorable breach of the universally recognised convention of the journalistic profession that responsibility for any publication should be fixed only on the Editor, the Printer and the Publisher and not on any subordinate member of the editorial staff. I trust that, in future, Government will see that this convention is respected.

There have been occasions when Provincial Governments have either forfeited or demanded securities from newspapers when in the opinion of Provincial Press Advisory Committees such drastic action was not called for. May I suggest that in the interests of good relations between the Government and the Press not only should such orders be cancelled but that all other cases in which securities have been held by Government for a considerable time should be reviewed and the securities returned?

Soon after the arrest of Gandhiji in 1942 the Government of Bombay took possession of the Navjivan Pr. ss where the *Harijan* was published and valuable old files of *Harijan* and other important papers and documents were destroyed by a subordinate officer acting under Government instruction. The Standing Committee, at its meeting held at Karachi in July, having before it the correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and the Bombay Government narrating the circumstances which led to this act of vandalism protested against it and asked Government that in future, in no circumstances should orders be given to damage or destory old files of newspapers and documents which were in the nature of recorded history. The Committee's demand is so reasonable that no Government which has respect for decencies of public life should refuse to satisfy it.

The Allahabad Order

In October without consultation with the Provincial Press Advisory Committee an order was served by the Allahabad District Magistrate on the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Leader* requiring these papers to submit all matter printed in them to scrutiny by a Sub-Inspector of Police. Under the Agreement between the Government of India and this Conference while editors have undertaken to be their own censors, Government have, on their part, undertaken not to impose general orders of precensorship on newspapers. The Allahabad order was a gross violation of this agreement besides being an affront to responsible editors who were subjected to the indignity of submitting their writings to the scrutiny of a Sub-Inspector of Police. The fact that this order was withdrawn within twenty-four hours is no guarantee against such stupid orders being issued by other officials unless the Government of India take effective measures to prevent panicky bureaucrats from running amok. The District Magistrate of Wardha issued instructions to the local Telegraph authorities to sumbit all Press telegrams to him for approval. Such instructions constitute a clear abuse of the provisions of the Indian Telegraph Act which empower telegraph authorities to refer only such messages as they consider objectionable to the District Magistrate for approval.

In April last year a terrible tragedy overtook Bombay as a result of explosions in the docks. The *Bombay Sentinel* partly as a protest againt what it regarded as misuse of censorship and partly for technical reasons, published one of its pages with blank columns with a caption. The Government of Bombay took a needlessly panicky view of this and ordered the suspension of the paper. Some days later largely as a result of the intervention of the Provincial Press Advisory Committee the order was cancelled.

The *National Herald* of Lucknow suspended publication in 1942. Last year its proprietors wanted to resume publication but the . Government of Sir Maurice Hallet for reasons of their own seem to have made up their mind not to allow this

paper to be published. This is a most arbitrary and indefensible exercise of power vested in the Executive under the Defence of India Rules. The *National Herald* as a member of this Conference is a party to the latter's Agreement with the Government. So long as the paper adheres to that Agreement, Government have no right to continue the ban against it especially in view of the altered political situation in the country.

In spite of the protest of the Standing Committee of this Conference the ban on Mr. Louis Fisher's articles still continues.

Need for Uniformity of Policy

I have no desire to take a gloomy view of the working of the consultative machinery. There is a bright side to the picture. The consultative machinery, wherever it has been given a fair and honest trial as especially in Bombay and Madras, has demonstrated its potentialities for good both to the Press and the Government. As I stated last year, though we have not secured positive gains in the shape of enlargement of our freedom, we have been able to prevent much harm being done to the Press by bureaucrats many of whom are prone to act arbitrarily and ruthlessly and not seldom, vindictively. The contact between the Press and Government officials established by the machinery has also not been without its good effect on some, at least, of the officials themselves who now have a better conception than they had before of the functions of the Press and a better appreciation of its difficulties and power. But much better results can be secured from the point of the Government as well as the Press if these officials who have to deal with the Press fully grasp the significance of the Gentleman's Agreement between this Conference and the Government of India and the latter see that uniformity of policy and procedure obtains in all provinces in implementing that Agreement. It was with this end in view that on behalf of the Standing Committee I suggested to the Government of India to arrange a conference of representatives of Provincial Press Advisory Committees and Provincial Press Advisers and other Government officials concerned. It is regrettable that the Government have not agreed to this suggestion. I trust the Government of India will re-consider their decision because I have no doubt that many difficulties and misunderstandings in regard to the working of Provincial Press Advisory Committees and the application of Defence of India Rules and Press Instructions would be removed if such a conference was held.

Newsprint Position

The newsprint situation, from all accounts, has improved considerably and stocks in increasing quantity are accumulating but in proportion to this improvement the action taken by the Government in fixing quotas of newsprint is needlessly halting and niggardly. The need for prudence in this matter is obvious, but it should not be carried further than the necessities of the situation require.

Under our constitution individual newspapers published in Indian States cannot be admitted as members of this Conference but organisations of Editors in Indian States having objects similar to our own can become Associate Members. There has been a demand for a change being made in our Constitution so as to permit individual newspapers in Indian States being admitted as our members. The question presents some obvious difficulties, but I have no doubt the Sub-Committee appointed by the Standing Committee to deal with it will devise some means of satisfying the demand of newspapers in Indian States. I need hardly assure those associated with the Press in Indian States that we wish it to be not less free and powerful than we desire the Press in British India to be.

Plea for Fair Deal to Journalists

Last year referring to the first object of our Conference, namely, preserving the high traditions and standards of journalism, I ventured to urge that if our traditions and standards were to be preserved at the highest levels, the Press must continually attract to its service men who, in their mental and moral equipment, represented the best that our country produced and that the Press could not attract such men to its service unless it made it worth their while to work for it. I pleaded for a fair deal to be given to the working journalists and for the enforcement of minimum standards of payment and conditions of work, especially in view of the present propitious time when the newspaper industry was financially in a much stronger position than ever before. Nobody realises more keenly than I do that, as in other countries, it is only the powerful sanction which working journalists can evolve through an organised trade union of their own that an improvement in their economic status and working conditions according to their desires and needs can be

brought about. But Editors, to whom journalists working under them look for guidance and protection, cannot shirk their responsibility in this matter. This Conference, at its last session, directed the Standing Committee to appoint three members to confer with the proprietorial organisations and formulate proposals for the improvement of the economic condition of working journalists. Accordingly, a Committee consisting of Mr. M. Subramaniam (Convenor), Mr. J. K. Cowley and Mr. B. Shiva Rao was appointed to deal with the question. This Committee circulated a questionnaire among associations of working journalists and formulated proposals of its own on the basis of replies to that questionnaire. These proposals it formally discussed separately with committees appointed by the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society and the Indian Language Newspaper Association and the discussions resulted in agreed proposals as a compromise. The Standing Committee of this Conference at its meeting held in Lahore in October last endorsed these proposals. Mr. Subramaniam and his colleagues had a very difficult and unenviable task to perform and their painstaking and devoted efforts in its performance cannot be too highly appreciated. May I also take this opportunity of expressing, on your behalf and my own, our thanks to the Presidents and members of the Committees of the Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society and the Indian Language Newspaper Association for the spirit of goodwill and co-operation in which they have tried to deal with this question?

The Standing Committee has come in for a good deal of strong criticism by Journalists' Associations all over the country on the question of minimum salary and the distinction made as regards this minimum between the English and the Indian language newspapers. In the discussion which the Subramaniam Committee had with the committees of the proprietorial organisations, it was urged on behalf of the latter that, if the same minimum basic salary was accepted for both English and Indian langauge newspapers, a great many papers published in the Indian languages would find it very difficult to afford paying the minimum. Let me, on your behalf, assure the working journalists that the distinction made between the minimum salaries in English and Indian language newspapers is neither of the Editors' seeking nor accords with their desire, and they would heartily welcome its immediate abolition. Let me also make it quite clear that the plea of inability to pay of a large number of Indian language newspapers was the sole consideration which weighed with the Standing Committee when it passed its Lahore resolution and nothing was farther from the minds of its members than to suggest that the journalists working on the staffs of Indian language newspapers were in any way inferior to those working in English papers. Speaking for myself I have not the slightest doubt that the Indian Language Press in the very near future will become the more flourishing, the more influential and the more dominant member of our journalistic family. I am fully conscious that whatever improvement has been achieved, largely through the efforts of the Conference, in the economic position of the working journalists is much less than is due to them. As soon as it is possible the minimum salary must be increased, a time-scale of increment must be introduced and the just claims of correspondents of newspapers must be satisfied. I hope newspaper proprietors will not only immediately implement the agreed proposals regarding provident fund and leave rules but will also deal promptly and generously with the questions of minimum salary, annual increment scale and payment to correspondents and avoid the odium of refusing to share, in adequate measure, their present prosperity with men who have hitherto cheerfully contented themselves with very meagre salaries without the hope of a pension or the security of a Provident Fund. They must deal with these questions promptly and generously because the improvement of the standards of journalism in our country and the increasing efficiency of the Press as an instrument of national progress depend largely on whether the working journalists are paid adequately or not. They also depend on how the working journalists discharge their own responsibilities. A Free Press is a mighty engine. Our main occupation will be to make our Press free. But whether we shall use this freedom for good or evil will depend entirely on ourselves. The opportunities of manifold services to the people which a Free India will give to the Press will be unprecedented in the history of the Press. We have to be worthy of using these opportunities by ensuring for journalism rising standards of competence, responsibility, integrity, objectivity, disinterestedness and charity.

Resolutions of the Subjects Committee

WORKING OF DELHI AGREEMENT

After the addresses of the Chairman and the President were read, the open

session of the Conference converted itself into the Subjects Committee. The following are some of the important resolutions passed by the Committee:

(1) "Resolved that, in order to secure greater satisfaction and efficiency in the working of the consultative machinery, devised in pursuance of the Delhi Agreement, and to ensure uniformity of policy and procedure with regard to the implementing of this Agreement, the Bombay Resolution and the application of the Defence of India Rules and the Press instructions issued in pursuance of these rules, a joint conference of representatives of the Standing Committee, the Central Press Advisory Committee and Provincial Press Advisory Committees and Provincial Press Advisers and other Government officials concerned, should be called by the Government of India, at an early date."

(2) "As, since, the Defence of India Rules with regard to the Press and the Press instructions issued in pursuance of these rules were promulgated, the war and the political situations have changed considerably and some of these instructions have become obsolete or require modifications, this Conference appoints a committee to suggest necessary alterations in these rules, and instructions.

This Conference also directs this Committee to suggest directions in which the resolutions passed by the Conference in October 1942, require revision and modification, in the light of the altered situation."

(3) "This Conference demands that the Press laws in India should be brought into line with the spirit of the Press laws in Britain and the United States of America and that, with this end in view, the Press (Emergency Powers) Act and the Princes' Protection Act should be immediately repealed and the provisions of the Indian Penal Code and the Indian Criminal Procedure Code and other legal enactments be suitably amended."

(4). "This Conference urges upon the Government of India, that, in view of the improvement in the newsprint situation, the quotas fixed two years ago be revised and those newspapers who have been persistently clamouring for increase in the quotas, be granted additional increases provided there and grounds enough to justify their demands."

SPECIFIC COVENANTS IN PEACE TREATY URGED

(5) The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference endorses the demand made by publicists in the United States that, in the peace treaties which will be concluded on the termination of the present hostilities, there should be specific covenants, to which all nations would agree, which will give all responsible press representatives of the nations signing the treaty the same access to information at the source, secondly, give the same right to transmit news without censorship; thirdly, grant the same access, to communications, facilities; and fourthly, charge the same rates for communications.

(6) A resolution urging the Governments concerned to release Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta of the daily *Tej* of Delhi and Mr. Virendra of the daily *Pratap* of Lahore who were detained without trial, was also passed.

Resolutions—2nd. day—Calcutta—28th. January 1945

NEWLY ELECTED STANDING COMMITTEE

The Conference concluded to-day after passing a number of resolutions which were passed earlier by the Subjects Committee. At the end of the session, the President announced the names of the members of the newly elected Standing Committee. The following are the members:

Mr. A. D. Mani (*Hitavada*); Mr. Kasturi Srinivassan (*The Hindu*); Mr. Suresh Chandra Majumdar (*Hindusthan Standard*); Mr. C. R. Srinivasan (*Swadeshmitram*); Mr. Joachim Alva (*Forum*); Mr. K. Srinivassan (*Commercial India*); Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghose (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*); Mr. Devadas Gandhi (*Hindustan Times*); Mr. Vidya Bhaskar (*Aj*); Mr. Amritlal D. Seth (*Janmabhumi*); Mr. A. S. Bharatan (*Associated Press of India*); Mr. Ian Stephens (*Statesman*); Mr. J. N. Sahni (*National Call*); Mr. Ramnath Goenka (*Indian Express*); Sir Francis Low (*Times of India*); Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghosh (*Dainik Basumati*); Mr. J. C. Himkar (*Jugriti*); Mr. S. Sadanand (*Free Press Journal*); Mr. K. Punniah (*Sind Observer*); Mr. H. R. Moharay (*Samyukta Karnataka*); and Mr. Kalinath Roy (*Tribune*).

REPEAL OF PRESS ACT

The following resolutions were adopted by the Conference to-day :—

This Conference demands that the laws governing the Press in India should be brought into line with these in force in Britain and the United States of America, and that, with this end in view, the Press (Emergency Powers) Act and the Princes Protection Act should be immediately repealed and the provisions of the Indian

Penal Code and the Indian Criminal Procedure Code and other legal enactments be suitably amended. (Moved by Mr. *T. K. Ghosh* and seconded by Mr. *J. N. Sahani*).

The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference endorses the demand made by publicists in the United States that, in the peace treaties which will be concluded on the termination of the present hostilities, there should be specific covenants, to which all nations would agree, which will give all responsible press representatives of the nations signing the treaty, the same access to information at the source; secondly, give the same right to transmit news without censorship; thirdly, grant the same access to communication facilities and fourthly, charge the same rates for communications. (Moved by Mr. *A. D. Mani* and seconded by Mr. *A. S. Iyengar*).

This Conference protests against the manner in which the provisions of the Paper Control Order, etc.. are used by Government for purposes other than the conservation of newsprint, particularly, as an excuse to prevent the growth and expansion of papers and periodicals whose political opinions are not to the liking of Government.

In view of this and the improved situation as regards paper supply, the Conference urges the Government to relax control and issue quotas in freer and fuller measure specially, to enable existing weeklies and bi-weeklies which desire to convert themselves into dailies. (Moved by Mr. *A. S. R. Chari* and seconded by Mr. *K. Satyanarayan*).

Demand for Release of Editors in Detention

This Conference notes with regret that the journalist, Dr. *A. G. Tendulkar*, who has been detained in prison ever since 11th June, 1940, by the Government of Bombay for publication of certain articles in his Marathi weekly *Warta*, Belgaum, should still continue to be in detention without being granted a legal trial or a judicial inquiry as often pressed by him. The Conference appoints a Committee, consisting of Mr. S. A. Brelvi, Sir Francis Low, Mr. K. Srinivasan (*Commercial India*), Mr. J. S. Karandikar and Mr. H. R. Moharay to represent the matter to the Bombay Government. (Moved by Mr. *H. R. Moharay* and seconded by Mr. *Joachim Alva* and supported by Mr. *M. B. Sane*).

This Conference views with concern the growing deterioration in the condition of health of Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta, M.L.A., Managing Editor of the daily *Tej* Delhi, and Mr. Virendra, Managing Editor of the *Pratap*, Lahore, two members of the A. I. N. E. C., who are in detention without trial in Lahore Central Jail since August, 1942, and also Mr. Makhanlal Sen of *Bharat*, Mr. Manoranjan Guha, Mr. Manindra Roy, Mr. Aswini Gupta, Mr. Khemendra Sen and Mr. Keshab Guha of *Hindustan Standard* and *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, Mr. Surendranath Neogi of *Sanhati*, Mr. Madhusudan Mahapatra of *Biswa Oriya*, Mr. Kamalapati Tripati of Benares, Pandit Balakrishna Sarma and Mr. Jayant of *Arjun* and urges the Government to release them forthwith as all the medical aid given so far in jail has failed to stop their condition from growing worse.

The Conference also urges upon the Goverments concerned that all journalists who are in detention at present without trial be released immediately. (Moved by Mr. *Devadas Gandhi* and seconded by Mr. *S. N. Bhatnagar*).

Review of Securities paid Urged

The attention of the Standing Committee of the A. I. N. E. C. has been drawn to cases of newspapers which have deposited security which has been held indefinitely by the Government though Government have had no occasion to take further punitive action. In the case of new newspapers called upon to deposit security, there is a provision in law which provides for a refund of the security after a period of three months if no action is taken against the paper in the meanwhile. This Conference resolves that Government be advised to initiate a similar review of securities taken in the case of older papers. (Moved by Mr. *C. R. Srinivasan* and seconded by *Sir Francis Low*).

This Conference notes with concern the tendency of newspapers to indulge in abusive and personal writings. Such writings have lowered the standard of journalism and corrupted public taste. It is in the interest of journalism itself that such writings should be discouraged.

The Conference also passed resolutions relating to the *National Herald*, the newsprint situation and publication facilities to new journals.

The Famine in Bengal 1943

Enquiry Commission's Findings—8th. May 1945

"It has been for us a sad task to inquire into the course and causes of the Bengal famine. We have been haunted by a deep sense of tragedy. A million and a half of the poor of Bengal fell victim to circumstances for which they themselves were not responsible. Society, together with its organs, failed to protect its weaker members. Indeed, there was a moral and social breakdown, as well as an administrative breakdown."

These observations are made by the Famine Enquiry Commission, presided over by Sir John Woodhead, in their report released for publication from New Delhi on the 8th. May 1945. The other members of the Commission are; Mr. S. V. Ramamurthi, I. C. S., Sir Manilal B. Nanavati, Mr. M. Afzal Hussain and Dr. W. R. Aykroyd. Mr. R. A. Gopalaswami, I. C. S., was Secretary of the Commission.

The Commission was set up under an Ordinance (No XXVII of 1944) "to investigate and report to the Central Government upon the causes of the food shortage and subsequent epidemics in India, and in particular in Bengal, in the year 1943, and to make recommendations as to the prevention of their recurrence, with special reference to (a) the possibility of improving the diet of the people and the quality and yield of food crops and (b) the possibility of improving the system of administration in respect of the supply and distribution of food, the provision of emergent medical relief and the emergent arrangements for the control of epidemics in famine conditions in those areas and in those aspects in which the present system may be found to have been unsatisfactory."

The Commission, at its first meeting on July 18, 1944, decided to hear witnesses *in camera*. Besides a six-week tour of Bengal, the Commission visited Bombay, Walchandnagar, Bijapur, Madras City, Calicut, Cochin, Travancore, Tanjore, Bezwada and Nagpur. The Commission interviewed numerous official and non-officials.

The present report is concerned largely with the story of the Bengal famine and its causes. The Commisson propose to deal in a later report with the second part of their terms of reference—the development of nutrition so as to make recurrence of famine impossible.

Basic Causes of the Famine

In the first part of the report, in which the Commission review the causes of the famine, the measures taken before and during the famine and responsibility for the calamity, the Commission summarising their main conclusions state :

The economic level of the population previous to the famine was low in Bengal, as in the greater part of India. Agricultural production was not keeping pace with the growth of population. There was no "margin of safety" as regards either health or wealth. These underlying conditions, common indeed to many other parts of India, were favourable to the occurrence of famine accompanied by high mortality.

Shortage in the supply of rice in 1943 was one of the basic causes of the famine. The main reason for this was the low yield of the *aman* crop reaped at the close of 1942. Another reason was that the stocks carried over from the previous year (1942) were also short. Again during 1943 the loss of imports from Burma was only partially offset by increased imports from other parts of India. It appears probable that the total supply during 1943 was not sufficient for the requirements of the province and that there was an absolute deficiency of the order of three weeks' requirements. This meant that even if all producers sold their entire surplus stocks without retaining the usual reserve for consumption beyond the next harvest, it was unlikely that consumers would have secured their normal requirements in full.

In the summer of 1942, that is, some months before the failure of the *aman* crop in Bengal, a situation had arisen in the rice market of India, including those in Bengal, in which the normal trade machinery was beginning to fail to distribute supplies at reasonable prices. It was necessary for the Bengal Government to undertake measures for controlling supplies and ensuring their distribution at prices at which the poor could afford to buy their requirements. It was also necessary for the Government of India to establish a system of planned movement of supplies from surplus to deficit Provinces and States. There was delay in the establishment by

the Government of India of a system of planned movement of supplies. The Bengal Government failed to secure control over supply and distribution and widespread famine followed a rise of prices to abnormal levels—to five to six times the prices prevailing in the early months of 1942. This rise in prices was the second basic cause of the famine. Famine, in the form in which it occurred, could have been prevented by resolute action at the right time to ensure the equitable distribution of available supplies.

With the partial failure of the *aman* crop at the end of 1942, the supply position became serious and prices rose steeply. If a breakdown in distribution was to be averted, it was essential that Government should obtain control of supplies and prices. The measures taken by the Government of Bengal to achieve control of supplies and prices during 1943 were inadequate and in some instances wrong in principle. The Government of Bengal erred in pressing strongly for "unrestricted free trade" in the Eastern Region in May 1943 in preference to the alternative of "modified free trade." The introduction of "unrestricted free trade" was a mistake. It could not save Bengal and was bound to lead to severe distress and possibly starvation in the neighbouring areas of the Region.

Bengal Government's Failure

While reports of distress in various districts were received from Commissioners and Collectors from the early months of 1943, the Provincial Government did not call for a report on the situation in the districts until June, and detailed instructions relating to relief were not issued till August. Famine was not declared. The delay in facing the problem of relief and the non-declaration of famine were bound up with the unfortunate propaganda policy of "No Shortage" which, followed during the months April to June with the support of the Government of India. This policy was unjustified when the danger of famine was plainly apparent. The measures initiated in August were inadequate and failed to prevent further distress, mainly because of the disastrous supply position which had been allowed to develop. A Famine Relief Commissioner was not appointed till late in September. It appears that at one stage in 1943, the expenditure on relief was limited on financial grounds. There is no justification, whatsoever, for cutting down relief in times of famine on the plea of lack of funds. If necessary, funds should be provided by borrowing in consultation with the Reserve Bank or the Government of India. This principle holds even when, as in the Bengal famine, food was more urgently required than money for relief purposes. The medical relief provided during 1943 was also inadequate. Some of the mortality which occurred, could have been prevented by more efficient medical and public health measures.

Between the Government in office and the various political parties, and in the early part of the year, between the Governor and his Ministry, and between the administrative organisation of Government and the public there was lack of co-operation which stood in the way of a united and vigorous effort to prevent and relieve famine. The change in the Ministry in March-April 1943, failed to bring about political unity. An "all-party" Government might have created public confidence and led to more effective action, but no such Government came into being. It may be added that during and preceding the famine, there were changes in key officers concerned with food administration. In 1943, there were three changes in the post of Director of Civil Supplies.

Due weight has been given in our report to the great difficulties with which the Bengal Government were faced. The impact of the war was more severe in Bengal than in the rest of India. The "denial" policy had its effect on local trade and transport, and in particular affected certain classes of the population for instance, the fishermen in the coastal area. The military demands on transport were large. There was a shortage of suitable workers available for recruitment into Government organisations concerned with food administration and famine relief. The cyclone and the partial failure of the *aman* crop were serious and unavoidable natural calamities. But after considering all the circumstances, we cannot avoid the conclusion that it lay in the power of the Government of Bengal, by bold resolute and well-conceived measures at the right time to have largely prevented the tragedy of the famine as it actually took place. While other Governments in India were admittedly faced with a much less serious situation than the Government of Bengal, their generally successful handling of the food problem, and the spirit in which those problems were approached, and the extent to which public co-operation was secured stand in contrast to the failure in Bengal.

India Government Must Share the Blame

The Government of India failed to recognise at a sufficiently early date the need

for a system of planned movement of food-grains, including rice as well as wheat from surplus to deficit provinces and States; in other words the Basic Plan should have come into operation much earlier than it did.

The Government of India must share with the Bengal Government responsibility for the decision to de-control in March 1943. That decision was taken in agreement with the Government of India and was in accordance with their policy at the time. By March the position had so deteriorated that some measure of external assistance was indispensable if a disaster was to be avoided. The correct course at the time was for the Government of India to have announced that they would provide, month by month, first, the full quantity of wheat required by Greater Calcutta, and secondly a certain quantity of rice. It would then have been possible for the Government of Bengal to have maintained controlled procurement, and secured control over supply and distribution in Greater Calcutta. The Government of India erred in deciding to introduce "unrestricted free trade" in the Eastern Region in 1943 in preference to "modified free trade." The subsequent proposal of the Government of India to introduce free trade throughout the greater part of India was quite unjustified and should not have been put forward. Its application, successfully resisted by many of the provinces and States particularly by the Government of Bombay and Madras might have led to serious catastrophe in various parts of India.

By August 1943, it was clear that the Provincial Administration in Bengal was failing to control the famine. Deaths and mass migration on a large scale were occurring. In such circumstances, the Government of India, whatever the constitutional position, must share with the Provincial Government the responsibility for saving lives. The Government of India sent large supplies of wheat and rice to Bengal during the last five months of 1943, but it was not till the end of October, when His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, visited Bengal, as his first duty on taking office, that adequate arrangements were made to ensure that these supplies were properly distributed. After his visit, the whole situation took an immediate turn for the better.

We have criticised the Government of Bengal for their failure to control the famine. It is the responsibility of the Government to lead the people and take effective steps to prevent avoidable catastrophe. But the public in Bengal, or at least certain sections of it, have also their share of blame. We have referred to the atmosphere of fear and greed which, in the absence of control, was one of the causes of the rapid rise in the price level. Enormous profits were made out of the calamity and in the circumstances, profits for some meant death for others. A large part of the community lived in plenty, while others starved and there was much indifference in face of suffering. Corruption was widespread throughout the provinces and in many classes of society.

Part II of the report deals with "Death and Disease in the Bengal Famine." The Commission criticise strongly the failure of the Bengal Government to take effective measures to check mortality from starvation and epidemics in 1943. The Commission observe :

The Bengal famine resulted in high mortality the basic cause of which was lack of food. The lethal epidemics of malaria, small-pox and cholera were associated in various ways with the famine and its disruptive influences on social life. The health situation which arose in 1943 was beyond the control of any health and medical service. The health and medical services in Bengal were, however, unfitted to meet the emergency because of defects in organisation and inadequacy and inefficiency of staff, and some of the mortality which occurred could have been prevented by more vigorous and timely measures. During the famine period up to November, 1943, there was almost a complete breakdown in the health services. In November the atmosphere of defeatism was partially dispelled and much effective work was subsequently done in the medical and public health spheres. Even at this later period, however, there were many unnecessary delays and failures. The story is, in fact, throughout one of belated efforts to bring the situation under control. This is said with full understanding of the numerous and formidable difficulties and full appreciation of all that was eventually done to overcome them.

After dealing with the health situation in other parts of India, and the measures to be taken in this connection, the Commission recommends that District Health Officers should be brought into a provincial cadre under the control of the Director of Public Health. The steps being taken to provincialise hospitals at district and sub-divisional headquarters were commended. The state of local hospitals revealed by the famine, the Commission held, indicated the need for this measure. In conclusion, they add that, whatever future advances are planned, the need for the existing emer-

gency medical and health organisation will persist until the end of 1945, and possibly for a considerably longer period. They point out that not only should there be no premature retrenchment, but that full use should be made of developments during the famine as a foundation for a further progress.

REHABILITATION MEASURES

In part III of the report, the Commission deal with "Food Administration and Rehabilitation in Bengal."

Their main recommendations are:

(1) The rationing of towns with a population of about 25,000 or more should be carried out as quickly as possible, and in the light of the experiences gained, rationing of smaller towns considered.

(2) (a) Immediate steps should be taken to review licences issued since May, 1943 under the Foodgrains Control Order, and to remove from the register of licensees persons who are not traders by profession.

(b) Cultivators holding land exceeding a prescribed acreage limit should be brought within the scope of the Foodgrains Control Order. A limit of 25 acres is suggested as suitable.

(3) Embargoes round the surplus districts should be effectively enforced; an adequate number of launches should be made available for the purpose.

(4) Requisitioning should be undertaken, as and when necessary, from traders and large producers, if the flow of supplies is not maintained by voluntary sales. Public opinion should be enlisted in support of requisitioning by suitable propaganda directed to explaining the policy of Government.

(5) An official procurement agency should be established in place of the present system of procurement through Chief Agents chosen from the trade. The pace of the change-over must necessarily be a matter for practical administration in Bengal. It is desirable however, that there should be no undue delay in taking the necessary measures. The procurement of rice from rice mills should be entrusted to an official agency as an initial step.

(6) The systems of monopoly procurement in force in Orissa and the Central Provinces should be studied with a view to the introduction of a system of monopoly purchase, as an experimental measure, in a selected district or districts in Bengal.

(7) (a) The respective functions of District Magistrates and Deputy Directors of Civil Supplies in regard to the procurement and distribution of supplies and the enforcement of control should be clearly defined.

(b) The District Magistrate should be responsible for all matters concerning the distribution, storage and movement of supplies and the enforcement of controls in the district.

(c) In those disrricts where a staff is specially employed for making purchases on behalf of Government or for controlling and supervising such purchases, the District Magistrate and his staff should have no responsibility in regard to procurement and operations connected therewith. In other districts, the District Magistrate should be authorised to undertake procurement, should this prove necessary, in local surplus areas in order to provide supplies for other parts of the district.

(8) The existence of a large staff under the Jute Regulation, Rural Reconstruction and Agricultural Departments affords an opportunity for organising a subordinate administrative establishment which will be of value in enabling District and Sub-Divisional Officers to maintain closer contact with the villages. The possibility of such a reorganisation should be considered.

(9) It is no longer necessary to reduce prices at relatively short intervals. A more stable price policy is recommended.

(10) Co-operative societies should be developed as part of the procurement machine. It is recommended that a beginning should be made in the utilisation of the marketing and agricultural credit societies in the Bakarganj district as part of the procurement machinery.

(11) Vigorous action against corruption is called for in three directions. First, disciplinary action against officials of whatever standing guilty of corruption, secondly strict enforcement of controls and the punishment of those who break the law and thirdly, mobilization of public opinion against every form of corruption.

(12) (a) A Provincial Food Advisory Council, composed of officials and non-officials should be established. Producers, traders, and consumers should be adequately represented on this Council.

(b) A separate advisory body for Greater Calcutta should be established as also District Advisory Committees in those districts where they do not at present exist.

Educational Progress in India

The Indian Science Congress

32nd. Session—Nagpur—2nd. January 1945

C. P. GOVERNOR'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

"We cannot perhaps attempt to make man happy, but we can attempt to make him comfortable. It is in this sphere that you (scientists) can add something to the sum of human knowledge", observed H. E. Sir *Henry Twynam*, Governor of C, P., inaugurating the 32nd annual Conference of the Indian Science Congress Association in Nagpur on the **2nd. January 1945.**

The Conference was held in a specially erected pandal in the University premises. This was the third occasion it was held in Nagpur. Distinguished scientists from all over India attended the session.

Inaugurating the Conference, Sir *Henry Twynam* said: "The present war has been rightly described as a revolution rather than a war. It is a revolution which challenges all old established outlooks, and both the conflicting ideologies of Fascism and Communism have been largely influenced by the scientific approach. Mankind is looking earnestly towards a future in which sentiment and romance will be superseded by science and technology". All of us, he added, were keenly aware of what had been achieved in Russia by the application of science and technology to countries which until recently were living in the bullock-cart age. Even in Central Asia, in Bokhara and Samarkand, tractors and mechanical transport had taken the place of the bullock-drawn plough and the bullock cart. Since the war, the Governor went on, the pragmatical approach to the problems with which we are confronted, has completely driven *laissez faire* from the field of human thought and the conferences which have taken place at Dumbarton Oaks, Hot Springs and elsewhere indicate the extent to which the scientific method is winning all along the line.

Sir Henry said: "We are groping our way towards a planned economy not only in the fields of agriculture and industry but in the wider field of human relationships generally. I for one welcome the discarding of old shibboleth and the substitution of new ideals based on the principle of the greatest number. We cannot perhaps attempt to make man happy but we can attempt to make him comfortable. It is in this sphere that you, gentlemen, can add something to the sum of human knowledge. It is only through the application of science and technology in industry and agriculture that a new standard of living can be achieved for the masses."

WELCOME SPEECH

Mr. *Justice Puranik*, in his welcome address, dwelt on the relation of science to society and said: "The gifts of science, like the gifts of Heaven, are always double-edged. So far as any charge of responsibility for the horrors of the present war is concerned, the scientist, in my judgment, is entitled to an honourable acquittal." Continuing, he asked: "If science has been abused, should not science ponder over the ways of preventing it in future?" He suggested that some kind of hormone control for the Hitlers and Mussolinis of the future should not be beyond the ingenuity of science."

Mr. Puranik added: "The material problem for our country in the immediate future is not so much to reach the maximum that man is capable of; it is rather to reach the minimum below which no man in the twentieth century should be expected to live. In the midst of all the manifold plans that are being unfolded before us from day to day the central fact remains that the standard of living in India has to be pulled up with enormous concentrated vigour. That effort will require both goodwill and wealth, but it will also require wisdom and for this we confidently look forward to Indian science. To devise the most economic ways in using resources that are already being tapped and of tapping resources still untapped and thus enable one and all to live a richer life—these are the tasks that await us and I have no doubt that they will be duly discharged at your hands."

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

The Governor read a cable from Sir *S. S. Bhatnagar* from Washington regretting his inability to attend and hoping that the experiences gained in the

United Kingdom and U. S. A. by his Delegation would result in recommendations likely to lead to great scientific developments in India.

Prof. S. N. Bose then read the presidential address of Sir Shanti S. Bhatnagar. At the outset he referred to Professor A. V. Hill's visit and said:

"Perhaps the most outstanding event in the scientific life of India during the past year was in the visit which Professor Hill paid to us at the request of the Government of India. The invitation to Professor Hill has been generally taken as an indication of the interest the Government of India is taking in securing the aid of science in problems of national development to which they are committed during the post-war period. It was largely owing to the insistence of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research that more financial aid should be given to science, that such an invitation could be conceived even during the war.

"It is happy augury that the report made by Professor Hill had an unusually short incubation period. Following his recommendations the Government of India have already created a Department of Planning and Development and the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research has been transferred to this portfolio. Other research activities under the Government are likely to follow suit. It is hoped that other far-reaching recommendations of Professor Hill will also be accepted by the Government of India. There is no better method of raising the standard of science and scientists in this country than that so ably developed and skilfully described in his address before the last session of the Indian Science Congress.

Referring to the Indian Scientific Mission to the UK, he said:

"Everyone seems to regard our visit as a prelude to better understanding and trade relationships between our respective countries and as a gesture of friendship from the British Government, British science and British industry to India. Even Ireland has not insisted upon isolation and strict neutrality and I had a most pressing invitation to address the University of Dublin on Scientific and Industrial Research in India, and this invitation was extended to my opposite number in the UK, Sir Edward Appleton, as I pleaded that I was tied up with engagements with him and could not visit Ireland unless he also came with me. An important member of HMG's Hospitality department told the Assistant Secretary of the Royal Society that even Kings visiting England did not receive such a warm welcome as the Indian scientists have received! All this is an indication of the keen interest people in England are taking in science and research.

"Scientific workers in England are all devoting their attention to the future of science in British universities. The Association of Scientific Workers has submitted a memorandum to the University Grant Committee of the Treasury suggesting what reforms in teaching and research should be taken in hand immediately after the war and better provision for science should be made in the universities.

"Some of its recommendations involve capital cost estimated to be not less than £30 million over a period of 10 to 20 years. The actual expenditure of the universities would rise to £15 million per annum within five years at 1939 values. It has been suggested that most of the money will come from the State. Further, it has been strongly recommended that the Treasury Grant to the Universities should be doubled in the first academic year after the war and increased to quadruple, that is to £9 million, in the fifth year. The future of science in the British universities would thus be assured.

"They must serve as an incentive to our Vice-Chancellors who should ask the nation and Government for more grants for technical education and developments of sciences in the Indian universities.

"British industry in the past relied too much on tradition. It is now realised that the prosperity of Britain after the war will depend as never before upon the efficiency and progressiveness of her industries. Happily, for it is a most healthy indication of things to come, industrial and scientific research is on almost everyone's lips now-a-days and it is certain that this will be one of the major features in post-war industry. In certain industries, such as the chemical industry, the application of science and research has reached such high levels already that even the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research has not considered it an imperative necessity on their part to equip and maintain their chemical research laboratory to the same level of efficiency as their national physical laboratory. They maintain that the Imperial Chemical Industries conduct research on such a large and liberal scale that the Government laboratories need not compete with them.

"If Indian industry has to rise, and rise it must to its proper stature in time, it must begin to devote more attention to expenditure on research. The newly started industrial units of India should join together and form Industrial Research

Associations and the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and the Government should subsidise the organisations so that they may blossom forth into hopeful industries of the future India. Now that expenditure on research, both capital and recurring, is likely to be free from the Excess Profits Tax, Indian industry should give a real impetus to science. Nothing will help industry and science more than if our firms in India becomes research-minded.

"Perhaps the most important factor which will have world-wide implications will be our attempt to raise the standard of living in India. Politics does play an important part in all events. It is obvious that the best and quickest way of bringing about national development is for India to have a National Government, representative of the people. The present absence, however, of such a Government does not justify that the thinking men and women of India should not devise ways of bettering the lot of their fellow beings to the best of their ability under present circumstances and in view of the future. I am not convinced that the rich and the wise in the land have done all they can for the agricultural and industrial development of India.

"It has been urged by some that the problem of India is largely biological : that health, food and population are our real bottle-necks. Those who know India intimately are fully aware of the fact that attention to agriculture alone cannot solve the problem of India's poverty. Biology must be helped by physics, chemistry and engineering even by mathematics. India cannot be healthy, prosperous and self-respecting, and education, medicine, and agriculture cannot play their important role, unless a good bit of India's population is devoted to pursuits other than agricultural.

"In a previous paper I have described the orders of priority for some of the industries essential to India's development. In that paper the first place was given by me to the development of power and there seems to be now a general consensus of opinion that India must develop her hydro-electric and other power resources as her coal resources are already severely strained. This project will have to be largely financed by the State, as it is far too big for any private enterprise in India. The State will also have to help big basic industries and heavy engineering.

"We should, by all methods of persuasion and even threats, appeal to the existing industries in India to develop the by-products industries associated with them. For example, the great jute industry in India should take immediate steps to manufacture such things as jute-boards, Brattice cloth, jute felt from jute waste, jute containers and jute cloth for wearing purpose. The State and the public should insist upon these industries being developed by the jute industry itself. Similarly it should be the duty of the sugar industry that their by-products such as molasses and bagasse should not be used wastefully as at present. Power alcohol, furfural and its derivatives, acetic acid and all sorts of plastics and solvents can be made from these by-products and these should occupy the immediate attention of the promoters of our sugar industry. They have sufficient money to invest in these ventures which may not start paying dividends all at once, but they will eventually be all very worth-while in national planning and development.

"If I would not be misunderstood, I would make a suggestion to those European and Indian friends who are interested in the industrialization of India not to fight for less or more to either side, but to come to terms honourable for both and do something to help Indian industry.

"It is obvious that European friends in India will have to yield to the natural aspirations of India, namely that industry in India should be largely managed by Indians themselves, Indian business men should see that co-operation with the Allied Powers is the quickest method of developing India. If the by-product industries of coal distillation, the petroleum industry, the textile industry, the woolen, cotton, sugar and jute industries and the metallurgical and chemical industries are developed, the country will have a different complexion altogether and a co-ordinated programme of development in all directions will become a possibility.

"This plea I am entitled to make as President of the Indian Science has no future in India unless our agriculture and our industries are fully developed: more food and more health are dependent upon these factors. Scientific and industrial research thrives best when it is applied to material benefit to human kind and to existing industries and existing agricultural enterprise.

The Lucknow University Convocation

Dr. John Sargents' Convocation Address

The following is the text of the address delivered at the Annual Convocation of the University of Lucknow on the 3rd February, 1945 by Dr. John Sargent, M. A., D. Litt., C. I. E., Educational Adviser to the Government of India.

I must confess that I dislike making speeches and I am afraid that I never feel at all happy or confident when addressing an audience, the greater part of whom —and, if I may venture to say so, the more important part—consists of young people. Perhaps this is because I do not possess the fortunate gift bestowed on some speakers of being able to secure, almost from their opening sentence the interest and sympathy of their audience: or perhaps it is because I remember more vividly than some of my contemporaries would appear to do how much I suffered from dull speakers on similar occasions when I was myself a student. Inspite, however, of my feeling of nervousness, I very much welcome the opportunity of meeting you here today and of being given the chance to try to enlist your support in what I believe to be the most urgent task that lies before those who have the welfare of India at heart, and that is the development of a system of education throughout this country which will place India on a level with other progressive nations. Before doing so, however, I ought to apologise for departing from the normal form of convocation addresses. I shall make no attempt today to ascend the heights of philosophical speculation or of lofty idealism. I am of the earth earthy and although like most people I allow myself from time to time to dream dreams, my main interest has always been in those forms of speculation which lead to action of some kind. In the time at my disposal I shall only attempt to give you some idea of what the Central Advisory Board of Education, a body of people, mostly Indians and mostly engaged in the prosaic tasks of day-to-day administration, think should be done to equip the rising generation of Indians to face the great responsibilities which are likely to devote upon them before the world is very much older.

It is perhaps one argument in favour of printing convocation addresses—I can think of many arguments against it—that it is at any rate some guarantee that what the speaker has said is accurately reported. I know from bitter experience how easy it is for an indifferent speaker like myself to be misreported on these occasions. For instance, I found on my return from my recent tour in Great Britain and U. S. A. that some papers had described me as undertaking a propaganda tour in those countries on behalf of the Government of India and even as representing the Central Advisory Board's plan to be the adopted policy of the Government of India. I can only say that while I am anxious to seize every opportunity of doing propaganda on behalf of the Board's plan, as I am doing this afternoon, I only addressed one public meeting while in Great Britain and none at all while in the U.S.A. The particular jobs which I went there to do left me no time for public speaking. I also displayed considerable ingenuity in evading journalists. I have always endeavoured to make it quite clear, as I hope I shall make it quite clear today, that the Board's plan about which I want to tell you something, has not yet been finally approved by the Government of India or by Provincial Governments though I have reason to hope that a final decision will be reached by the former in the near future and I am glad to know that nearly all the latter are now engaged on preparing plans along the lines laid down by the Board. There is one other point that I want to make quite plain before I get down to my task and that is that while what I am going to talk about is not yet an official plan, it is also not my plan, though some misguided people persist in attaching my name to it. It actually represents the results of careful examination during the last 6 or 7 years of all the main branches of education by Committees of the Central Advisory Board of Education and if I deserve any credit at all, it is only because I have urged the Board to use the lean years of war to prepare to meet the demand which I expected to come, and which has now in fact come, to produce a considered and comprehensive plan for post-war development.

The Board's report covers so vast a field that I cannot possibly in half an hour or so do more than touch briefly on its main recommendations. If I fail to mention matters in which some of you may happen to be particularly interested, you must not assume that the Board have overlooked them. Please get hold of the two volumes which the Board have issued and study them. The first deals with what I may call the administrative aspect of educational development i.e., what

ought to be done and the second with the pedagogical side of the problem *i.e.* how it should be done.

I want to emphasize here and now and all the time that the aim of the Board's Report is not to prescribe an ideal system of public instruction, but to outline the minimum programme of development which will place India on an approximate educational level with other countries. With this object in view it lays down the following essential requirements :—

1. *Universal, compulsory and free education for all boys and girls between the ages of six and fourteen in order to ensure literacy and the minimum preparation for citizenship.*

In British India there are about 56 million children between these ages. The latest figures available show that as things now are two out of nine of the children in this age group are attending some kind of school. Of those that do enter the doors of a school, more than half have disappeared by the end of their first year and less than one in four stays long enough to reach the eatliest stage—namely, class 4 at which permanent literacy is likely to be attained. You can calculate for yourselves what proportion of the present expenditure on primary and middle education may be regarded as entirely wasted.

Apart, however, from the factor of wastage, which will of course be largely removed if and when an affective compulsory system is introduced, there is a still more serious matter which militates against the efficiency of the instruction. In any country and in any circumstances, the standard of a school is determined by the standard of the teaching. There has always been in India and elsewhere, and it may be hoped there always will be, a number of people who enter the teaching profession because they like teaching or because they regard it in the light of a vocation, but such people unfortunately will never constitute more than a very tiny part of the vast army of teachers which a national system requires. The remainder will have to be attracted into the profession by reasonable prospects and conditions of service. For basic—*i.e.* primary and middle-schools alone, when fully established, about 1,800,000 teachers will be needed. Since the average pay of a primary teacher in Government schools in India is about Rs. 27 (£2 0s. 6d.) per mensem and in private schools is usually much lower, it can hardly be said that the teaching service in India is likely to attract the sort of people who ought to be in charge of the nation's most valuable asset—namely, its children—during its most malleable stage.

2. *A reasonable provision of education before the age of six in the form of nursery schools and classes.*

This is important mainly in the interest of health, particulary in areas where housing coditions are unsatisfactory or mothers usually go out to work. The Board propose that provision should be made for one million places in nursery schools and classes. Partly owing to expense and partly owing to the dearth of trained women teachers, who alone should be in charge of children at this tender age, facilities of this kind are practically non-existent in India today.

3. *Secondary or high school education for those who show the capacity for benefiting by it.*

In the Board's opinion, provision should be made ultimately in high schools of various types for not less than 20 per cent of the boys and girls in each age group. On this basis and with a six years' course, this means providing high school places for just over seven million boys and girls. For these, 360.000 teachers will be required. It should be made clear that this is the minimum provision, and that if any Province or area wants more high school accommodation there is nothing in the Board's scheme which would prevent it. What, however, is essential is to secure the utmost variety both in types of school and in the curricula of individual schools in order to suit the varying tastes and aptitudes of the individual pupils on the one hand and the requirements of their future occupations on the other. In addition, so that no boy or girl may be debarred by poverty from further education, liberal financial assistance in the form of free places, scholarship and stipends must be forthcoming.

4. *University education, including an adequate provision of post-graduate and research facilities for picked students.*

Probably, when the new high-school system has been fully established, about 1 pupil in 15 will be found fit to proceed to a university, apart from those who go on to senior technical institutions, training schools and other places for further education. This will mean at least doubling the number of students in universities at the moment. I do not propose to repeat the citicisms of Indian universities which are so often made, sometimes by people who do not appreciate the difficulties, financial

and otherwise, under which they are working. Nor do I wish to overlook their many admirable features. At the same time, it would appear to be true that Indian universities do not make any serious attempt to relate their output to the needs of the community, that their examination system does not encourage original thinking and real scholarship, and that their general organization does not secure that close personal contact between students and teachers from which the greatest benefits of university life are usually derived. The conception of a university as an Alma Mater in the literal sense of the word, to whom affection and loyalty are owed, is limited to comparatively few. I can only hope that those few include nearly all who are listening to me today.

5. *Technical, commercial and art education.*

The amount, type and location of this will necessarily be determined to a large extent by the requirements of industry and commerce. The provision in this respect has hitherto been restricted partly by the limited number of openings in industry and commerce, and still more by the fact that it has been the practice to fill many of the better openings that are available by important technicians. It is reasonable to expect that a very considerable development in this branch of education will be called for in the post-war period. It has already been given an impulse in the right direction by the war-training schemes now in operation.

I am myself convinced that any substantial rise in the standard of living and the increased prosperity all round, which alone can finance schemes for social security, can only be secured by the rational industrialisation of this country. But I stress the word 'rational', because it will be a real tragedy if India fails to benefit from experience elsewhere and allows industrial development to be accompanied by those social evils which make the history of the industrial revolution in Western countries such a melancholy record of man's inhumanity to man.

6. *Adult education, both vocational and non-vocational of all kinds and standards, to meet the needs of those who were denied adequate opportunities in their ealier years or recognize the importance of supplementing what they then received.*

Today 85 per cent of the population of India is illiterate. We can hardly afford to wait until illiteracy is liquidated by the gradual spread of compulsory education among boys and girls. The Board have accordingly pepared a plan for making literate all persons below the age of 40 in a period of twenty-five years. This is where all of you can help, if you will. Many students have already given freely of their leisure to help those who have been less fortunate than themselves. I commend the wide extension of extra-mural activities to this and all other Universities.

7. *The training of teachers.*

Over two million additional teachers will be required for a national system of education, and 42 per cent of the existing teachers are untrained. The Board hold, I think rightly, that every teacher ought to be trained, and adequate arrangements for training and for keeping teachers up-to-date after they have been trained are equally essential. The Board have prescribed minimum scales of pay for teachers at all stages from the Nursery School to the University.

8. *An efficient school medical service, which will see that children are made healthy and kept healthy.*

It is a waste of time and money to try to teach a child who is unfit or conscious in other ways of serious physical discomfort. Health also postulates the provisions of hygienic buildings in suitable surroundings, the right kind of furniture and equipment, and ample facilities for physical training and games.

Sporadic attempts have been made from time to time in different parts of India to provide the nucleus of such a service. This has usually confined itself, for reasons of economy, to inspection only. The main result has been the collection of statistics. It is hardly necessary to point out that inspection within treatment is of little value, particularly in a country where the majority of parents are unwilling or unable to act on any medical advice they may receive.

Courageous attempts have also been made to supply nourishment for the children most in need of it, but again, owing to lack of funds, these attempts have been on far too small a scale to do more than touch the fringe of a problem which is extremely serious, when the homes from which so many children come are close to the starvation line. What is still more depressing is the fact that the school medical service has usually been one of the first victims of the economy axe. In one Province, for instance, such a servire has been initiated three times, only to be discontinued as often on the plea of economy.

The less said the better, at any rate in the lower stages of Indian education

about the present state of affairs in regard to buildings, equipment and other facilities such as playgrounds and playing-fields, which are usually regarded as essential to any proper school in Western countries. Very few of the Indian schools I have seen fulfil my idea of a plea where children can work and play and be happy.

9. *Special schools for children suffering from mental or physical handicaps.*

Although no accurate statistics are available, there can be little doubt that, owing to under-nourishment, neglect, unsatisfactory living conditions and other causes, the number of children suffering from physical and mental defects is unusually high. Very little indeed has so far been done for them, the responsible authorities arguing that their exiguous resources can be more profitably spent on educating normal children. In a universal system their claims can hardly be ignored.

10. *Recreational facilities of all kinds for people of all ages, to satisfy the craving for corporate activity and to counteract the drabness of the conditions in which so large a part of the Indian people otherwise spent their lives.*

Scouting and other similar organizations flourish in many areas, but they are not co-ordinated as purely educational influences which satisfy the natural desire for corporate activity of most young people. Very few boys' or girls' clubs exist in urban areas. The need for a youth movement on an all-India scale is clear, and the needs of older people also must not be neglected. Here is another sphere of social service open to all of you.

11. *Employment bureaux to guide school and college leavers into profitable employment, and so far as possible to adjust the output of the schools to the capacity of the labour market.*

Of all the criticisms that can be brought against the Indian system of education today, probably the most serious is that it makes little or no attempt to market the articles which it produces. So far as I have been able to discover, only in the rarest incidences is any attempt made by the school or college authorities to advise parents as to the occupations for which their children are suited, to afford information as to the openings available in the area, or to restrict the intake into any particular institution or course of study where it is clear that the labour market is incapable of absorbing the output.

12. *An administrative system which will place initiative and authority in the hands of those who understand and care about education.*

Almost every Provincial report I have ever read has called attention to the inefficiency of many of the local bodies, to which responsibility for the lower stages of education has generally been delegated. It is indeed strange that when it was decided to encourage local government in India it should have been thought desirable to hand over education of all subjects to the mercy of bodies whose members are only too often either uneducated or uninterested in education, or both.

These in very brief and inadequate outline are the objectives of the Board's Report. It has received a surprisingly favourable reception from almost all quarters in this country. Indeed I feel it has had far too much indiscriminate praise and far too little constructive criticism. Some of the people who have praised it have quite clearly not read it and the same applies to some of those who have criticised it. There have, however, been some criticisms about which I may perhaps be allowed to say a few words. The first relates to the problem of selecting boys and girls for the higher stage of education. Unless it is possible to provide educational facilities beyond the compulsory stage for every one—and I am afraid that is not practicable as things are, even if it were desirable, there must be some kind of selection to fill those places that are available. The Board have laid it down that the governing principle in selection in future should be that the places are allotted to those most capable or most likely to take full advantage of it, and they are anxious to remove the obstacles which at the present time prevent so many boys and girls of ability from receiving higher education because their parents are unable to meet the cost of it. Our critics, however, even where they recognise the good intentions of the Board, fear that in fact the facilities will be confined to the more fortunate sections of the community and that those who for various reasons have been excluded from educational opportunities in the past will continue by social prejudice or other causes to be excluded from them. If this is real danger, and I have every reason unfortunatety to believe that it is, then clearly the responsible authorities must take every possible care to see that the interests of the backward classes and communities are safeguarded and that special measures are taken to accelerate their educational progress. Until at last the ideal stage is reached when educational opportunity is open to all irrespective of the class or community to which they may belong, one can only hope that with the spread of enlightenment existing barriers will progressively be removed. After all the aim of

any system of education, which deserves the name of democratic must be to eliminate social distinctions and not to perpetuate them.

Other criticisms are that the scheme costs too much or that it takes too long. In both cases the answer is the same. Everyone will agree that the success of any educational system must depend upon the quality of the teacher. The urgent need to improve the present standard of teaching is one which no one, I think, will deny. It is essential to provide that teachers should be properly educated and properly trained and that their conditions of service should be such as will attract into the profession the sort of people to whom the country's most valuable asset—its boys and girls—can be safely entrusted. The salaries of teachers will very largely determine the cost of any educational system and the speed at which suitable recruits to the teaching profession can be obtained and trained will determine how long it will take. If anyone can show how, without lowering the moderate standards in regard to remuneration and training which the Board have prescribed, the cost can be reduced or the time shortened, he will be rendering not only to the Board but also to the country as a whole a most valuable service.

What, however, has worried me a good deal since I came to this country is the attitude of defeatism on the part of so many of my Indian friends in regard to the possibility of carrying out with reasonable speed or on a sufficiently large scale developments about the need for which we are all agreed. I am not so much surprised that such an attitude should exist—there are I know many reasons for it—as concerned that it should continue. The tendency to assume that movements which have been possible in other countries are not possible in India is, I think, a very dangerous one, because it leads not merely to apathy at the present time but is calculated to produce a habit of mind which must be inimical to future progress. I have been told, for instance, that however good the Board's plan may be, it will never succeed because we cannot depend on its being administered in the right spirit. I have no doubt that the gloomy accounts one reads in Provincial reports of the way in which education is administered by many local bodies have a foundation in fact; but I cannot see in this any reason for permanent despondency. People who are familiar with the works of Dickens or Thackeray or other English writers in the middle of the last century will be aware that a hundred years ago the British system of local Government was full of abuses. I have been the servant of a number of local authorities in England, and I can only say that there has been a remarkable change and that most of them now consist of people who are honestly trying to do their best for the welfare of the community as a whole. If such a change has been possible in my own country, I refuse to despair of the same thing happening here, particularly when India becomes fully responsible for the management of her own affairs. What, however, I want to suggest to you is that this change can only be brought about by sustained efforts on your part through a fairly prolonged period of trial and error. I cannot help feeling that it will be a delusion to assume that all these difficulties will disappear and that the present attitude of defeatism will be automatically converted into one of constructive optimism on the day when the last Britisher sails home from Bombay.

Therefore my advice to you for what it is worth is to get ready for autonomy and for all the added responsibilities it will bring with it. I believe that it is coming—sooner perhaps than most of you think and also perhaps before you are ready. History suggests that great political changes may open the door to reactionary as well as to progressive influences. I believe we are on the eve of one of these and I advise you to see that when it comes it is a move in the right direction. There are Indians of my acquaintance, who would regard themselves and would probably be regarded by you as holding progressive political views, but seem to me so far as their social and economic ideas are concerned, to be looking backwards rather than forwards. It would be a great pity if you rid yourself of what I often see described as "the chains of British Imperialism" only to find yourself in equally irksome fetters of local manufacture.

You may fairly ask me how under existing conditions you should or can prepare for freedom, and I can say with confidence, "Educate yourselves". By this, of course, I mean education in the real sense and not merely the passing of examinations or the acquiring of degrees. Try above all to understand the other man's point of view and to get outside yourselves. India's future problems—and I mean the problems she will have to solve when she is in charge of her own affairs—will never be solved by introverts. When you are satisfied that you are really educated, then go and educate others. There is an enormous field for effort where all people of goodwill, whatever their political complexions, can work together to

prepare for the time of testing that is coming. All I ask you to remember is that education is not necessarily a good thing. It is the source of all power and I believe that it is also the source of all good, provided it is the right kind but the Germans have reminded us what a powerful instrument for evil it may be, if it is the wrong kind. The same is true of democracy. I do not believe that you must have an enlightened democracy, if Lincoln's vision of government of the people for the people is ever to come true.

We are now at a stage in history when the forces of progress, if they can be united, have a greater chance of marching to final victory than they have ever had before. Modern invention is bringing the nations of the world closer together whether they like it or not. National independence may be a good thing but if there is to be any future for humanity, there must be national inter-dependence as well. No great nation in the days that are coming will be able to shut itself up behind its own frontiers and ignore the outside world. Each must give as well as take. I have often been told since I came to this country that there are fundamental differences between the aspirations and needs of the West and of the East and that what may seem or be good to the American or the Britisher will not seem or be good to the Indian or the Chinese. I am not so foolish as to ignore such warning but I still believe that the essentials which must inspire any sound system of education are true the world over. We all want the rising generation to be physically fit, mentally alert and morally sound. "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report: if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things." Surely this advice is as relevant to India today as it was nearly 2000 years ago in a part of the world which knew very little about India.

I am not and never have been a politician but that does not mean that I am a wholehearted subscriber to the bureaucratic creed.

"For forms of Government let fools contest;
Whate'er is best administered is best.

While the political contest proceeds, the cause of education in this country cannot wait. It is a field where all people of goodwill can work together and the call for labourers is here and now.

I have served Education for many years. It is at one and the same time both my hobby and my profession. Just as I cannot conceive that a good physician or a good surgeon would be less careful of his patient because he happened to belong to a different race or a different political party, so I can only ask you to believe that it is a matter of conscience with me to do what little I can, while I can, for the cause of Indian education. If you, who are about to set out on what may be for many of you a great and arduous adventure, will accept the very best wishes for your success and happiness from one who belongs neither to your country nor to your generation, then with all my heart I offer them to you.

The Osmania University Convocation

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar's Convocation Address

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by the Hon'ble Sir **Ramaswami Mudaliar** K.C.S.I., Supply Member, H. E. the Viceroy's Executive Council at Hyderabad (Deccan) on the 25th January 1945.

I should like to convey my very sincere thanks to you, Mr. Chancellor, and to the Senate for the honour that you have done me in asking me to take part in this convocation and to address the graduates of the year. I appreciate the honour very highly because in a sense I feel I am in an old familiar, not to say hospitable, land and can claim some right to partake in this function. If I may be excused a personal reference, I should like to say that I first saw the light of day in a town called Kurnool, which at one time formed part of the Nizam's Dominions before it was ceded to the East India Company. The Ceded Districts have naturally many features in common with the now adjoining areas of His Exalted Highness's territory. My earliest and most happy recollections are of truant school-boy excursions when crossing the Tungabhadra river I and my friends trespassed on Hyderabad territory and ate the forbidden fruit of its orchards. You will no doubt understand, Sir, my interest in the Tungabhadra project and my concern over the welfare of the people of that area. Thanks to the broad vision and

sagacity of your Government and the wisdom of the present Government of Madras, that project, long a dream of mine, is now about to be fulfilled and I should like to echo on behalf of the people with whom my early lot was cast our gratitude to you particularly for the successful outcome of those negotiations.

There is another reason why I feel it a particular privilege to attend this convocation. The Osmania University is unique among the Universities in India in many respects. Its name and fame have gone far and wide and its distinguishing features have been the subject of animated interest and occasional controversy among educationists in different parts of this country and even in some foreign countries. His Exalted Highness in his Firman of April 1917 expressing his approval to inaugurate a University in the State declared that the object of founding this University was to ensure that "knowledge and culture of ancient and modern times may be blended so harmoniously as to remove the defects created by the present system of education and to take full advantage of all that is best in the ancient and modern systems of physical, intellectual, and spiritual culture." The Firman goes on to say, "In addition to its primary object of diffusing knowledge, it should aim at the moral training of the students and give an impetus to research in all scientific subjects. The fundamental principle in the working of the University should be that Urdu should form the medium of higher education but that a knowledge of English as a language should at the same time be deemed compulsory for all students." Let me confess that I am deeply struck by the farsightedness and the high policy which animated His Exalted Highness in laying down the objectives of the newly founded University. When it is remembered that these ideals were placed before the University ere the Sadler Commission had reported and at a time when the object of University education were not so clearly visualised as they are now, I am indeed struck by the modernity of thought in this unique Firman. Many glowing tributes have been paid to the arrangement in this University whereby all higher education is given in Urdu, and there is a growing volume of opinion in the country that young men cannot get the best out of the education unless the medium of instruction is one of the languages with which they are closely acquainted from their childhood. It is unnecessary for me to dilate on this aspect of education which has gained such general acceptance, but I think equal emphasis should be laid on the second fundamental principle which has been stressed in the Firman that "a knowledge of English as a language should at the same time be deemed compulsory for all students." I confess, Sir, that I am a firm believer in the value of a good knowledge of one of the main European languages, to those who take to highest forms of education in our country and from whom we hope to collect our leaders in public affairs and in the great learned professions. It must be realised that no country can be self-contained in knowledge, in provocative thought and in scientific researches any more than it can be self-contained in regard to trade or commerce. The principle of autarchy in commercial matters has led to disaster; the principle of autarchy in culture and knowledge would soon bring the country and its citizens to a state of complete degeneracy. To keep abreast of the times, to take advantage of educational advance in other parts of the world, to contribute our own knowledge and culture to foreign countries, are the means by which that blending of cultures can be brought about which His Exalted Highness has so properly referred to in his notable Firman. Even as I am certain that these ideas and ideals have been kept steadily in view by the authorities of the University, even so I hope and feel certain that in the future also the same purpose will run through all the activities of the University.

I must here advert to one aspect of the functions of your University which has a large and direct bearing on this subject and to which you have attached the highest importance. I refer to the Bureau of Compilation and Translation which is attached to this University and which has produced almost all the books required as text-books for the students of the University. I understand that books on Law, Medicine, Engineering and other abstruse sciences have been translated by this Bureau and that they are freely availed of by the students. This Bureau of Translation cannot be considered as serving merely the students of this University. Its beneficent work is valued throughout the country wherever Urdu is spoken or taught. It is a work whose utility goes beyond the confines of Hyderabad State and I am certain that in course of time many of the Universities in Northern India will avail themselves of the results of these gigantic labours and feel grateful to your University.

I have referred to the special features of University education in the State and to the ideals that have been placed before its students but the very distinctiveness

of your University confers an added obligation on the graduates that are sent out of its portals year after year. The University has been in existence for a quarter of a century. Its graduates have gone out to various parts of the State and of the country and are contributing their share in various phases of the nation's activities. One naturally expects that in such activities they will demonstrate the value of the special type of education that has been given to them. What then are those qualities which one naturally expects to find in a graduate of the Osmania University? The moral training that is given to them, the spiritual culture which is imparted to them apart from the more thorough knowledge of purely educational subjects which they derive owing to the fact that the medium of instructions is Urdu, should mark them out as the alumni of the Osmania University. I do not mean to suggest that graduates of other Universities are lacking in these qualities but it is in this University that a very specialised effort is made to foster these qualities. How then are your alumni to conduct themselves in their later life? What is expected of the enlightened graduates of the Osmania University—you who have had a liberal education in arts and sciences, in the technical professions, you who have had opportunities of conducting research activities on which your University has laid great stress and for which your Government has, I understand, set apart adequate resources. Great hopes are entertained of the present generation of young men, who, unlike those of an earlier period are not prepared to blindly and obligingly enter into grooves prepared for them by their elders or by governments. One can easily see and gladly admit the greater earnestness and fuller ambitions of the youth of today—their desire to play their part in organising the life of the nation and promoting the welfare of the common man. They wish to build a New World, to translate the promises of the statesmen of war years into action and to lay the foundations firmly for happier relations between man and man and between nation and nation. They ask themselves the question, "How better will the New World be?" Shall we banish wars and the causes of war, at least for two generations, if we cannot for ever? Shall we remove the frictions between community and community, between classes and masses, between the haves and the have-nots? Can the legitimate feeling of nationalism be so abated as to curb the aggressive activities of sovereign states? What kind of international political order are we likely to have when peace comes? And what sort of international economic order? In a word again, how better shall the world and our country be?

The answer to most of these questions is supposed to lie in that magic phrase "post-war reconstruction"—reconstruction of the world by international understandings and agreements and reconstruction of individual nations and countries by domestic plans, policies and by amicable settlements. Let me confess that I do not like the term 'reconstruction' in connection with either phase of the problem. We must look backward, no doubt, to prepare for the morrow but it must be with eyes completely open. It is a great temptation to start out by assuming that nothing has changed and that the events ahead are carbon copies of those from which we have emerged. "The tenacity with which people focussed on the past is illustrated in the period between the two world wars by those economic watchwords that began with the prefix *re*. Nations were concerned with *re*construction, *re*trenchment, *re*parations, *re*payment of war debts, *re*valuation of currency, *re*storation of the gold standard, *re*habilitation and *re*covery. *Re*-peace will sum it all and be so pleasant. But the facts of the situation, if properly understood, are all against such an attitude of mind. Almost everything in every country will have changed by the time this war is over except the basic problems, the fundamental difficulties, the "frictions and conflicts."

I would therefore prefer plans and the enunciation of policies for post-war construction, national and international. I have ventured to stress on the need for this new angle of approach and have sounded a note of warning against the habit of mind of pre-war days because I feel that this danger is already dimly visible, even though largely below the horizon, in such international talks and conferences that have so far been held and even in some of the plans for domestic progress.

The allied nations entered this war in a crusading spirit, in a highly exalted frame of mind, ready to crush injustice wherever it existed, to stamp out tyranny, to help the common man to gain his proper and dignified place in national and international life, to root out the evil which the German Fuhrer had exalted into a divine injunction—the theory of a master race and its corollary, the extinction of hated races and peoples. How far have the leaders of nations sustained this alluringly altruistic frame of mind in themselves or in their peoples? Do you already see signs of flagging, of holy crusaders dropping by the wayside, of the old demons of

selfishness curbing and even killing the noble sentiments enunciated some years back? I know not and do not venture to judge. But the auguries are not auspicious. Only the other day the great President of the United States—to whose qualities of head and heart adequate tribute cannot be paid, who has been like a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night to those who prayed for a better world, for peace on earth and good-will among all men—the President declared to a perturbed world that the Atlantic Charter was not contained in any formal written document and was not signed by either of the declarants of the Charter. I have no hesitation in thinking that what the President really meant was that the Atlantic Charter was not merely a formal document to be put aside as a valued relic in a museum of antiquities but that its precepts and policies were living and vital forces in the lives of the men who agreed to the Charter.

But how far the ordinary citizen will act in the same spirit and, what is far more important, how far leaders like the President will be in a position to demand and enforce among the subjects of their States loyal obediences to such principles, is the question which is causing anxiety to many. The gap between idealistic attitudes and the specific measures to implement them has not been inconsiderable even during the war. Will it become more dangerously wide when the stress and strain of war and that single objective, victory, become a thing of the past, when peace comes and people begin to recover?

Let me recall to your mind an incident which happened recently in the United States and which though holding tragic possibilities for the future has its humorous side. The war has brought the problem of the Negro to the fore in America and the fact that his services have been freely given in the forces and in the industries, has according to competent observers, resulted in the gap between the Northern and Southern attitudes towards the Negro becoming narrower, so that the tolerant North is approximating to the intolerant South. But this attitude is not merely of domestic interest or concern. It certainly may affect the unity of the Western Hemisphere and extend its deleterious influence over wider areas.

The President of Haiti visited the United States and was most hospitably treated with all honours by the President of the American Republic and his Government. As he was due to leave, the Marine Band was asked to give him a farewell salute at the railway station when he left. The leader of the band, a Southerner, refused to be present but instructed the band as to what they were to play. He probably assumed that the "ignorant islander" would not know the difference and the President of Haiti entered his train to the tune of "Bye, Bye, Blackbird". But as became the gentleman that he is he gave no sign that he knew the tune and understood the insult. It will be absurd to generalise from an incident like this but it emphasises the dangers of the future, unless it is firmly guided and controlled by wise statesmanship.

I am afraid, I have wandered from what more immediately is our concern, our domestic problems and the spirit in which we are preparing to solve them. Statesmen, politicians and Government spokesmen have all declared the objectives for which this war is being fought. They have emphasised that the needs of the common man will hereafter be better looked after. They have referred to a better standard of living; they have particularised the villages, the rural population. the mainstay of the nation whose lot they hope to better and whose happiness they desire to assure. I am aware, through your courtesy, Sir, of some of the post-war construction plans that H.E.H. the Nizam's Government have prepared and hope to implement as soon as conditions permit. You have aimed high, but your objective is not merely idealistic. As I have studied them, I have certainly been struck by the practical and realistic nature of these plans. And my best wishes go to the government and the people of Hyderabad for the successful fruition of your ideas. I note too that in many of these plans whether for agricultural development, educational reform, or industrial progress, your government does not propose to follow a mere policy of laissez-faire but intends to actively interest itself in one form or another in the progressing and execution of the ideas.

I believe personally that the responsibilities of the State towards post-war development and progress will increase and not decrease. The main fundamental, and indeed the really vital, objective of all these schemes is to raise the standard of living of the common man and to ensure for him a happier life than at present. All other aims are subsidiary or rather auxiliary to this objective. The industrialisation of India is often put in the forefront of all aims for reconstruction. I believe myself that a balanced economy cannot be attained unless a very substantial industrial advance is made in the near future. But it is not because one desires to feel a sense of pride that India produces its own ships, aeroplanes, or motor cars, but because

such industrial development will make for a better living to the rural or urban worker that one is anxious to promote it.

And here let me say that we should avoid some of the evils that have flowed from the capitalistic system in some of the countries of the West. We talk quite freely and frequently today of the total national wealth and the average annual income of the individual. We talk of achieving our objective, namely, doubling or trebling them. Let me, as a very lay man claiming no knowledge of economic theories, state that this is a dangerously misleading aim by itself. I realise the value to the economist and the financier, to the framer of government budgets, of the indications given by such figures. But if the lay man believes implicitly that statistics showing that the average income has doubled indicates a corresponding improvement in the position of the ordinary citizen, he is greatly mistaken. The capitalistic system in the West has come to be scorned and ridiculed just because there are towering heights of prosperity on the one hand with unbelievable depressions of poverty on the other. Goldsmith has aptly stated what is even more true today,—

"Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey
Where wealth accumulates and men decay,"

Governments therefore have a more onerous duty than to merely bring about a rapid industrialisation of the country. In the regional development of industries so as to give citizens in all areas equal chances of industrial prosperity, in ensuring a system of fair wages to industrial labour, in preventing the growth of monopolies and cartels and in assuring to the consumer a fair and reasonable price for the commodities, lies a task for government at least as important as that of fostering industrial and agricultural development. And am I indulging in vain hopes when I think that in this happy State of Hyderabad, more than elsewhere, these objectives have been clearly visualised and will be firmly followed and that those who have been blessed with the world's goods in a greater measure realise their obligations to their less favoured brethren and are ready to make the peaks look less formidable and the valleys less depressing ?

I am afraid, Mr. Chancellor, that I may be accused of wandering far from the main theme of my discourse, and of indulging in irrelevancies. I trust, however, that I shall be able to show that what I have stated in regard to post-war construction, national and international, has a very direct bearing on the future activities of the graduates of your University with which I was concerned. I asked the question what was expected of these young men when they cross the portals of this campus and enter that unknown bourne called Adult Life which is dominated by hopes and aspirations, fears and failures, passions and prejudices, alluring prospects and disheartening achievements, exalted ideals and incongruous activities.

I have placed before them what I conceive to be the broad objectives for which all of us, young and old, should strive. How can these purposes be achieved, these ends attained ? What is the frame of mind which young graduates fortunately endowed with an inspiring and liberal education, should possess to attain their purpose ?

The one great gift that this University has given them is the capacity to think for themselves. To disentangle the confused issues of the day, to assess the true value of purpose and action, to be courageous enough to cling under all circumstances to intellectual honesty, to resist the temptation to command the applause of listening crowds by echoing meaningless slogans and exalting false shibboleths—are not they the qualities expected of those who have had the benefits of that blending of cultures, that spiritual and moral education which His Exalted Highness has enunciated as the true objective of their education ?

The value of discipline has been emphasised in all educational institutions and rightly so. I place the highest value on that discipline and I trust that nowhere will the students show greater sense of discipline than in this University which fortunately is situated in the comparatively placid atmosphere of a happy State. But this discipline which is so highly rated is the discipline in action and not the discipline in thought. Indeed all education while stressing the need for discipline in action, strives continuously in so far as it is conducted on right lines, to promote freedom of thought and independence of intellectual persuasions and convictions.

Are our educated men in danger of losing this most precious gift, the capacity to think for themselves on great problems that affect the lives of themselves and their countrymen ? Is intellectual freedom being gradually lost ? Is it being cribbed, cabinned and confined by what apparently is a great virtue, national or party discipline? It will be an evil hour indeed to our country if such a calamity were to occur. For such was the process by which Fascism and Nazism were born and such indeed was the atmosphere in which they grew and thrived. We have

not been and are not still free from these great dangers. Too many of our older intellectuals have succumbed to the allurements of dictatorship and have become victims to the regimentation of their thinking faculties. And even as Fascism and Nazism have demonstrated in a decade that the ultimate result of such doctrines is the ruination of their countries, so even here is it being proved that regimented and disciplined thinking by those who ought to be leaders of public opinion, results in the postponement, if not the abandonment, of our hopes of a great future for our country.

Let me refer to one concrete fact by way of an illustration. When the New Constitution—the 1935 Act—was passed, it was the subject of undiluted condemnation. It was described as a disease that infested the land. We were invited to a barmecide feast, a feast of shadows. It transferred power not to Indian hands but to Indian tools. It was a mirage, and a mockery, a fraud, a delusion, and snare. It should be killed, destroyed beyond recognition, erased from the statute book. If words could have killed it, Hoare-archy, as it was described, had been thrice dead and damned beyond redemption.

So the three wise men of the east declared while all the world wondered. And it was a mark, as much of patriotism as of intellectual virility to follow the sagacious lead of the wise men and exercise this evil spirit, the New Constitution with bell, book and candle. And then, what then? Where do we stand today? Do you hear some of these wise men lisping newly discovered truths declaring that the country may start on the foundations of that constitution and build up a great and ultimately a free country? Is it not a fact that for the very few among the old wise intellectuals who make such open declarations, there are thousands who in their heart of hearts realise that they have been led astray and made to wander into blind alleys or sandy wilderness? It is said that the wheel of fortune continuously revolves and those that were at the Nadir may find themselves at the Zenith. But we are today witnessing the unusual phenomenon of the wheel of progress not rolling on and taking us further, but so revolving on its axis that leaders who thought they had started on a great mission and had advanced far, are back after a decade at the starting point again.

I plead therefore, Mr. Chancellor, and plead strongly for freedom of thought and courageous expression of such thought. I plead that we should not become slaves to the thinking faculties of any single individual or a small clique of individuals, however great, exalted or revered they may be. Discipline of action—yes—but after a full and free exchange of independent and virile thinking has resulted in devising a common line of action. And is it a vain hope that I am indulging in, when I say that I expect the graduates of this University to be the pioneers in such clear and independent thinking? So doing, they will contribute most to the solution of the nation's problems and to the resolving of that perpetual and perplexing anxiety the relations between class and class and community and community.

Mr. Chancellor! I was dealing with the problems of post-war construction and have stated what I conceive to be the correct frame of mind in which young graduates entering the threshold of life, should attempt to deal with such problems. Greatly daring and possibly with enexplicable foolishness, may I venture to express a thought of how I conceive that men like you, Sir, holding high and responsible positions may have to deal with such problems. These issues are urgent and have to be dealt with now and not in an Utopian future. Time and tide wait for no man. Neither do the problems of the transition from war to peace economy, the positive and constructive plans for raising the standard of living of the common man, improving his miserable lot, await leisurely ideas of constitutional perfections. The great thing is to do whatever one can now lest the opportunity be missed for ever. It may be that a perfect set-up, composed of saintly individuals, who are not fashioned so much by that which is of the earth, may find wonderful political penicillins and cure-all plans and policies. But the best can easily be the enemy of the good.

Is it then right for those in responsible positions—positions which enable and entitle them to plan and work for a better life for the common man—to sit idly by just discharging inevitable routine duties and to think of themselves merely as caretakers of a golden future? Shall they go about proclaiming that they are but political John the Baptists with no better mission than to herald the advent of political Messiahs? To do your duty, to plan and prepare as best you can with the materials at your disposal, to help reorganising the lives of people who are today in your charge seems to me the only honest course that can be followed by

everyone who holds a position of responsibility today. Any other attitude means not merely a grave dereliction of duty but inexcusable betrayal of the best interests of the country and its people.

I must now conclude, Graduates of the year. I have not, believe me, attempted to preach or sermonize to you, nor have I tried to hold forth on high philosophical or academic problems. I have tried merely to place myself in your position, have taken myself back 35 years and attempted to collect what my thoughts would have been if conditions were what they are today. I have indulged in nothing more than a little loud thinking—a dangerous process and some may say a foolish process. It only remains for me to wish you all success in your future lives—success measured *not only by the glittering prizes of place, power and wealth which may fall to you* —and none need deprecate them—but measured even more by the happiness you bring to those in whose midst your lot is cast and thereby to yourself. Let us remember the thought so well expressed by the poet :—

Though the mills of God grind slowly
yet they grind exceeding small ;
Though with patience He stands waiting.
with exactness grinds He all.